

HANDBOUND
AT THE



UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO PRESS

THE
CLASSICAL
REVIEW

EDITED BY W. H. D. ROUSE
AND A. D. GODLEY

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT:

PROF. R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D. (*Chairman*)

PROF. J. F. DOBSON, M.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*) PROF. A. C. CLARK, Litt.D., F.B.A. (*Hon. Secretary*)

PROF. GILBERT MURRAY, LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.R.S.L.; PROF. C. FLAMSTEAD
WALTERS, M.A.; CYRIL BAILEY, M.A.; PROF. W. RIDGEWAY, D.Litt., Litt.D.,
Sc.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

With the co-operation of—PROF. W. GARDNER HALE, University of Chicago; PRINCIPAL
SIR W. PETERSON, LL.D., C.M.G., McGill University, Montreal; PROF. T. G.
TUCKER, Litt.D., University of Melbourne.

VOLUME XXXII. -33

15664³
17/9/20

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION
LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
BOSTON, MASS.
GINN AND COMPANY, 15, ASHBURTON PLACE
1918 -19

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Nos. 1, 2.

Original Contributions:

	PAGE
Πολύχρυσος Μυκήνη. A. SHEWAN .	1
The 'Mole' in Antiquity. D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON	9
Ovidiana. E. H. ALTON	13
The Prospective in Subjunctive Clauses. E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN	20
Priscianus Lydus and Johannes Scottus. M. ESPOSITO	21
The Four-Line Stanza in the <i>Odes</i> of Horace. J. P. POSTGATE	23
Terence, <i>Andria</i> , 434 (II. vi. 3). J. S. PHILLIMORE	28
Horace, <i>Od.</i> I., XXXIV.-XXXV. L. H. ALLEN	29

Notes:

Virgil, <i>Eclogue</i> VII. 52. A. G. PESKETT	31
Cicero, <i>Ep. ad Familiares</i> IX. 20. § 2. A. G. PESKETT	31
Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> XI. 336-7. F. A. WRIGHT	31
Latin Vowels before <i>gn</i> . J. S.	31
A Phrase-Book of St. Colum- ban (?). W. M. LINDSAY	31

Reviews:

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. R. G. BURY	32
The Greek Anthology. J. U. POWELL	33

Reviews—continued:

	PAGE
The Cambridge Songs. W. H. D. ROUSE	34
Theophrastus' Scientific Enquiries. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT	36
Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises. R. G. BURY	38
Captain Mago's Adventures. W. H. D. ROUSE	40
Apuleius: The Golden Ass. M. HESELTINE	41

Short Notices:

<i>La Science Française.</i> L. C.	43
Gardner, <i>The Lascarids of Nicaea.</i> A. J. B. G.	43
<i>Scrivener's Greek Testament.</i> A. J. B. G.	44
Jastrow, <i>The Civilisation of Baby- lonia and Assyria.</i> A. J. B. G.	44
<i>Flosculi Rossallenses.</i> R. B. L.	44
Kyriakides' <i>Pocket English-Greek Dictionary of Idioms, Proverbs, and Phrases.</i> W. H. D. R.	45
Duckett's <i>Studies in Ennius.</i> F. W. HALL	45
Arnold's <i>War-Time Lectures.</i> J. S. R.	46
Bowie's <i>Caesar's Wars with the Germans.</i> Σ	46
Paraphrases. WALTER LEAF	47
Notes and News	48

Nos. 3, 4.

Original Contributions:

The Greek Winds. D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON	49
Three Passages in Hesiod's <i>Works and Days.</i> T. L. AGAR	56
Ovidiana: Notes on the <i>Fasti.</i> II. E. H. ALTON	58
Notes on the <i>Lydia.</i> W. M. LINDSAY	62

Original Contributions—continued:

Horace: <i>Sermones</i> I. 6. 126. D. A. SLATER	64
Two Virgilian Bird-Notes. W. WARDE FOWLER	65
The Indicative in Relative Clauses. E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN	68

Notes:

The Title of Isidore's <i>Etymologies</i> .	
W. M. LINDSAY	69
Portus Itius. E. E. GENNER	70

Reviews:

History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B.C. H. BROWNE	70
Eastern Versions of the Romance of Alexander. FRANK GRANGER	73
Poeti Alessandrini. ADELA MARION ADAM	75
Modern Greek in Asia Minor. W. H. D. ROUSE	77
Postgate's <i>Lucan</i> , Book VIII. W. B. ANDERSON	78
De Ciceronis Libro Consolationis. ALBERT C. CLARKE	82
The Verb 'to be' in Herodotus. W. E. P. PANTIN	83

Short Notices:

<i>The House-Door on the Ancient Stage.</i> HUGH G. EVELYN-WHITE	84
'Died of Wounds.' W. G. W.	84
Obituary:	
Henry Montagu Butler	85
William Walter Merry	85
Mrs. Sellar. J. W. MACKAIL	86
Queries. A. SHEWAN	86
Notes and News:	
Northumberland and Durham Classical Association	87
Correspondence	87
Books Received	88

Nos. 5, 6.

Original Contributions:

Euripides the Idealist. R. B. APPLETON	89
The Birds of Diomedes. D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON	92
Note on the <i>Pervigilium Veneris</i> . J. A. FORT	97
Terentiana. J. S. PHILLIMORE	98
Notes on <i>Aeneid</i> VIII. J. W. MACKAIL	103
Plautus <i>Stichus</i> 1 sqq. W. M. LINDSAY	106

Notes:

Euripides, <i>Troades</i> 226 ff. R. B. APPLETON	110
Callimachus, <i>Epigr.</i> 5. E. J. BROOKS	110
Thucydides VII. 21. 3. M. KEAN	110
'Ακαλανθής Ἀρτεμῖς. ARTHUR SYKES	110
Ausoniana. HUGH G. EVELYN-WHITE	111

Reviews:

R. Accademia Scientifico-Letteraria in Milano. B. P. GRENFELL	112
A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research. T. NICKLIN	114

Reviews—continued:

Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT	117
Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. G. W. BUTTERWORTH	120
Demosthenes as a School Author. W. E. P. PANTIN	122
The Paravia Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum. I. W. M. LINDSAY. II. E. H. ALTON. III. A. C. CLARK. IV. A. G. PESKETT	123
Stampini: <i>Studi di Letteratura e Filologia Latina</i> . S. GASELEE	126
Tertullian's Apology. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE	127
Aeneas at the Site of Rome. J. HUSBAND	129

Short Notices:

<i>The Religious Thought of the Greeks.</i> R. G. BURY	131
<i>Achilles Tatius.</i> M. HESELTINE	132
<i>The Biblical Antiquities of Philo.</i> R. G. BURY	132
School Books. Σ.:	
<i>Latin Prose for Middle Forms</i>	133
<i>The Germania, with Introduction and Notes</i>	133

Short Notices—continued:

	PAGE
<i>Latin Selections illustrating Public Life in the Roman Commonwealth in the Time of Cicero</i> . . .	133
<i>Caesar's Campaign in Britain</i> . . .	134

Notes and News	134
Correspondence	135
Books Received	136

Nos. 7, 8.

Original Contributions:

The <i>Electra</i> of Euripides. J. T. SHEPPARD	137
The Problem of the <i>Antigone</i> : What did Sophocles write? J. J. MURPHY	141
The Homeric Hymns. XI. T. L. AGAR	143
Notes on some Texts in Plato and Marcus Aurelius. R. G. BURY	147
Note on the <i>Symposiacs</i> and some other Dialogues of Plutarch	150
Ovidiana: Notes on the <i>Fasti</i> . III. E. H. ALTON	153
Livy and the Name Augustus. LILY ROSE TAYLOR	158
Latin Poetic Order, with Special Reference to Horace <i>Epodes</i> 5. 19. H. DARNLEY NAYLOR	161
Jests of Plautus, Cicero, and Trimalchio. A. E. HOUSMAN	162
Two Notes on Virgil and Horace. C. A. VINCE	164
'Statius, Poggio, and Politian.' D. A. S.	166

Notes:

ΗΕΡΙΣΚΕΛΗΣ. S. W. GROSE	168
The Military Roads of Agamemnon. A. SHEWAN	169
General Relative Clauses in Greek. A. W. MAIR	169
Thucydides II. 48. 3. A. W. MAIR	170
Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> VIII. 90. E. J. BROOKS	170
Cicero, <i>ad. Att.</i> VIII. 4. M. KEAN	171
Livy XXIV. 26 ¹⁰ . A. G. PESKETT	171

Reviews:

De Plutarcho Scriptore et Philosopho. A. O. PRICKARD	172
Obst's <i>Der Feldzug des Xerxes</i> . J. WELLS	178

Reviews—continued:

Patristic and Biblical Translations. G. W. BUTTERWORTH	180
The New Greek Comedy. A. Y. CAMPBELL	182
T. W. Allen's <i>Odyssey</i> . T. L. AGAR	184
The Greek Anthology. J. U. POWELL	186
Platonism. R. G. BURY	187
Greek Ideals. R. G. BURY	189
Prolegomena to Ausonius. J. S. P.	190
Livy, Book XXIII. W. E. P. PANTIN	191
Select Latin Inscriptions. F. HAVERFIELD	192

Short Notices:

<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i> , XXI. W. H. D. R.	194
<i>Iphigenie in Aulis</i> . W. E. P. PANTIN	194
<i>Lucian's Atticism: the Morphology of the Verb</i> . W. E. P. PANTIN	195
<i>The First Year of Greek</i> . W. E. P. PANTIN	196
<i>Bernini and other Studies in the History of Art</i> . W. H. D. R.	196
<i>The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian. Their Careers, with some Notes on Hadrian's Reforms</i> . J. S. R.	197
<i>Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediaeval Period</i> . H. S. JONES	197
<i>Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language</i> . R. B. APPLETON	198
<i>Patriotic Poetry</i> . R. B. A.	198
<i>Storia della letteratura romana</i> . ALBERT C. CLARK	198

Notes and News	199
Correspondence	199
Books Received	200

INDEX	201
-----------------	-----

The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1918

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

ΠΟΛΥΠΤΟΣ ΜΥΚΗΝΗ.

THE Homeric poems and Schliemann's excavations alike attest the wealth of Mycenae in the age to which the fortress has given its name. If we ask how it acquired this wealth, we have two theories to choose between. Bérard, in *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, i. 11 and 78, suggests that the lords of Mycenae amassed their riches by the taxation of goods in transit past their mountain stronghold. He finds, in fact, in its position an illustration of his Law of the Isthmus,¹ according to which traders in those early days avoided the perils of the promontories of the Aegean, and at the same time shortened journeys by sea, by unloading goods on one side of an isthmus and reloading into ships on the other. The merchants who carried on the trade which he believes existed between the east and the west of the Mediterranean shrank from the dangerous route round the capes in the south of the Peloponnesus, and preferred to land their wares at Nauplia and have them transported by land to Corinth, past Mycenae, which took generous toll of the traffic.

It cannot be doubted that, if there was such a trade and its volume was considerable, there is here a simple and reasonable explanation, in part at least, of the greatness of Mycenae. Dr. Leaf, however, in *Homer and History*, 215 ff., denies the existence in Mycenaean days

of any maritime commerce dependent on the Isthmus of Corinth. He even denies the existence of Corinth itself in those days, and of trade by land of any importance between the Peloponnesus and the north of Greece. Nothing but purely local commerce could have passed Mycenae, and as there was little or none, Mycenae 'derived nothing from the taxation of caravans.' He argues that Agamemnon was king of all Greece, both the continent and the islands, and that Mycenae owed its dominance and resources to its political and military position. He and Bérard are thus in conflict, and it may be useful to inquire if further light can be thrown on the main point, the traffic past Mycenae.

Much depends in this matter on the view that is taken of the political conditions in Greece towards the end of the Mycenaean Age. These have been investigated by Dr. Leaf in the chapter entitled 'The Realm of Agamemnon,' from which I have already quoted, but careful examination of the numerous propositions which he there seeks to establish will, it appears to me, leave the reader unconvinced on practically every point. I venture to think that decisions on the principal questions raised all make for confirmation of Bérard's position.

One of these questions relates to Agamemnon. The view that he was king or emperor of the whole of Greece, including the islands, is difficult of acceptance. I have discussed the question at length in *C.Q.*, xi. 146 ff., and have nothing to add here. Further, I submit, on another cardinal point,

¹ Cf. Murray, *R.G.E.*² 57 f. For criticism of the Law see Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, 24 and 312; on the application of the theory to Boeotia, Mr. Gomme in *B.S.A.* xviii. 189 ff.; and for a modern portage—across the Isthmus of Hierapetra in Crete—Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, 90.

that the delimitation of the realms of Agamemnon and Diomedes given by the 'Cataloguer,' as Dr. Leaf calls the author of the *Boiotia*, is a reasonable one. Dr. Leaf thinks it absurd, and ridicules the picture presented by that late composer, in which we see Agamemnon excluded from Argolis and confined to a strip of wretched country on the Gulf of Corinth, while Diomedes the vassal is given a far superior domain. That is a comparison which requires detailed investigation, but it will clear the ground if, before making it, I notice the new, or practically new, suggestion regarding the non-existence of Corinth and of trade between east and west in Mycenaean times.

Undeterred by Mr. Allen's warning in *J.H.S.* xxx. 297, Dr. Leaf has gone so far as to prophesy that evidence of occupation of the place in Mycenaean days—evidence, that is, not in the shape of 'a few chance sherds' but of 'a real Mycenaean layer'—will never be discovered. But it is just such a layer, to judge from the references in American periodicals to the recent operations of their Archaeological School at Corinth, that has now been found, and it will be for Dr. Leaf to explain away the importance of this new find. Until he has done so, the value of his essay on Agamemnon's realm is very greatly reduced. A perusal of his chapter will show how useful the disappearance of Corinth is for his purpose. If there was no ἀφνειὸς Κόρινθος in Mycenaean days, it is one more nail in the coffin of the Cataloguer, whose whole scheme must be discredited when we find him 'projecting into the past an epithet which belonged only to his own time.' If there was no Corinth 'to act as a magnet,' there would be no land trade with the south, and no opportunities, the sea trade between east and west being rejected, for the king of Mycenae to wax fat on transit dues. If there was no Corinth, Agamemnon's dominion as described by the Cataloguer is, with other disadvantages stated, but a poor thing. If there was no Corinth, it is easy to avoid the conclusion that Agamemnon dominated such trade as passed along the Isthmus or across it. And so on. But all this must be denied

Dr. Leaf for the present, and till he succeeds in banishing from archaeological ken what is described as the 'promising Mycenaean settlement' recently uncovered at Corinth.

Support for the case for the abolition of Mycenaean occupation is also sought from the Homeric text. First, the only passage in the *Iliad* outside the *Catalogue* in which Corinth is named, viz. *Il.* xiii. 660-672, is ruthlessly ejected, and Dr. Leaf hopes, but hopes in vain, I feel sure, that the strictest unitarian will not be shocked if he says 'that the mention of the name shows that this episode is post-Achaean.' That seems to beg the question at issue, and the only other reason given, that the episode is not in 'organic connection' with what precedes or follows, need not be regarded. Secondly, some assistance is claimed from the remark of the ancients, that, when the poet speaks, he calls the city Κόρινθος, while his πρόσωπα 'always' use the name Ἐφύρη. As a matter of fact, Corinth is called Ἐφύρη (twice, as it happens) by one πρόσωπον in the course of one speech, and Κόρινθος once by the poet. That is about as poor a basis for the generalisation as could be imagined, and there is no other help to be got from the text of the poem.

As to trade in Mycenaean days between east and west, that, so far as my search has gone, appears to be generally accepted.¹ Dr. Leaf himself admits (Appendix G to *Homer and History*) that long before the Mycenaean age 'there existed conditions which would explain the occupation of the site of Corinth as an emporium. That is to say, there is evidence of a wide and active commerce between the Aegean basin on the one hand and Sicily and southern Italy on the other.' See Mr. Peet in *B.S.A.* xiii. 405 f. But this trade, we are to understand, ceased, and the emporium of Corinth vanished,

¹ See, for instance, Tsountas and Manatt, 358 f. ('the larger Mycenaean world the clearing-house of culture for all the Mediterranean lands'); Hall, *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, 30, 217 ff., 224 f., and 234 ff., and 283 n.; Busolt, *History of Greece*, i. 51; Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. 208; Schuchhardt, *English Translation*, 96, 122; and Beloch, *History of Greece*, i. 173 f.

in Mycenaean times. That is hardly likely. And no reason for it, in the political and other conditions of the day, is suggested, unless it be that Corinth was in abeyance. But Corinth, it must be maintained for the present, was there all the time. Moreover, even if the trade with Italy and Sicily stopped, there would surely be some from the east with the northern and southern shores of the Gulf, with the Ionian islands outside it, and with the western coast of the Peloponnesus. No other authority, so far as I can discover, has gone so far as to say Corinth had ceased to exist. Some have thought it was of comparatively little importance in the Mycenaean age, but these have now to reckon with the results of American spade-work, and will probably revise their opinions.¹

The little trade with the far west that may have existed was perhaps, Dr. Leaf thinks, carried on by the Phoenicians as intermediaries. But the presence of that people in the Greek sphere at that early date seems to be extremely doubtful. See, for a recent statement on the point, Mr. Wace in the *Companion to Greek Studies*, 33, and *cf.* 518. Busolt, *loc. cit.*, accepts the Phoenicians, while Mr. Hall, *O.C.G.* 234 ff., says all the evidence points to a post-Mycenaean date for their first entry into the Aegean. So Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques*², 199. But, even granting their presence, it remains only a conjecture that the trade between east and west was in their hands.

I now revert to one of the principal matters argued in Dr. Leaf's chapter. Before he can establish the proposition that Agamemnon was king of Greece and the islands, it is necessary to discredit the Cataloguer's distribution of the north-eastern portion of the Peloponnesus between Agamemnon and Diomedes. It is contended that the Cataloguer has produced an egregious

misrepresentation of the real conditions in assigning to Agamemnon only a poor region on the Gulf, 'bare hills and worthless pebble-beaches,' the king's access to which, when coming from the east, is by rounding Malea and sailing up the western coast of the Peloponnesus, as his subordinate Diomedes blocks the simpler approach by the Saronic or the Argolic Gulf.

The truth seems to be that Agamemnon is given a far better territory than Diomedes. To begin with Mycenae itself, nothing requires us to believe that he possessed only the rock and castle and the town at its foot. The mere existence of that town implies that there was, as in historical times, a tract of the cultivable plain attached to it. Agamemnon may in fact have owned—it cannot be proved, but neither can the possibility be denied—the upper part of the Argolic plain, and what that was in those days may be gathered from the often quoted description of Aristotle (*Meteorol.* i. 14). In the days of the *Troica*, he says, it was much superior to the lower, marshy tract on the sea. And there were good springs there, a 'great treasure in the thirsty plain of Argolis' (*Edinb. Rev.* cccxi. 192; *cf.* Bérard, i. 11, *auprès de sources constantes, chose rare en cette contrée aride, dans cette Argolide de la Soif, πολυδίψιον Ἄργος*).² Argos and Tiryns are in the lower part of the plain, and the Cataloguer assigns to Diomedes nothing north of the former.

But then, to digress for a moment, we are to believe that such a division of the plain could not have been, for Professor Meyer has decided that it is 'impossible to cut up the plain region' (or 'the control of the plain'—*das Gebiet der Ebene*) 'in this way' (*op. cit.* ii. 184).³ The Professor's reason is that

¹ I may refer to Hall, *op. cit.*, 290 (*greatness of Corinth exclusively post-Mycenaean*), and *Ancient History of the Near East*, 523 (*so far as we know, not a place of importance*); Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*¹, 189 n. (*Corinth insignificant in Minoan times*); and Meyer, *op. cit.*, ii. 155 (*saga and remains do not indicate that Corinth played any part in the oldest times*).

² Agamemnon's name was connected with irrigation in the well-known expression Ἀγαμέμνονεα φρέατα, and Eustathius (461, 14) says of him, φρεωρυχία φιληδεῖν ἰστέρηται. Perhaps he maintained the artificial water-supply supposed to be implied in the story of Danaos and the Danaids. Ἄργος ἄνδρῶν ἐὼν Δαναὸς ποίησεν ἔνυδρον.

³ Meyer is much too dogmatic, and not a safe guide. I had come to that conclusion, on the number of cases in which I had found his

the Mycenae of the *Urzeit* is 'unthinkable without active connection (*rege Verbindung*) with the sea.' That can be conceded at once. The reply is that Mycenae had such connection at Corinth, as the remains of the roads between the fortress and the emporium show. Dr. Leaf follows Meyer, adding that 'the division which makes Argos a capital town while Mykene is still fortified, and the stronghold of a rival state, is impossible.' Again, 'impossible'! But why? Have two hostile or rival strongholds or cities never maintained themselves in the same plain or river-valley? Such a proposition cannot be accepted. If the Turks had held on to Baghdad, they would have been faced by Basra in hostile hands. But we need not leave Greece. Tegea and Mantinea were in the same plain of the Arcadian tableland, and we know what their history was. Must we not say that Orchomenos and Thebes could not have existed as separate powers in Boeotia? The commonest natural boundaries of states are doubtless rivers and watersheds, but the needs and passions of their populations are constantly leading to changes. In the Argolid of Achaean days we have two fortresses, one on or near the sea and controlling communication by Nauplia, the other at the northern extremity of the plain, just inside the mountains and commanding the passage to the Gulf, and we know that in the tradition and in history alike it was not 'impossible' for them to preserve separate jurisdictions under different rulers.¹ To add, as Meyer does, that the Heraeum shows Argos, Tiryns and Mycenae were under one and the same jurisdiction does not advance matters, unless we are prepared to admit that communities subject to powers independent of each other have

never worshipped at a central shrine of some great godhead.

But to resume. The Cataloguer also gives Agamemnon the fertile valleys in the mountains, especially those of Cleonae and Phlius, the latter specified in the *Catalogue* by 'pleasant Araithyrea': 'Ἀραιθυρέα ἡ νῦν Φλιασία, Eustath. The king has also 'wealthy Corinth' with what Mr. Zimmerman, *op. cit.* 367 n., calls its 'good cornland,' referring no doubt to the plain between it and Sicyon. And he has the whole of the coastland or riviera—*Αἰγίαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα*—from the Isthmus to Elis on the west. But this latter we are asked to believe was worthless—a poor, arid region with a harbourless coast and an intolerable climate. It may be so in these days,² but it can hardly have had these defects three thousand years ago, or the tract between Corinth and Sicyon would never have become proverbial as an example of agricultural richness—*εἴη μοι τὰ μετὰ ξὺν Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυνῶνος*. The defects noted are the inevitable results—conspicuous in parts of India, in modern Greece generally, and in other countries—of the denudation by man and beast of the hills to the south from which the streams descend to the Gulf. We are not to assume that, when these hills were covered with jungle and the streams ran quietly from perennial springs, the plains were ill-watered, or the harbours silted up, as Lechaemum now is, with the copious detritus from bared hillsides. As to climate, Dr. Leaf quotes Phillipson in Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii. 20, as showing that nowadays the winds make the Corinth region intolerable, so bad indeed that, if conditions were the same of old, it is a wonder the site was ever selected or that a city rose to wealth and fame on it. But on the same page Frazer says Diogenes the Cynic 'praised the summer climate of Corinth.' Now it is said to be 'extremely unhealthy in the summer and autumn in consequence of the malaria, for which it is difficult

dicta contested by other authorities, before I read Dr. Mahaffy's letter in the *Times Literary Supplement* of April 13, 1916. Meyer is one of those who believe that Agamemnon was only a Spartan god.

¹ There was a tradition (Eustath. 288, 36) that after Adrastus' death Agamemnon subjugated Argos. If the Cataloguer's opponents accept that story for their own purposes, the impossible division of the plain had evidently been in existence before the conquest.

² Dr. Leaf quotes Neumann-Partsch as to *present day* conditions. That the land in the immediate vicinity of Corinth itself was rough and *οὐκ εὐγεως σφόδρα* in ancient times one can well believe. But it is too much to speak even there of 'the barrenness of the soil.'

to account, as it receives the sea-breezes from either side.' This seems to be all that the article in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* contains as to the climate. There is nothing to indicate that it was very bad in antiquity. Malaria, it may be added, is not an uncommon phenomenon in deserted sites. To sum up, we should require much stronger evidence *from antiquity* to prove that the old conditions were bad. It is not an extravagant suggestion that the present condition of the riviera in question is almost as unlike that in Achæan days, as the state of famine districts in India, where the hills were long ago rendered useless to man and beast, differs from that of forest-clad regions and their vicinity not fifty miles away.

So much for Agamemnon's realm, as given by the Cataloguer, from the point of view of local productiveness. What then of Diomedes? He had the Argolic plain, but probably no more than the central portion between the territory appertaining to the city and fortress of Mycenæ and the marshland on the coast. He also had the Akté, the Argolic peninsula on the east, but that was mountainous. Frickenhaus and Müller have investigated it thoroughly, and in one of their papers (*Klio* x. 390) Müller says it 'lacks plains.' Surely even as regards agriculture one might say Agamemnon's country was not inferior to Diomedes's.

But turn now to commerce. We have first to consider who commanded the Isthmus in Agamemnon's time. According to Dr. Leaf, Agamemnon did, as he was emperor of the whole country, but this important possession was apparently of no use to him, except perhaps as already a 'fetter of Greece.' It is also assumed to have been the starting-point of an imagined 'system' of military roads into northern Greece of which no trace now remains, or remained to classical authors.¹ But for purposes of trade, to which it afterwards acted as a magnet of power, this 'unrivalled geographical position (Hall), this site 'incomparable for trade and

navigation' (Bursian), this ἐμπόριον Ἑλλάδος—but why repeat the praises *bimaris Corinthi*?—was useless, because such commerce as existed was insignificant. To that point I shall return, but meantime what is important for us is to see to whom the Cataloguer gives the Isthmus. He gives it to neither Agamemnon nor Diomedes, for he does not expressly mention it, strange as the omission would be in a writer of the Logographer age who knew Corinth as 'wealthy,' and must have known what gave her her then wealth and importance. Nor does he mention Megara. But when he says that Agamemnon possessed Corinth, and that Corinth was already distinguished for wealth, and by consequence for power, he surely meant that Agamemnon dominated the Isthmus. It is inconceivable that he meant to give that advantage to any other power, with a strong Corinth and its impregnable citadel at one end of it.

Dr. Leaf hardly discusses the point. Mr. Allen in *C.Q.* iii. 89 had expressed the opinion that the Cataloguer 'views the Saronic Gulf generally up to Salamis (and its Peraea) and Athens as the property of the Argolid monarchy,' and Dr. Leaf at once accepts the view that the Cataloguer gives no port on the Saronic Gulf or the Argolic to Agamemnon, who, to get home from Troy, must sail round the Peloponnesus to Sicyon or Corinth. But he did not know, when he wrote, that there was a Mycenaean Corinth, and a Corinth, as may be confidently asserted, in possession of the south-western end of the Isthmus. That being so, it was possible for Agamemnon to reach his home by sailing to and landing at Cenchreae. It is true this place, like the Isthmus itself, is not mentioned in the *Catalogue*, but its non-existence may not be inferred. Many ports are omitted. Nauplia is, and no one will say it did not exist. Athens was occupied, we are assured, for ages before the Mycenaean, and must have had a haven, but is not given one. Nor is Sparta, unless Helos in its marshes does duty for one. So for other places. It will not, I suppose, be denied that the poet, when he composed the *Catalogue* or adapted it to his *Iliad*, had the right to accommodate it, in point of

¹ These will be considered more fully in another paper.

length and detail, to the rest of the poem. As Eustathius says of his omission of an enumeration of the seventy-four Athenian demes, or the most famous of them, οὐκ εἶχε πάντας εἰς μετροποιίαν κατατάξειν. That πολλοὺς σιγηθῆναι τόπους, as the same authority observes, the poet himself shows in respect of Crete, and may be inferred from his description of Elis and other localities. But even if Cenchreae was not in existence as a port with an ἐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον, the haven was always there, 'a bay protected by two promontories on the north and south,' and would certainly be used by the power in possession of that end of the Isthmus. It was connected with Corinth by a road that had 'long walls' provided by nature. As for Agamemnon's return home, on which see the note of Merry and Riddell on *Od.* iv. 514 and Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, 66, the difficulty in interpreting the narrative does not concern us. It is not necessary to believe in a journey round the peninsula. Mr. Allen, it may be added, appears to have reconsidered, in *J.H.S.* xxx. 297, his original view of the matter.

Dr. Leaf's argument suffers from the assumption, for his own purpose, that Mr. Allen has shown that Agamemnon had no ground on the Isthmus, and could not land there, but had to return round Malea, and sarcasm is expended on the Cataloguer's folly in putting the emperor in such a plight in relation to his vassal at Argos. It seems to be assumed, as in the matter of the adaptation of the *Catalogue* to the *Iliad*—'where so good a unitarian as Mr. T. W. Allen leads no unitarian need hesitate to follow'—that any conclusion of Mr. Allen's must be accepted by all those in agreement with him on the question of unity, and that Dr. Leaf may treat them as bound by it. Mr. Allen may be trusted to defend his views with full knowledge and ability, but he certainly will not urge that they are *res judicatae* to any section of Homeric inquirers.

What then resulted to Agamemnon from command of this most important locality, situated, like Crete, on trade routes between north and south and east and west? It was a puzzle to me, when I first read Bérard's book, how

shippers from the east or south-east, bound for the west and anxious to avoid the détour by Malea, should have come to the Argolic Gulf, unloaded at Nauplia, and sent their goods thence on beasts of burden, through a mountainous tract, more than thirty miles to the Gulf of Corinth, instead of coming up the Saronic Gulf to the haven on the Isthmus known to later times as Schoenus, and having the merchandise sent across there, a journey of only three and a half.¹ If Bérard is correct, then Mycenae must, for no other power could, have closed the Isthmus to compel traffic to go to Nauplia and pass the fortress and pay toll. The alternative view is that of traffic across the Isthmus. In either case that locality was, as we must hold on other grounds, within the dominion of Mycenae. I pass the possibility that Mycenae, by virtue of greater power or through arrangement with Argos, had facilities at Nauplia or Epidauros, but certainly from Corinth it commanded the Corinthian Gulf and the trade thence with the west, as well as the land traffic, which I shall deal with presently, between the Peloponnesus and northern Greece.

Here lies the secret of the greatness of Mycenae as exhibited by excavation. Dr. Leaf tells us truly, in *B.S.A.* xviii. 310, that 'if we want to explain by economic facts the greatness of a city, we must fix our minds on the staples of human intercourse—on the wheat and timber, the wine and oil, the hides, wool, linen and hemp, the metal ores, the fabrics, felted or woven, and the slaves, who are the instruments of production.' Agriculture alone could never have given Mycenae her great wealth,

¹ We hear of no *diolkos* in very ancient times. But if the progress of research discloses reason for believing there was one we need not be surprised. The enormous advantage to sea-borne traffic can hardly have been overlooked, and the ships of that early age were small and easily hauled. See the *Odyssey* and Bérard, *passim*. Odysseus himself—all unaided, but δεινὸν τὸ ἥρωϊκόν—ἐδιόλκισε (if I may coin a word) in *Od.* v. 261, on which see the note of Merry and Riddell. I think no one will now use against me the outworn principle that because Homer does not mention a thing he does not know' it.

any more than Ilios, also *πολύχρυσος*, could have got hers from what Bérard calls *les pauvres marécages du Scamandre* (cf. *Troy*, 255). It was on trade that her lords grew opulent. The very existence of such fortified centres of exchange argues a wide trade (*R.G.E.*² 60 f.). So does the gold in which Mycenae abounded, for the authorities tell us this could only have come from Asia, and it is not likely that her kings owned gold mines there. If we bear in mind the facts that Greece was oppressed by what has been termed 'radical poverty,' and that foreign trade was a necessity to her, that Mycenae itself seems to have been the centre of a pottery industry, which was of an extent to be a source of much gain (Bury, *History of Greece*¹, 36; Busolt², i. 112), that she commanded the sea commerce of east and west, and the land traffic between north and south, and that transit dues—Adam Smith's 'duties of passage'—are a common element in the finance of primitive authorities, such as Turkish Beys and Indian Rajas and petty chiefs of the olden time, we cannot doubt that Bérard's theory is correct. It was thus that Sybaris grew wealthy (Zimmern, *op. cit.* 27). Strabo knew that such dues contributed to the riches of Corinth, but the source had been in existence much longer than he had any idea of.

If we now turn to Diomedes's realm, and consider it from the same point of view, we see he had a number of small but good harbours in the Akté besides Nauplia on the Argolic Gulf, and Dr. Leaf refers to roads from those parts to Tiryns, which he conjectures was built to protect trade from these ports in the east, as well as to cover Nauplia. But I have searched for mention of these roads through the mountains of the Akté in vain. There was certainly one from Epidaurus to Tiryns, which was no doubt a line of traffic. Assuming, however, that there were roads from the other ports, what was the traffic from them, and what opportunities had Argos for levying dues on it? She might levy on commerce using her ports, but on how much of it? At full rates, only on trade from the east for her own wants or for the south of the Peloponnesus. On trade between east and west

availing itself of the short cut, whether by Nauplia or the ports of the Akté and Mycenae, she would be entirely dominated by the lord of Mycenae, who could stop that trade altogether to the ports of Argos, if he chose, by refusing transit past Mycenae and opening the Isthmus. Mycenae had the whip hand, and again her superiority, not to mention her levies on the land trade between north and south, is fully apparent.

Altogether it seems clear that the Cataloguer was not guilty of the folly that is imputed to him. He has given the king of men a much finer domain than he has given Diomedes, and the superiority is accurately reflected in the hundred and sixty ships provided for Troy by Agamemnon *πολύναυς*—just double the Argive fleet. The Cataloguer is fully justified, and there is no need for us to resort to the new hypothesis, incapable of proof, that Agamemnon was emperor of Greece.

But trade over a land route between the north and the Peloponnesus has so far only been assumed. It is now necessary to consider it. Dr. Leaf thinks it impossible, for 'the sea would be an overwhelming competitor.' Even the local trade from Arcadia and Sparta 'would naturally be passed on eastwards through Nauplia and perhaps by Epidaurus,' and would not go north to pay transit dues at Mycenae.

The first point is as to the magnitude of this trade, and of this we must judge on what the archaeologists tell us of the prehistory of the Peloponnesus. First, as to Arcadia. Dr. Leaf thinks it was not under the sway of Mycenae, the monarchs of which thought its wild hillmen were best left to themselves. These did not even use civilised weapons.¹ The suggestion is there would be little trade with such a country. But Arcadia is not to be dismissed so lightly. Its people, whatever *προσέληνοι* may mean, were certainly a very ancient community. It sent out colonies to

¹ This on *Il.* vii. 132 ff.—Lykoergos the *κορυνήτης*. The inference from one hero's armature is rash. That he was 'called *κορυνήτης* because he did not use bow or spear' points rather the other way. Will the historian of the future deny civilisation to our friends the enemy because they have used clubs in trench warfare?

Cyprus—not to mention Oinotros and Italy—at least as early as the eleventh century B.C. (Sir A. Evans in *J.H.S.* xxxii. 288), it was ‘penetrated with Minoan ideas’ and had ‘assimilated a form of Minoan worship.’ Mycenaean remains have been found at Tegea, and Mycenaean influence was probably spreading into the country towards the end of the Mycenaean period (Mr. Thompson in *Liverpool Annals*, iv. 132). There were routes to the coast in many directions, including one to Argos, the road from which to Sparta across the Arcadian plains was a much frequented one in later, and we may well believe in early, days. The tableland contained fertile valleys and plains. Orchomenos¹ is πολύμηλος in the *Catalogue*, Mantinea is ἐρατεινή, and for Tegea Eustathius quotes the saying, εὐδαίμων ὁ Κορίνθιος, ἐγὼ δ’ εἶην Τεγεάτης. The dwellers in the low country surrounding Arcadia would provide a market for agricultural staples peculiar to its cooler climate, for its timber and other forest produce, for its sheep and cattle, and for the asses for which it was famous, and which would be an important export for purposes of carriage in Achaean Greece, dependent as it was on mere tracks for inland transport. We do not know that Arcadia provided mercenaries to other powers in those early days as in historical times, but the manning of sixty ships for Agamemnon, according to the *Catalogue*, is in harmony with later practice. It cannot be granted that Arcadia was as foreign to the world around it as Dr. Leaf suggests.

Beyond Arcadia was Laconia, formerly called, like Crete, ἐκατόμπολις. It was certainly a centre of Mycenaean civilisation. In addition to other sites a ‘settlement of some size and importance’ has recently been found near the Menelaion (*B.S.A.* xvi. 11). And then, not to mention the western territory, which could be reached through Arcadia, or Ἀργὸς Ἀχαιϊκὸν οὐθαρ ἀρούρης, which, wherever it may be located, was cer-

tainly in the Peloponnesus, there was Mycenae itself, πολύχρυσος from trade by sea, and a centre of manufacture, as already stated. And there was ‘wealthy Corinth.’ In the north there were, omitting Attica and the western states and naming only the chief northern centres, Orchomenos and Thebes in the πῖερα ἄρουρα of Boeotia, one of the few tracts in Greece equal to the production of a surplus of food available for poorer neighbours. On its then agricultural wealth see Mr. Gomme, *l.c.* 209 f. The richness in legend of both Argos and Thebes implies, as Dr. Leaf observes, a long history, during which trade would surely develop between the two tracts. One cannot, in short, doubt that there would be commercial intercourse inside the Peloponnesus between the Argolid and the states to the south and west, and outside it with northern Greece past Mycenae, with its τελόνιον in the pass through the mountains. The danger to the traffic on the narrow road along the Isthmus is reflected in the legend of Theseus, the Attic Herakles, who clears the countryside of robbers—Sciron, Sinis, Kerkyon and others.

But for the interchange of commodities between north and south, the sea, it is argued, would be an overwhelming competitor. On that point also Dr. Leaf is in conflict with M. Bérard, who seems to be right.² When considering the point, one must forget modern conditions. Dr. Leaf’s illustration, in *B.S.A.* xviii. 308, from railways and steamers and their passengers, when ships almost prehistoric, beasts of burden, and goods are in question, is not a happy one. We must try to realise the conditions in Achaean Greece, helped, if possible, by our knowledge of a tract of a more recent world which may be said to reproduce them. Bérard is right in laying stress on the fear of promontories in those days.³ All ancient

² *Op. cit.* 170, *la voie de mer reste la plus coûteuse et la plus longue.*—The usual reaction has set in against Bérard after the very enthusiastic reception accorded to his great book, and must be allowed to spend itself.

³ It may no doubt be exaggerated. See Professor Myres in *The Geographical Aspects of Greek Colonisation*, 55, on the ‘graces’ that

¹ The Orchomenos of *Od.* xi. 459, mentioned with two other chief towns of the Peloponnesus, may be the Arcadian, and some connection with the Atridae is implied.

literature testifies. But there is another point. From seaport to seaport water carriage might be preferred. But from inland site to inland site much will depend on the distances of these from the coast. The journeys to and from the sea will operate against navigation, especially if there is a dangerous headland to be negotiated and if there is cheap land carriage. A trader sending goods from the middle of Boeotia to Mycenae, Tegea, Sparta or Pylos, would not choose the long sea-route round Sunium to Epidaurus or Nauplia, with two land journeys added, but would take the cheap route overland. And I maintain that it would be cheap, extraordinarily so. The conditions as to cultivation and waste, forest and pasture, water and tracks, which I venture to assume for the Greece of the Pelopidae¹ obtained in the wilder parts of India till comparatively recent times,

made Aegean navigation 'easy' in the fair season. Of course, in a case in which there were alternative routes—as round the Euboean headlands or through the Euripus—the capes would always be avoided.

¹ There is not much on this point to be found in the books. But I do not think that the most liberal estimate of pre-Homeric civilisation will insist that the pressure of population had caused an absorption of cultivable land to such an extent that pasture and forest were not still abundant. Reference may be made on the subject of cultivation generally to Pöhlmann, *Die Feldgemeinschaft bei Homer*; Günther, *Der Ackerbau bei Homer*; Ridgeway in *J.H.S.* vi. 319 ff.; and the handbooks of Buchholz and Seymour. But they contain little that is useful for present purposes.

indeed within my own experience in the west. The carrying trade in such parts was in the hands of Vanjāris ('Forest-traversers') and other gipsy tribes, who owned large numbers of bullocks, buffaloes, ponies and asses. The cost of upkeep was practically nil, for one man sufficed to look after many animals, and feeding cost nothing or very little, as pasture in forest or other uncultivated ground was everywhere available, and it was free. And transit duties, levied by every blackmailer who had the opportunity, did not stop this traffic. For one thing, payment of such mail always ensured a certain amount of protection, and, for another, the levying cateran was careful not to kill trade by excessive demands on it. The 'fire-carriage' and the 'fire-ship' have killed or are killing it now, but anyone who has known intimately a bit of old India, and there are such bits still, or were forty years ago, is helped to understand, what puzzles so many, the existence of great trade-routes across Europe in prehistoric times, when conditions prevailed which at first sight would seem to render the safe transport of property impossible.

To sum up, the possession of Mycenae and Corinth, both of which the Cataloguer assigns to Agamemnon, gave that potentate command of two great trade-routes, and explains most satisfactorily his richness in gold.

A. SHEWAN.

St. Andrews.

THE 'MOLE' IN ANTIQUITY.

THERE has been much discussion as to what *ἀσπάλαξ*, *σπάλαξ*, etc., mean in the various passages where these names occur. The early commentators—and with them Camus and Strack—were content to take them as meaning the common mole; and the question then often arose whether Aristotle and the rest were right in saying that the mole was blind. This difficulty was apparently disposed of when Paolo Savi showed (as had been alleged before) that the Tuscan moles (*T. caeca*) differed from ours in several minute characters,

and in particular that they were totally blind, with their eyes completely covered by skin ('Sopra la talpa cieca degli Antichi,' *Memorie scientif.*, Pisa, 1828, p. 29; the two species are beautifully figured by Prince C. L. Bonaparte in his *Iconografia d. Fauna Italica*, 1832-41). Savi's opinion that the classical allusions refer to *T. caeca* soon commended itself both to naturalists and to the commentators. Bell adopted it in his *British Quadrupeds* (2nd ed., 1874, p. 138); as Blasius had done in his *Säugethiere Deutschlands* (1857, p. 114):

'Es erleidet keinen Zweifel dass Aristoteles ihn unter dem Namen Aspalax erwähnt.' Karsch, and Sundevall (*Thierarten des Aristoteles*, p. 58), took the same view without hesitation. After all there is but little difference between the two species, save in matters of degree. It has been asserted that even in *T. caeca* the tiny eyes are at least sometimes visible; and some naturalists even deny that it is anything more than a local race or variety of the common mole (Camerano, *Zool. Anzeiger*, viii., 1888, p. 295; *Mem. R. Accad. Sci. Torino* [2], xxxvii., 1886, p. 445).

But there is another and a very different animal which has also been identified with ἀσπάλαξ, though on hitherto insufficient grounds—the little blind-rat, *Spalax typhlus*. This is a little burrowing rodent, somewhat larger than a mole and looking like a small marmot, widely distributed from Poland to Northern Africa, and occurring in Greece and Asia Minor though not in Italy. It is totally blind, and it burrows and makes 'runs' just as a mole does, frequenting fertile and cultivated soils. But it differs from the mole in one striking feature: it is a vegetarian, living on roots and especially bulbous roots, whereas the moles live on a diet of insects and worms, principally the latter. By this simple criterion we learn that, in Theophrastus at least, the blind-rat is meant for certain. Speaking (*H.P.* vii., 11, 3) of the sweet roots of φάσγανον, the corn-flag (*Gladiolus segetum*), he tells us that πολλὰς δὲ εὐρίσκουσιν ἐν ταῖς σκαλοπιαῖς· χαίρει γὰρ καὶ συλλέγει τὸ ζῶον.

We have not a great deal of information about the habits of this animal;¹ but we shall find enough for our purpose, and very much to the point, in a paper by Dr. John Anderson (*Proc. Zool. Soc.*, 1892, p. 472) on its occurrence in Egypt. An Arab pointed out to him its burrows and little hillocks by the side of a barley-field, in a meadow

abounding in asphodels and hyacinths. They began to excavate the labyrinth of runs, and 'in following one of them to the depth just mentioned (eighteen inches) we came upon a domical chamber full of bulbs:² . . . they reached the number of sixty-eight. Adjoining this chamber was another, quite empty, which the Arabs said was the sleeping apartment,' etc. There need, I think, be no doubt whatever that Theophrastus was speaking of this very animal, even in spite of the fact that some old texts give a different (and now discredited) reading. (Gaza, for instance, rendered the passage 'permultas juxta eam scolopendras reperunt'; but Gesner, according to J. G. Schneider, detected the error, and proposed to read παρὰ ταῖς σκαλοπιαῖς, 'circa terrae cumulos a talpa excitatos': which rendering Schneider in his turn altered to 'cubilia talparum subterranea.') Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. p. 1023) quotes Syriac and Arabic writers to precisely the same effect: e.g., a certain '*Agricultura Persica* apud Abembitarem,'—'Alchold, animal caecum sub terra arborum radices comedens, quodque cepae et porri odore ita delectatur ut eo allectum exeat a latibulo suo'—where *Alchold* is the Hebrew *choled*, the 'mole' of Levit. xi. 19, 30. (May the same Semitic word perhaps lurk in the Hesychian λωτ· ἀσπάλαξ?) The Egyptian σπάλαξ of Horapollo (ii. 63) can have been no other than this same creature; and Otto Keller tells us that it appears, among other *Egyptian* animals, on a Pompeian fresco in the Naples Museum.

The question then remains whether this animal, so clearly designated by Theophrastus, was also indicated by the other ancient writers. As for Aristotle, O. Keller (*Ant. Thierwelt*, i. p. 23) is very clear to the contrary: 'Dass A. selbst unter ἀσπάλαξ den Syrischen Blindmoll verstanden habe, wie man schon gemeint hat, ist durchaus unwahrscheinlich.' On the other hand, both

¹ Cf. Rzacynski, *Auctuarium Hist. Nat. Poloniae*, 1745, p. 326; Gùldenstädt, in *Nov. Comm. Ac. Sci. Petrop.*, xiv. 1770, pp. 409-440; Pallas, *Zoographia Rosso-asiatica*, i. p. 159, 1811; and especially G. A. Olivier, *Voy. dans l'Empire Othoman*, etc., iv. pp. 198-209, An 12 (1793-94).

² Cf. Olivier, p. 208; 'Il est très friand . . . d'un colchique à fleurs blanches, très-nombreuses, qui fleurit au premier printemps . . . Il se nourrit également de la racine de presque tous les végétaux qui croissent spontanément ou qui sont cultivés dans les lieux où il est établi.'

Schneider and also Aubert and Wimmer lean to the view that the Aristotelian ἀσπάλαξ was the blind-rat. Aubert and Wimmer do so on the ground that, while nothing was known to them of true moles in Greece (save only that Bory de St. Vincent had seen 'mole-hills' of some sort or other in the Morea), Erhard (*Fauna d. Cycladen*, p. 21) had found *Spalax typhlus* (τυφλοποντικός) in the Cyclades, and Wagner (Schreber's *Säugethiere*, *Suppl.* iii. p. 362) reported it from Greece itself.¹ Heldreich (*F. de la Grèce*, 1878), who identifies ἀσπάλαξ with *Talpa caeca*, declares that this animal (also called τυφλοποντικός) does occur in Greece, though not abundantly, at least in Attica; but Heldreich is not always to be depended on, and Mr. Oldfield Thomas (of the British Museum) tells me (while this paper is passing through the press) that 'we have no evidence that moles occur in Greece,' and that he does not 'believe they are found anywhere in the Balkan peninsula.' At best, however, the geographical evidence does not carry us very far, considering how little the Greek fauna has been explored, and considering also the fact that the older naturalists—Aristotle, Theophrastus, and the rest—dealt with a much wider range of country than continental Greece.

Schneider (*in Arist. H.A.*, vol. iii. p. 234) arrives at the same result as Aubert and Wimmer by a very different argument, drawn from Suidas *s.v.* ἀσπάλαξ: . . . ἔχει γὰρ ὀδόντας μιαιωτάτους, καὶ ῥύγχος ὥσπερ γαλῆς, καὶ πόδας ὡς ἄρκτου. He holds that the epithet μιαιώτατος could not apply to the minute teeth of the mole: 'Igitur merito genus aliud intelligi suspicari oportebat, quod in Syria demum repertum descripsit Gallus Olivier [*i.e.* *Spalax typhlus*] in Itinerario et cum Aristotelico comparavit nomine graeco appellatum.' Schneider's argument and conclusion were probably sound enough, for, vague though the epithet may be,

yet μιαιώτατος might be applied not inaptly to the long incisor teeth of the little rodent, which inflict severe wounds, and of which I find, in Beddard's *Mammals* (p. 482), 'the lower incisors are more developed [even] than in other rodents.' Neither Aubert and Wimmer, nor Schneider, nor yet Otto Keller, say a word about the really important and crucial point, the vegetarian, bulb-collecting habits of the blind-rat, as opposed to the mole's diet of worms.

The teeth are briefly referred to by Aristotle, *e.g.* *H.A.* iv. 8, 533a 15, where he says that πόροι lead past the orbits, τελευτώντες εἰς τοὺς ἄνω χαυλιόδοντας;² with which passage *cf.* *Ael.* xi. 37, χαυλιόδοντα δέ, τὰ ὑποφαίνοντα ἔξω τοῦ ὀδόντας, ὅς ὁ ἄγριος, σπάλαξ. Here Schneider (*ad loc. Ael.*) says, '*Talpam* habet etiam versio latina. Mihi vero novum atque inauditum accidit talpam respectu dentium exsertorum cum apro comparari. Videndum an olim λάταξ lectum fuerit.' But Schneider had not heard of *Spalax* when he edited his *Aelian* in 1784. Blasius (*op. cit.* p. 402) would seem to have been influenced by the same argument, when he says that in this passage 'Aristoteles hat die Blindmaus mit dem Namen Aspalax bezeichnet.'

Again, while Aristotle's general statement that the mole has eyes (*de. An.* iii. 1, 425a 11, φαίνεται γὰρ καὶ ἡ σπάλαξ ὑπὸ τὸ δέρμα ἔχουσα ὀφθαλμούς, with which *cf.* *Plin. H.N.* xi. 32, *Galen* iv. 160 K) might refer to either animal, his more elaborate description of the subcutaneous eyes in *H.A.* iv. 8, 533a, cannot well apply to the tiny bead-like eyes of the mole, but may very possibly turn out to be an intelligible description of the somewhat larger eyes of *Spalax*.

There is one remarkable passage in the *De Mirab.* 176, 847b 3, ἐν Αἰτωλοῖς φασὶν ὁρᾶν τοὺς ἀσπάλακας ἀμυδρῶς, καὶ οὐδὲ σιτεῖσθαι γῆν ἀλλ' ἀκρίδας. Here the allusion to a diet of insects

¹ Mr. Oldfield Thomas tells me that specimens have been sent home lately, by officers of the R.A.M.C., from Salonika. Recent writers distinguish many species of *Spalax*, two of which are recorded from Greece (*cf. B.M. Cat. of Mammals of W. Europe*, 1912, pp. 887, 1000).

² These πόροι were doubtless the large nerves passing through the sub-orbital foramina, on their way to the muzzle. My note *ad loc.* in the Oxford translation of *H.A.* is wrong; for χαυλιόδοντες are not necessarily 'eye-teeth', but may quite well apply to the tusk-like incisors of *Spalax*.

might suggest that the mole itself was referred to, and was for once distinguished from the ordinary and better known *ἀσπάλαξ*; but description and text are alike unsatisfactory. As for the Boeotian 'moles,' whose skins came to the Athenian market (Ar. *Ach.* 887, Schol. Antig. 11, cf. also Plin. viii. 226), there is nothing in the story to tell us to which species they belonged. The curious account in *H.A.* viii. 28, 605b, and elsewhere of the haunts of the Boeotian moles, may not improbably be accounted for by the known predilections of *Spalax* (cf. Olivier, p. 208, 'Il évite toujours les endroits pierreux, et ceux qui peuvent facilement être inondés.') Lastly, it may be that Seneca (*Q.N.* iii. 16, 5) associates and distinguishes the two animals, 'pleraque ex his caeca, ut *talpae* et *subterranei mures*, quibus deest lumen, quia super-vacuum est.'

The vegetarian diet is alluded to, and therefore the blind-rat is clearly meant, in Opp. *Cyn.* ii. 612, οὐ μὲν θῆν οὐδ' ἀσπαλάκων αὐτόχθονα φύλα | ποιοφάγων, ἀλαῶν, μέλπειν ἐθέλουσιν αἰοδαί; and also in the fragment of Stesimbrotus (sometimes ascribed to Stesichorus) in Suidas, ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς τυφλωθῆναι, διὰ τὸ φθεῖρειν τοὺς κάρπους. The legend is expanded by Oppian (*l.c.*), ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς Φαέθων χόλον εὔνασεν, ἀλλὰ μὲν αἶψα | ἀσπαλάκων ποίησε γένος μὴ πρόσθεν ὄντων | τούνεκα νῦν ἀλαῶν τε μένει καὶ λάβρον ἐδωδαίς; and a remark of Seyffarth's, quoted in Leemann's *Horapollo*, would suggest that the myth had an Egyptian origin.

There are plenty other references to the destructiveness of *talpae*, or *ἀσπάλακες*. They eat chestnuts, according to Columella (iv. 33); roots according to Timotheus (40); and were destructive to *cardueta*, i.e. fields of artichokes, according to Palladius (iv. 9, 4). Cf. also Simocatta, in *Epistolis* (cit. Bochart), τί δῆτα περὶ τῶν ἀσπαλάκων λέξαιμι; φοβερὸν γὰρ τῷ γεωργῷ τὸ κακόν, καὶ δυσανταγώνιστον τὸ πολέμιον. also Hieron. in *Isai.* 2, 19, 'Talpa est

animal absque oculis, quod semper terram fodit et humum egerit, et radices subter comedens frugibus noxium est.' In the Talmud it is regarded as so destructive that it may be killed even on days of festival (Lewysohn, *Zool. d. Talmud*, 1858, p. 102). Indeed, one is even tempted to wonder whether the lasting persecution of the mole (which robs us of nothing) may be due all the while to the evil reputation of the predaceous, root-devouring animal with which it was anciently confused.

The mole's dwelling is mentioned by Aristotle (*H.A.* i, 9, 488a 21); and here again the brief reference might apply to either animal, for the mole makes an underground nest for its young. But the mole's nest is an obscure and imperfect structure compared with the elaborate domicile of the blind-rat: it is only a little hollow, with a few leaves and straws for a bed. Was Virgil describing in the *Georgics* (i. 83) what he had himself seen of the Italian moles, 'aut oculis capti fodere cubilia talpae,' or was he handing on an older story of the more elaborate *cubilia* of the blind-rat?

A final word as to the name *ἀσπάλαξ* and its origin. We may safely take it that *ἀσπάλαξ*, *σπάλαξ*, *σφάλαξ*, *σκάλοψ*, are all the same word, and mean the same thing; and it is at least probable that *ἀσπάλαξ* or *σπάλαξ* was not only the commoner but also the older form (cf. e.g. *Et. M.* σκάλοψ, ὁ σπάλαξ λέγεται παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς, ὡς λέγει Νικοκλῆς; cf. also Schol. Ar. *Ach.*, σκάλοπας· μύας τινὰς, ὡς φάμεν σπάλακας). But the old derivation, σκάλοψ, ἀπὸ τῷ σκάλλειν, ἢ σκαλεῖν, a *fodiendo*, is more than doubtful, though it is upheld both by Curtius and by Corssen. I suggest that the root (quasi *slapax*) lies in the Russian слѣпои (*slyep-oie*), blind; and as a matter of fact, according to Pallas and others, the Russian name of the animal is *slapaz* (*slapétz*, or *slyepétz*), literally the 'blind man.'

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

OVIDIANA: NOTES ON THE *FASTI*.

I.

I. 181-227.

JANUS appears to Ovid, who is at first frightened (97, 98), but the god reassures him and proceeds to explain his nature, office, and the meaning of his double face (101-144). The poet plucks up courage and begins to interrogate the deity:

147 *sumpsi animum gratesque deo non terri-*
tus egi

148 *verbaque sum spectans pauca locu-*
tus humum.

The first question Ovid asks is 'why does the year begin with January, and not, as might be expected, with Spring?' As our text stands, this first question occupies twelve lines (149-160); Ovid's remaining eight questions are each expressed in a distich or less. This anomaly is accentuated when we compare the *verba pauca* of 148 with the words which follow Janus' answer.

161 *quaesieram multis. non multis ille*
moratus

162 *contulit in versus sic sua verba duo.*

Editors have tried to emend *pauca*; Merkel reads *pacta*, Riese suggests *tarda* or *larga*. Algermissen proposes *plura*, which is approved by Ehwald, and read by Davies.

But the difficulty is not confined to these two lines (148, 161). After the sixth question and answer, Ovid says:

227 *finierat monitus. placidis ita rursus ut*
ante

228 *clavigerum verbis adloquor ipse deum.*

The incongruity of the poet addressing *placida verba* to Janus will strike most readers. According to the Heinsian apparatus five inferior MSS. read *monitis*, punctuating after *placidis*. Hoffmann punctuates after *finierat*, taking *monitus* as a participle. This is apparently the first hand of *Cod. Harl.* 2737. But *verbis* is so placed as to make the construction *monitus placidis verbis* intolerably harsh. The noun is appropriate (cf. III. 167), and we have an almost decisive parallel—

Finierat monitus. dictis tamen ille repug-
nat (Met. II. 103).

Baehrens proposed to read *properis*, and in his last two editions Peter reads *pavidis* (so Cornali). I confess that the picture of Ovid ejaculating his queries amid recurrent (*rursus ut ante*) spasms of terror appears to me extremely ludicrous. Wünsch (*Rhein. Mus.* LXVI., 1901, pp. 395, 396) suggested that lines 151-160 were added by Ovid when he was revising the first book just before his death, and that originally the first question consisted of the two lines

149 *dic age frigoribus quare novus incipit*
annus

qui melius per ver incipiendus erat?

Consequently Wünsch holds that Ovid in his first draft wrote *quaesieram paucis* in 161; when he revised the poem and added 151-160 (modelled on III. 235-242), he changed *paucis* to *multis*, but overlooked *pauca* in 148. Before I read Wünsch's article, I had come to the conclusion that we should read *paucis* in 161. I had started with the puzzling *placidis* in 227, and was looking for the reference (*rursus ut ante*), and it seemed to me that it could only refer to the 148 (*verba pauca locutus*) and to 161 which must be changed to *paucis*, and the same word was required to give point to 227. In the first draft, therefore, Ovid wrote:

148 *verbaque sum spectans pauca locutus*
humum

161 *quaesieram paucis.*

227 *finierat monitus. paucis ita rursus, ut*
ante,
clavigerum verbis adloquor ipse deum.

I do not think, however, that it was Ovid who altered *paucis* in 161 to *multis*, and he certainly did not make the clumsy substitution *placidis* for *paucis* in 227.¹ Such bungles belong to

¹ *Placida verba* would imply that Janus was enraged, but he has shown throughout a benevolent demeanour—perfect 'placidity,' in fact. The interpolator was guided by *Met.* I. 390 'placidis Epimethida dictis | mulcet,' cf. IV. 652. The interpolator of the *Cod. Maz.* in *Fast.* I. 121 was helped by these lines and possibly by *Met.* XV. 657 ('placido tales emittere pectore voces'): as a result we get *pacem placidis emittere dictis*.

the school of 'Legi meum et prout potui sine magistro emendans enotavi.' One is tempted to see a reminiscence of the true reading of 227 in *desierat paucis* of the *Cod. Maz.*, line 183.¹

II. 193-243.

I do not propose to discuss all the difficulties in Ovid's account of the Fabii and the Cremera. I wish to question a reading, which has been generally accepted, of line 201.

In Peter's latest edition we have:

201 Carmentis portae dextro² est via proxima iano:
ire per hanc noli, quisquis es: omen habet.
illa fama refert Fabios exisse trecentos.
(porta vacat culpa, sed tamen omen habet.)
ut celeri passu Cremeram tetigere rapacem
(turbidus hibernis ille fluebat aquis),
castra loco ponunt, dstrictis ensibus ipsi
Tyrrenum valido Marte per agmen eunt.

The *Porta Carmentalis* was south of the Capitol; one passed through it from the *forum boarium* to the *forum holitorium*. Close by was the *fanum* (Solinus I. 13) and an altar of the goddess (Dionys. I. 32; cf. Serv. *Aen.* VIII. 337). The Fabii left the city by this gate: 'infelici via, dextro iano portae Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt' (Liv. II. 49, 8). The senate that sanctioned the expedition met in the temple of Janus just outside the gate: 'religioni est quibusdam porta Carmentali egredi; et in aede Iani, quæ est extra eam, senatum haberi; quod ea egressi sex et trecenti Fabii apud Cremeram omnes interfecti sunt, cum in aede Iani senatus consultum factum esset, uti proficiscerentur' (Fest. 285). Hence the

gate was named *porta scelerata* (Fest. 335, Serv. *l.c.*, Liv. *l.c.*).

For centuries editors have dwelt on Ovid's indebtedness to Livy.³ There are not a few dissertations and articles on this theme, and so many instances apparently have been collected that at times Ovid seems nothing more than Livy in verse. But the writers have gone too far; Ovid obtained material from Livy, but there are many others to whom he was indebted, especially Verrius,⁴ whose remarks on the *porta Carmentalis* are probably preserved by Festus (*l.c.*).

To the ordinary reader

Carmentis portae dextro est via proxima iano

will seem a very clumsy sentence; he may even be inclined to doubt the Latin; he may go as far as to say that Ovid did not write these words. Compelled to translate, he will say that the meaning is—'the nearest way is through the right arch of the Gate of Carmentis.' Nearest to what? The answer is at first sight—'to the Cremera.' This answer until recently passed muster. But topographers have shown that it is absurd, and we have no reason to assume that Ovid knew as little about the environs of Rome as he knew about the stars. 'Hoc dicimus, Livii Ovidiique consensu standum esse,' says Vahlen (*Ind. lect. Berol.*, 1893, p. 11), and he proceeds to instruct the ordinary reader in the correct translation—'If you (*i.e.* Ovid's reader) find that your shortest way (when your destination, whatever it is, lies outside the city) is through the right arch of the Gate of Carmentis, avoid that route; it is unlucky.' Vahlen quotes a number of what he conceives to be similar cases of conditional propositions; I give two as typical:

¹ A recent examination of the *cod. Mazarianus* inclines me to believe that it is a direct copy of a MS. of which a portion survives—the *fragm. Ifeldense*, see Merkel. p. cclxxiii. The *Zulichemianus* may be a collation of the same MS., which Merkel assigns to the twelfth century.

² *dextro* is found in Zmfss; 'it is established beyond possibility of doubt by Becker, *R.A.*, p. 138' (Peter, *app.*, p. 28). It is approved by Heinsius, Ehwald, Vahlen, and many others.

³ On Ovid's debt to Livy, see Neapolis, Heinsius, and early editors; also K. Schenkl, *Ztscht. f. öster. Gymn.* XI. (1860), pp. 401 f., E. Sofer, *Livius als Quelle von Ovids Fasten*, Wien, 1906.

⁴ See H. Winther, 'de Fastis Verrii ab Ovidio adhibitis, Berol.', 1885. Winther's view that Verrius is the only source of Ovid's information is, of course, quite untenable, as Ehwald (*Jahresb.*, XLIII. p. 172) and Wissowa (*Anal. Rom. Top.*, Munich, 1904, p. 271) show.

Fast. II. 433

orta dies fuerit: tu desine credere ventis.
 321 florebant oleae: venti nocuere protervi:
 florebant segetes: grandine laesa Ceres:
 in spe vitis erat: caelum nigrescit ab
 austris.

These examples have satisfied Vahlen (and Peter and others) that *est via* in 201 is equivalent to *si tibi fuerit via*. I am perhaps too exacting; I am still of opinion that if Ovid meant what Vahlen says he meant, he could have written *fuerit via* (almost certainly adding *tibi*), but he would not have written *est via*. *Est via* is no more conditional in the present passage than it is in line 679.¹ And look at the next line (202). If all the emphasis is on *dextro iano*, how are we to explain '*ire per hanc noli*'? The in-expert translator expects '*per hunc*'² Let Vahlen speak—'*neque enim est quod per hunc legamus ut pronomen ad ianum referatur sed per hanc interpretamur scilicet eam quae dextro iano ducat, quemadmodum alibi loquitur Ovidius,*' 6, 604 '*ibat per medias alta feroxque vias: omen autem habere nihil interest utrum ire dicatur an via.*' Translation and explanation leave me cold. I hold that the way through the *porta Carmentalis* (take either the right or the left arch—the difference could not be more than a few feet) is not the shortest way to the Cremera nor to Vahlen's Nowhere and Anywhere; and I have a prejudice against any translation which divorces *proxima* from *iano*, to which it is married in the sight of Common Sense.

¹ Of course, a fact is sometimes presented as a condition, e.g., *Rem.* 567, 568, '*est tibi rure bono generosae fertilis uvae | vinea: ne nascens usta sit uva time.*' But in such cases the real condition, qualified by the expressed fact, is understood. In the *Rem.* it would be '*si tu, cui est vinea, non vis amare.*' If we accept Vahlen's view of the passage in the *Fasti*, the context does not provide the general condition ('*si vis loca ominosa vitare*'). The hypothetical proposition is sprung on us without any warning, and the abruptness is accentuated by the categorical form and the omission of the logical subject, for which we have to wait till we reach '*quisquis es.*'

² Even Ehwald feels the difficulty; he proposed formerly to read '*per hunc*' (*Jahresb.* XLIII., p. 171). Is not *proxima*, moreover, a curious way of describing a road passing through an arch?

As an alternative we might fall back on the old reading

Carmentis portae dextra est via proxima Iano.

This version has a respectable history,³ but 'the right way of the Gate of Carmentis is nearest to (the temple of) Janus' seems to postulate a *via scelerata* not a *porta scelerata*. The order of the words, moreover, and the construction are not above suspicion. Let us turn to our oldest MS. (R). It gives

Carmenti porte est dix ut proxima iano.

Apparently nonsense; but the key to the riddle is to be found in the trick which the copyist had of substituting the familiar for the new or illegible in similar word-groups. In I. 447 he had to transcribe from his crabbed original, which was full of abbreviations,

nam dis ut proxima quaeque.

In the present passage he had before him

Carmenti porta est dux via proxima iano.

Any copyist might give us *dix* for *dux* (= *duxit*); we have Plautus, *Cist.* 177 '*dux J: dix E: for duxit.*'⁴ And *ut* for *via* is not impossible. I believe, however, that it was the word-group in I. 447 which determined the character of the blunder here. But Ovid did not write '*Carmenti porta est: duxit via proxima Iano.*' What Ovid wrote was

Carmentis porta duxit via proxima Iano.

'Through the Gate of Carmentis their way led them close by the temple of Janus.' Ovid's version of the story is that which is given by Festus (*l.c.*). *porta* for *per portam* is Ovidian, cf. II. 785, IV. 345, VI. 577, *Met.* X. 13, and elsewhere. It is to an early corrector that we owe *Carmenti porta est*. There are several ways in which this change might be made. We have many examples in the *Fasti*; a notorious case is I. 245, where R has *ara mea*

³ *Dextra est* is the reading of V and the majority of the MSS. It is in such early editions as I have seen, and is retained by Merkel, Riese, Paley, Hallam; see Winther, *op. cit.* pp. 50 f. Jordan (*Top.* I. 1, 239, footnote) suggests that *dextro iano* in Livy, *l.c.*, means 'with the temple of Janus on their right'; cf. Hermes, IV., p. 234.

⁴ See Havet, *Man. de C. V.*, p. 180.

*est colli for arx mea collis erat.*¹ That this temple of Janus did not exist in the time of the Fabii² is no objection to the view that *iano* here=*templo Iani* (so *glossat. cod. berol.*). Ovid was not likely to be better informed than Verrius. That the temple of Janus was meant, not the arch, is rendered almost certain, firstly, by Ovid's practice of determining the sites of temples by their contiguity to the gates (IV. 871, VI. 192, *Rem.* 549, cf. *Fast.* V. 673); secondly, by the fact that Augustus had undertaken the restoration of this temple.³ In his first draft of the *Fasti*, it was to Augustus that Ovid paid all his attention. The poem was the incense offered to avert the wrath to come:

saepe Iovem vidi, cum iam sua mittere vellet
fulmina, ture dato sustinuisse manum.

If we must at all costs satisfy the Lividians, in the historian's account of the Cremera occurs—'*duxit via in editum leniter collem.*' Without wishing to commit myself unreservedly to a 'consensus Propertii Ovidique,' I shall venture to cite *El.* II. 1, 75:

si te forte meo ducet via proxima busto
esseda caelatis siste Britannia iugis.⁴

¹ The distich perhaps was

'*arx mea collis erat, quem cultum nomine
nostrum
nuncupat haec aetas Ianiculumque
vocat.*'

Quem vulgus codd. The hill was in olden days the *arx Iani*, over against the *arx Saturni* (cf. *Aen.* VIII. 357): in Ovid's day it was called the *collis nomine Iani cultus*, i.e. the *Iani-culum*. *vulgus* is a gloss on *haec aetas*. If Heinsius is right in his view that *Carmens* was an adjective=*Carmen-talis* (see his note on IV. 875), we could read *Carmentis porta duxit* v. p. 1. But I cannot find any support for *Carmens*.

² Mommsen suggested that the *porta Ianualis* (=Ianus Geminus of the *forum Romanum*) of the original legend was confounded with the *dexter ianus* of the *porta Carmentalis*, see Jordan, l.c.

³ It is to this temple that Ovid refers in I. 223-226. It was the only real Temple of Janus in Rome. It had originally been vowed by Duilius at Mylae: Augustus had undertaken its restoration, and the new foundation was dedicated by Tiberius in 17 A.D. See Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, p. 106; Jordan, *Top.* I. 1, p. 347; Jordan-Huelsen, I. 3, p. 508; Richter, *Top.*, p. 194.

⁴ For Ovid's echoes of Propertius, see Zingerle, *Ovidius u. sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern u. gleichzeitigen röm. Dichtern*, Pt. I., Innsbruck, 1869. Of course Ovid

II. 472.

Ovid is telling the story of the Fishes. Dione, flying from Typhon, sprang with Cupid in her arms, into the Euphrates. The Fishes rescued the goddess and her son—*pisces subiere gemelli*. The next line is dark, and we have a multitude of counsellors, viz.:

A. pro quo nunc cernis sidera nomen habent (habet R) *RVM. et codd. plurimi*: so many early editors (Aldines, Bersmann, and others): so Peter third and fourth editions.

B. pro quo nunc dignum sidera munus habent BCm, et alii *nomn.*: so Modius' lost Cologne MS.: so the texts of N. Heinsius, Cnipping, Burman, and others.

b. pro quo nunc dignum sidera nomen habent aliquot *codd. interpolati*.

C. pro quo quae cernis sidera nomen habent 'Nauger., Petav., Zulich., et tres alii' (Heins.)⁵ so in the edition of Rubeus and the Gryphian.

(a.) pro quo nunc, cernis, sidera munus habent—J. F. Gronovius, followed by Gierig, Lemaire, and others.

(β.) pro quo nunc cerni sidera munus habent—an emendation of Heinsius, which has been accepted by Merkel, Riese, Paley, Hallam, Davies, and others.

We are inclined to exclaim in Ovid's words:

'sic, quia posse datur diversos reddere versus
qua ferar, ignoro, copiaque ipsa nocet.'

Like Dione we are beginning to drown, but here are two fishes—I hope that they are not merely straws—to help us: (1) In similar 'catasterismi' Ovid seems to describe an *actual* change, the

derived much profit from Propertius, especially from the Roman elegies; see Schanz, p. 147, Peter, *Introd.*, p. 14.

I have confined myself in the foregoing note to the discussion of line 201. I must, however, add that I share the views of those (against whom Vahlen fulminated) who regard lines 203, 204 as spurious. The distich is omitted by R and the first hand of V. The interpolator versified what were, perhaps, in his MS. only explanatory glosses.

⁵ By the *Cod.* (or *Codd.*) *Nauger.* Heinsius meant just the text of the third Aldine edition (1533). Heinsius seems to have forgotten that the editor was Fasitellius, not Navagero. Merkel (*praef.* p. ccxci) is misleading). In two cases (here and V. 701) Heinsius' reference to Naugerius is appropriate, for the reading is taken from the list of 'variae lectiones' given by Navagero in the second volume of the 1516 Aldine, a list which Fasitellius copied incorrectly in the third volume of the 1533 edition, though he paid little or no attention to these readings in choosing his text. 'Petav.' is a slip for 'Petavianus alter,' as Heinsius' MSS. notes (in Merkel) show.

earthly body becomes an astral body, the metamorphosis is an 'apasterosis.' (2) Krüger¹ seems right in insisting that the weight of testimony is in favour of *nomen habent*. It is the reading of the best MSS., and it is the 'lectio difficilior.'

Examine B first. It is, if translated 'they (i.e. the Fishes) have (or occupy) the stars as a well-earned reward,' in itself unobjectionable and may be supported by V. 1114 'caelum praemia . . . habet, A.A. I. 557 munus habe caelum.' *Munus habere* like *nomen habere* is very frequent in Ovid. But how did *dignum* become *cernis* in our best MSS. ? And the best MSS. favour *nomen habere*. The alternative translation 'they (the Fishes) have as stars their appropriate reward' is forced, for the obvious subject of *habent*—viz. *sidera*—is dispossessed by the mentally supplied *pisces*; and there are the palaeographical difficulties as in the case of B. Version b is hardly worth discussion; it is a child of A and B, and is more faulty than either of its parents.

Version C seems to suggest that the stars are merely commemorative of the Fishes, *vid. supra* (1). And how did *quae* (easy) become *nunc* (difficult) ?

Gronovius' version (a) suffers from some of the defects of B or b: the parenthetic *cernis* is also a difficulty.

Heinsius' version (β) is, I think, infelicitous. It claims consideration only on Aristotelian grounds *τυγχάνει δὲ λόγου διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκδόσεων ὁμογνωμονεῖν τῷ πάντι*. Heinsius thought so little of it that he did not put it in his text. It should be removed, with similar malformations (e.g. III. 229, 230) to a museum of grammatical pathology. The writer, at least, cannot believe that it ever came from Ovid's pen.²

¹ P. 23, *de Ovidi Fastis recensendis*: diss. inaug. Suerini, 1887.

² Heinsius' alternative suggestion—*nunc caelum sidera munus habent*—is neat though improbable. The crude *cerni sidera munus habent* ('have as reward the right to be seen in the form of stars') is matched only by the equally doubtful distich

'inde diem, quae prima, meas celebrare
Kalendas
Oebaliae matres non leve munus habent'
(III. 229, 230),

Version A still remains—the reading of our best MSS., which Peter has adopted. One would naturally translate 'in recompense therefore the stars—you see them—are named the Fishes.' But Peter, aware of Ovid's practice (*vid. sup. i.*), warns us that the words mean 'in recompense for which they nowadays—you see them—as stars have a great name.' In our school-days we used to talk of 'translating through a stone wall.' There is, I think, a *murus aeneus* between Peter and the meaning that he wishes to seize. Old scholars knew this: they felt that you must get appropriate Latin before you can get the appropriate meaning, and having less awe of MSS. than we moderns have, proceeded to 'castigate' those refractory servants until they assumed a correct Latin demeanour—hence the neat variants B and C. The objections to Peter's interpretation are two: firstly, *sidera*, which by right of position is the subject of *habent*, is ousted by a mental upstart (*pisces*), and suffers further indignity at the hands of another mental upstart (*ut*); secondly, the abruptness of the interjected *cernis* is unexampled, at least, I think, in our author. To illustrate *cernis*! Peter cites IV. 936 (*vidimus*). He could have given a page of examples like *vidimus*, which comes naturally to the lips of the speaker. But parenthe-

which Heinsius, Burman, Merkel (Reim.), and others read. I hope to discuss the whole passage later. At present (*cf. VI. 101*) I am inclined to think that Ovid wrote something like—

'inde dies data prima deae: celebrate Kalendas

Oebaliae matres, non leve nomen habent.'

nomen R; for confusion of *meas* and *deae cf. II. 782*; *celebrare*—*celebrate* is a very common blunder, *cf. IV. 865, 759, II. 533, 557*. *Data* was perhaps abbreviated in the archetype. The root of the mischief was the charge of *deae* to *meae*—*meas*; *cf. II. 782* where R has *meusque* for *deusque*. I overlooked the reading of the 1629 Elzevir (Dan. Heins.) 'pro quo nunc, cernis, sidera numen habent.' *numen* is found, according to the Heinsian apparatus (Merkel) only in one second class MS. The objections to this reading was obvious. Ovid uses *numen habere* to indicate that a person or place is 'possessed' by a deity, not to describe an apotheosis or 'apasterosis.'

tic categorical remarks consisting of a verb in the present indicative second person, without a qualifying particle are hard to find; certainly, it is extremely hard to find a case like the *cernis* here. However, there is apparently an exact parallel, which Peter has overlooked, viz.

dat simul et iaculum, manibus quod (cernis!) habemus (*Met.* VII. 756).

But there is a great difference between the two cases. In the *Metamorphoses* the subject (Cephalus is speaking to Phocus), and the object of *cernis* are known. The object is twice mentioned prior to *cernis*, and *quod* which precedes immediately is in the accusative, so that the sentence readily expands into *quod cernis, quod manibus habemus*. In the *Fasti* the object (*sidera*) is mentioned after *cernis*; it is mentioned only to be snatched away, because it is wanted in the nominative as subject to *habent*, or to serve in the nominative as a predicative to the unexpressed subject. Hence the mental jolt in the *Fasti*; in the *Metamorphosis* there is a slight brachylogy, but the thought is smooth and logical.¹ The latter passage is possibly sound—I shall leave the question open; the line in the *Fasti* I regard as certainly corrupt. If compelled to accept a parenthesis, I would include in it *sidera* and translate—‘wherefore they (the Fishes)—you see the stars—have great renown.’

A monosyllabic preposition cannot be separated from its case by the break in the pentameter. An opinion, I think, existed and exists that this rule holds also for dissyllabic prepositions. But we have—

¹ Some inferior MSS. have *quod nos ut cernis habemus* or *manibus quod cernis habere* (cf. *Fast.* III. 116); the former is the reading of the 1533 Aldine, the latter of the 1502 Aldine and the editions of Gryphius, Bersmann, and others. Heinsius thought of *manibus quod cernis haberi*, but finally agrees with Gronovius (*Obb.* IV. c. 18) in accepting *quod cernis habemus*. He cites *Aen.* VI. 760 ‘ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta | proxima sorte tenet lucis loca,’ where the object of *vides* is easily supplied by the preceding *ille*, almost like *ille quem vides*; the speaker here also as in *Met.* VII. 756 is a definite person (Aeneas).

A.A. I. 230 est aliquid praeter vina,
quod inde petas.
A.A. III. 418 saepe vagos extra limina
ferre pedes.
Her. VII. 4 inclusam contra iusque pi-
umque tenet.
Cf. Tibullus, I. 6, 30 contra quis ferat
arma deos?²

Somewhat similar is the allocation of the preposition and its case to the hexameter and the pentameter respectively; an arrangement of which Ovid is very fond. I think, therefore, that it is not improbable that Ovid wrote

pisces subiere gemelli,
pro quo nunc inter sidera nomen habent.

If we look at the group *nunc inter sidera*, we recognise that the transposition of letters was not unlikely.³ I think, however, that the change may have occurred owing to a correction made to distinguish the ‘inter’ from the ‘in’ symbol (*vid.* Lindsay, *N.L.*,

p. III)—thus ^{ter} *inter*. But psychological conditions were present; *cernere* and *sidera* are perpetually connected in Latin—e.g. line 671 (*vid.* Havet. *Man.* p. 141 ‘suggestion bilatérale’).

As a reward for rescuing Dione the Fishes ‘have renown among the stars.’ Krüger (*l.c.*) was at pains to show that Ovid was fond of the phrase *nomen habere*=*gloria florere*: he might have added that in this sense the words have very frequently a local reference—I cite a few examples:

Fast. III. 66 pudet in paucis nomen habere
casus

187 iamque loco maius nomen
Romanus habebat.

V. 225 tu quoque nomen habes cul-
tos, Narcisse, per hortos.

Ex Pont. III. 2, 96 in Scythia magnum nunc
quoque nomen habent.

IV. 13, 20 et placui (gratare mihi)
coepique poetae⁴

inter inhumanos no-
men habere Getas (cf.
Her. XVI. 142.)

² Cf. *Ex Pont.* III. 7, 8 ‘ne toties contra quam rapit amnis eam,’ and *A.A.* II. 182: and perhaps *Fast.* V. 348 ‘illa cothurnatas inter habenda deas’: *Ann.* I. 11, 2 ‘docta neque ancillas inter habenda, Nape.’ Nor would we expect lines like ‘iustaque de viduo-paene querela toro’ (*Trist.* V. 3, 48).

³ Prof. Housman gives a useful list of similar transpositions, Manilius, Bk. I, *Introduction*; see especially pp. lviii, lix.

⁴ Query *poeta*?

When Callisto became the Great Bear, 'intumuit Iuno, postquam *inter sidera* paelex fulsit' (*Met.* II. 508). Not infrequently Ovid's language in describing such metamorphoses is very terse and simple—e.g. III. 808 'attulit illi | miluus et meritis venit in astra suis.'

Hyginus, *Astr.* II. 41, has—' (Piscis Notius) quondam Isim servasse existimatur: *pro quo* beneficio simulacrum piscis, et eius filiarum de quibus antea diximus, *inter astra* constituit. Itaque Syri complures pisces non esitant et eorum simulacra inaurata pro diis Penatibus colunt.' Hyginus has many reminiscences of Ovid, and perhaps he had our passage before him in this instance. But I do not feel certain, as he uses the words *inter astra* several times in other connections.

II. 749, 750.

postmodo victa cades. melioribus, Ardea, restas,
inproba, quae nostros cogis abesse viros.

R has *restas*, V has *restat*. Three inferior MSS. have *postea*, and one has the rather neat *Ardea signis*.¹ Lucretia is apostrophising *Ardea*, and reproaching it for persisting in a hopeless resistance. The usual translation is—'You will soon be vanquished and fall. You are resisting better men than yourself, *Ardea*—wretch that you are to be keeping our husbands from their homes.' There is no fault to be found with the sentiment, but can we derive it fairly from the words before us? Heinsius says 'Versus de mendo suspectus. Cogitabam aliquando *dummodo victa cadas, melioribus, Ardea, resta, ut sit voventis*.' There is no doubt that *restare*=*resistere* is found occasionally in Latin authors. But can anyone supply an example from Ovid of *alicui restare*=*alicui resistere*. Ovid uses *restare* very frequently, usually as equivalent to *manere*. I have noticed three cases where *restare* implies obstinate lingering (resistance)—viz. *Met.* III. 626 ('is mihi, dum resto, iuvenali gutture pugno | rupit'), VII. 411 ('restantem . . . Cerberon extraxit'), XIII. 947 ('nec potui restare diu').² But in

every case where *restare* is construed with a dative, it means *manere*. I give a few examples:

Fast. II. 151 restant tibi frigora, restant!

III. 44 restabant nitido iam duo signa deo.

V. 388 iussaque restabant ultima paene viro.

Met. I. 728 ultimus immenso restabas, Nile labori.

II. 655 restabat fatis aliquid, cf. XIII. 379.

V. 208 bis centum restabant corpora pugnae.

V. 639 ne quod facinus tibi, perfide, restet.

XIII. 507 soli mihi Pergama restant (cf. *Her.* I. 51 diruta sunt aliis, uni mihi Pergama restant).

The above examples are selected from a long list, and will show that for Ovid at least *alicui restare* means *alicui manere*, not *alicui resistere*. I believe that *restas* is sound.³ The sins of R and of its archetype are not, as a rule, sins of commission; but sins of omission are not very rare. Corrections which postulate the loss of a word are always suspect, so it is with some trepidation that I suggest that Ovid may have written something like this:

victa cades—victis melioribus, Ardea, restas?
inproba, quae nostros cogis abesse viros!

For the punctuation, cf. IV. 857, 858. Tarquin had aspired to be a great conqueror—'ceperat hic alias, alias evert erat urbes' (689). Livy tells us that he had already taken *Suessa Pomertia* and *Gabii* (Livy I. 53, cf. *Fast.* II. 690. What hope was there then for *Ardea*? *Victis* was omitted after *victacades*.⁴ *Postmodo* or *postea* was possibly a complete gloss, see Havet, pp. 271 f. Punctuated as above, *restare* will have the notion of obstinacy that is seen in the first three examples cited above. It is possible, however, to take *captis m. r.* as a statement—'better cities than you have fallen, you are the last to be conquered.'

³ Otherwise one might suggest *certas* for *restas*.

⁴ *Captis* or *caesis* (cf. 709) may have been the missing word, but *vicia*—*victis* is more Ovidian.

(To be continued.)

E. H. ALTON.

¹ From line 721 *ardea votis* would perhaps be better (cf. IV. 895).

² There is, however, a difference between *restare* and *resistere*: the former connotes rather passive than active resistance.

THE PROSPECTIVE IN SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSES.

I WELCOME Mr. Goodrich's article in the last number of the *Classical Review* as a valuable contribution to an important problem on which further light is needed; and I desire in the present note to indicate how far I am in agreement with Mr. Goodrich's theory, and to correct or supplement his statement (p. 84 note) as to the relation in which his theory stands to my own.

In the main Mr. Goodrich is clearly right; the past¹ subjunctives to which the calls attention refer to the future from a past point of view; they are past prospectives, expressing the idea of what *was to be, had to be, was likely to be*, etc. Their essential characteristic is that they stand in past time but look forward from the past to the then future. They might, therefore, be called 'futures in the past.' Thus, to take Mr. Goodrich's first example, *quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui membra in eis locis qua se parens persequeretur dissipavisse* (Cic. *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 9, 22), the meaning of the relative clause with the subjunctive is 'where her father was to (was likely to, was going to) follow her'; we might also translate by 'would follow her,' using the word 'would' in the same sense as in 'I knew that he would come'; or 'A few days were to bring on the fatal fight of Edgehill, where the slain would be counted by thousands' (Mark Lemon), *i.e.* to denote futurity in the past. This use of the word must, however, be carefully distinguished from its use in a sentence like 'He would come, if I asked him,' where 'would come' stands not in past time but in present time, and denotes what *is* likely to happen.

But I cannot follow Mr. Goodrich when he proceeds to say that the past subjunctive in his instances denotes not pure futurity (from a past point of view) but 'contingent futurity,' *i.e.* what I have called 'conditioned futurity.' Mr. Goodrich has himself rightly insisted (p. 84)

that the tense used in his instances (*e.g.* *persequeretur*) 'cannot be reconciled with the accepted rules governing conditional sentences; for according to these the imperfect subjunctive refers either to present or past time, never to future time either from the present or the past.' Why, then, does he think it necessary to regard his instances as expressing the same idea as is expressed in the main clause of a conditional sentence with the subjunctive? No doubt, as he says, there is a condition implied in some (the minority) of his instances, *e.g.* in No. 2, *propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret* (Cic. *Phil.* II. 17. 37); here the participles *manens* and *dimissa* are equivalent to if-clauses. Yes, but they need not represent if-clauses with the subjunctive. The whole difficulty of the tense is got over by regarding *manens conficeret* and *dimissa liberaret* as expressing in past time the same meaning as is expressed in present time by *manens* (or *si manebit*) *conficiet* and *dimissa* (or *si dimissa erit*) *liberabit*. In other words, these past subjunctives express not conditioned futurity but pure futurity; and this brings them into line with Mr. Goodrich's other instances (the majority), in which no sort of condition is expressed or implied, *e.g.* *persequeretur*, 'would pursue' (corresponding in past time to *persequetur*, 'will pursue,' in present time).

I regard Mr. Goodrich's instances, then, as containing what I call 'prospective subjunctives,' and I should put them under § 339 of my *New Latin Grammar*. Mr. Goodrich is mistaken in saying that I confine the prospective subjunctive to temporal clauses. He has not noticed that I explicitly include adjective clauses (*i.e.* relative clauses) as well as other kinds of adverb clauses in § 339; see, too, my § 542 (*si proderent*). Herein I am quite consistent with what I have said on former occasions. In the article in the *Classical Review* (Vol. VII., 1893, pp. 7-11) in which I proposed the term 'prospective' I quoted two instances in relative clauses (Virg. *Aen.* III. 653 and Hor. *Sat.* II. 8. 75), and in my *Unity of*

¹ I employ the term recommended by the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology for what is commonly called the 'imperfect subjunctive.' The superiority of the term 'past subjunctive' for the purpose of this discussion is manifest.

the Latin Subjunctive (1910, p. 35) several more, among them *qua incederet* 'where he was to pass' (Tac. Ann. XIV. 13)—an instance very similar to Mr. Goodrich's No. 1. I have since then collected other instances, e.g. Virg. Aen. I. 20 *quae verteret* 'was to overthrow,' and Tac. Germ. 29 *in quibus pars imperii Romani fierent* 'were to become'—an instance which Draeger (*Hist. Syntax*, Theil IV., p. 503) says he cannot understand—and Ann. XIV. 63 *in qua nihil nisi luctuosum haberet* 'was to have.' The following instances have a co-ordinating relative, and an implied condition, like some of Mr. Goodrich's instances: Cic. pro Mur. 15, 33 *qua effracta tota pateret provincia* 'was likely to be exposed'; de Offic. III. 11, 12, *quo facto frangi Lacedaemoniorum opes necesse esset* 'it was likely to be necessary.'

There may be some to whom the doctrine that a past subjunctive may have the same meaning in past time as a future indicative has in present time may seem strange. May I commend to their attention the article by Mr. A. C. Pearson in the current number of the *Classical Quarterly* (pp. 57-68), in which he withdraws without reserve his previous objection to my view? As in Latin the past subjunctive, so in Greek the optative may be a past prospective owing to its inherent meaning. This I have recognized in my Greek Grammar, § 504c (e.g. *ἔτοιμος ἦν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἀεῖ ποιοις*, 'the things which you should say'); for the corresponding meaning in present time see Demosth. de Pace 11: *πλὴν δι' ἃ ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω δύο*, 'the two things which I shall tell you,' where *ἂν* with the subjunctive expresses pure futurity, not generality.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

PRISCIANUS LYDUS AND JOHANNES SCOTTUS.

IN 529 Justinian brought his persecution of the adherents of the old pagan religion to a climax by the issue of an edict enforcing the suppression of the philosophical schools at Athens, where the study of ancient philosophy had been kept alive by a long series of Neo-Platonic philosophers.

As a result of this display of Christian intolerance seven Neo-Platonic teachers left Athens and sought refuge with Chosroes, king of Persia, who was an enlightened man and interested in the study of Aristotle and Plato. The names of these philosophers were Damascius, Simplicius, Diogenes, Hermeias, Isidorus, Eulalius, and Priscianus of Lydia. We possess, unfortunately, no details of their doings in Persia, but their visit was not unprofitable, for in 533 when Chosroes concluded peace with Justinian, he expressly stipulated in the treaty that the philosophers were to be allowed to return to Greece and to live without molestation in the enjoyment of their religious beliefs and in the pursuit of their philosophical studies.¹ As Chosroes commenced to

reign in September 531, the period of their voluntary exile falls between the end of that year and the peace of 533.

The fruits of the intercourse between Chosroes and one of these seven sages, Priscianus Lydus, who is said to have been a pupil of Damascius,² have been preserved in the form of a treatise consisting of a number of dissertations on philosophical and scientific subjects designed as answers to a series of questions put by the king. The original Greek text of this work has disappeared,³ but we possess a Latin translation which was discovered by Jules Quicherat⁴ in a MS. at Paris. The text of this MS., which is incomplete owing to the loss of several folios, was published for the first

63; Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byzant. Litt.*,² 1897, pp. 5-6; Diehl, *Justinien*, 1901, pp. 562-564; Sandys, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i.,² 1906, p. 375; Holmes, *The Age of Justinian*, ii., 1907, pp. 432-439.

² See Christ, *Gesch. der griechischen Litt.* ii.⁵, 1913, p. 870.

³ The only Greek work of Priscianus now known to exist is the *Μετὰφρασις τῶν Θεοφράστου* published by Bywater (*Prisciani Lydi Quae Extant*, in *Supplementum Aristotelicum*, vol. i., pars. 2, Berolini, 1886, pp. 1-37).

⁴ *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 3^e série, t. 4, 1853, pp. 248-263.

¹ Agathias, *Hist.* ii. 30; Zumpt, *Ueber den Bestand der philosophischen Schulen in Athen* in *Abhl. der k. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1842, pp. 60-

time by F. Dübner.¹ Some years later a portion of the missing matter was supplied from two later MSS. at London by V. Rose,² and the complete work was finally edited for the Berlin Academy by Ingram Bywater³ in 1886. The Latin translation, which is anonymous, bears the title, *Prisciani Philosophi Solutiones Eorum De Quibus Dubitavit Chosroes Persarum Rex*. It was conjectured by Quicherat⁴ that the translator was Johannes Scottus (Eriugena), a writer⁵ who flourished at the court of Charles the Bald c. 845-870. This view was adopted by Traube⁶ and apparently also by Manitius.⁷ While admitting that the translator may have lived in the Caroline period Bywater⁸ rejected the ascription to Johannes. I shall endeavour to show that the translation was made in the sixth, or at latest in the seventh century, and that it was not even known to Eriugena.

Quicherat states his reasons thus:⁹

Le manuscrit est du neuvième siècle, et exécuté certainement en France. . . . Je ne crois pas me tromper en attribuant également à la France et au neuvième siècle le travail de traduction. La raison que j'ai de le croire est que cette traduction étant nécessairement l'œuvre d'un littérateur latin qui vivait entre le sixième et le neuvième siècle, pour toute cette période on ne trouve qu'un homme dans l'Occident qui ait uni la science du grec à l'intelligence de la philosophie néoplatonicienne: et cet homme est notre Jean Scot, que d'autres appellent Erigène. Aussi bien l'idée du même auteur, se présente encore à l'esprit quand on voit les solutions de Priscien précédées dans le manuscrit par le traité de Scot sur la Prædestination.

¹ *Plotini Enneades*, Didot, 1855, pp. 553-579.

² *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, Lipsiae, 1863, pp. 338-341; and *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina*, i., Berlin, 1864, pp. 53-58.

³ *Prisciani Lydi Quae Extant*, pp. 41-104; cf. Jackson, *Ingram Bywater*, 1917, pp. 96-98.

⁴ *Loc. cit. supra*, p. 253.

⁵ For an account of him cf. Esposito, *Studies*, ii., 1913, p. 505.

⁶ Ap. Rand, *Johannes Scottus*, München, 1906, p. ix n. Traube offers no proof of his view, nor of his alternative suggestion that a certain Fergus of Saint-Amand may have been the translator.

⁷ *Gesch. lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, i., 1911, pp. 331, 338.

⁸ *Loc. cit. supra*, p. xi. The Caroline period was suggested also by Usener (*Rhein. Mus.*, N.F., 25, 1870, p. 607) and by Diels (*Doxographi Graeci*, 1879, p. 77).

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 253-254.

The second of the above reasons, the fact that the *Solutiones* are immediately preceded in the Paris MS. (lat. 13386) by the *Liber De Praedestinatione* of Johannes proves nothing, for the MS. is a composite one made up of a number of different fragments. Thus ff. 103-159 containing the *De Praedestinatione* are in a hand of the end of the ninth century, and ff. 160-207 containing the *Solutiones* are a portion of another MS. written in a different and somewhat earlier ninth-century hand.¹⁰ The juxtaposition of the two treatises is thus a matter of mere chance and it does not occur in the three later MSS. (Two at London, one at Mantua).

As for the first statement that between the sixth and the ninth centuries Johannes Scottus was the only man in the West who had sufficient knowledge to produce such a translation, it is entirely contrary to the facts. In the sixth and seventh centuries a very considerable number of Greek scientific and theological works were translated into Latin,¹¹ and in the ninth under the influence of the Carolingian renaissance other scholars besides Johannes were able to acquire a knowledge of Greek.¹² Indeed, the Hellenic culture of Johannes Scottus has been repeatedly over-estimated. He was surpassed in this respect by his contemporary Anastasius Bibliothecarius, translator of several Greek theological works.¹³ Moreover the translation of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings undertaken by Johannes had to be sent to Anastasius for revision and correction before it could be published,¹⁴ a fact which proves that Anastasius was

¹⁰ Cf. Traube, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Poetae*, iii., p. 522. In this work, published in 1896, Traube merely admitted that the translation may have been produced during the Caroline age.

¹¹ For example, Dioscorides, Galen, Oribasius, Soranus, etc., cf. Teuffel, *Gesch. röm. Lit.*,⁵ 1890, §§ 400, 463, 480, 483, 487, 489, 494, 498; Schanz, *Gesch. röm. Lit.*, iv., 1904, pp. 273, 386.

¹² I hope to deal with this question on a future occasion.

¹³ Cf. Manitius, *Gesch. der lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, i., pp. 678-689. To the works of Anastasius enumerated by Manitius must be added the Latin version of the *Historia Mystica*, attributed to S. Germanus of Constantinople, cf. Brightman, *Journ. Theol. Studies*, ix., 1908, pp. 249-50.

¹⁴ Manitius, *loc. cit.*, pp. 682, 687.

admitted to have had a more competent knowledge of Greek than Johannes.

The argument, however, which appears to me conclusive as upsetting Quicherat's theory that Johannes Scottus was the translator of the *Solutiones* is drawn from the Latinity of the work (the study of which is much facilitated by Bywater's excellent *Index Verborum*). This Latinity is frankly 'barbarous,' in which respect it bears a close similarity to that of the numerous Graeco-Latin translations of scientific works which appeared in the sixth and seventh centuries.¹ Equally deficient is the translator's knowledge of Greek, and as a result the text of the *Solutiones* is frequently incomprehensible or can only be understood by writing down the Greek phrase of which the Latin is evidently a word for word reproduction.² The Latinity and general style of Johannes, on the other hand, are of a different type and bear the evident stamp of the Carolingian grammatical reform. It is in the highest degree unlikely that the author of the translations of Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus Confessor, and of the *De Divisione Naturae*, could have produced the corrupt jargon of the *Solutiones*.

Of great importance also is the fact that though in one of his latest works, the *De Divisione Naturae*, Eriugena frequently treats of the same scientific phenomena as are discussed in the *Solutiones* of Priscianus, yet he never refers to the latter work by name nor is there a particle of evidence to show that he

had the smallest acquaintance with it. Johannes was fond of parading the views of Greek writers and it is inconceivable that had he known—not to say translated—the *Solutiones* he would have abstained from quoting the references³ to Aristotle, Theophrastus, Geminus, Iamblichus, Proclus, Strabo, Posidonius, etc., with which the pages of Priscianus abound. This difficulty might, it is true, be evaded by supposing that the *Solutiones* had only come into Johannes's hands after he had composed his other works, and that his translation of it was one of his latest productions,⁴ but this would not explain the barbarous nature of the Latin.

It is finally worth noting that the translator of the *Solutiones* has prefixed no dedicatory preface, an omission contrary to the practice of Johannes.⁵

The above considerations lead us to the conclusion that the translation of the *Solutiones* of Priscianus Lydus cannot in any way be connected with Johannes Scottus, and that it is in all probability to be assigned to the sixth or to the seventh century.

³ Cf. on the sources of the *Solutiones*, Diels, *Doxographi*, pp. 77-78; Bywater, *ed.*, p. xii.; C. Manitius, *Geminus*, pp. 239, 250.

⁴ In this connection it may be recalled that the Paris MS. is of the ninth century, and that Bywater (*ed.*, p. x) has shown that it is not the original MS. of the translation but a copy. In the *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica* of Schenkl we are told (No. 2911) that MS. 103 of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, contains among other things *Prisciani Physici Solutiones*. This MS. has been missing from Cambridge for many years, but it is not lost as supposed by James (*Western MSS. in Emmanuel College* 1904, p. xiii); it is now in the British Museum as Harley 3969 (*cf.* Esposito, *English Historical Review*, xxx., 1915, p. 468).

⁵ Cf. the *De Praedestinatione* and the versions of Dionysius and Maximus (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 122).

M. ESPOSITO.

Lausanne.

THE FOUR-LINE STANZA IN THE ODES OF HORACE.

THE question whether Horace composed everyone of his *Odes* in stanzas of four is ultimately a question of the distribution of equal metrical quantities or, if the phrase be preferred, of equiva-

lent metrical units. Leaving out of sight the odes which from the nature of their construction cannot be otherwise divided, that is to say 37 Alcaic odes, 25 or including the *carmen saecu-*

lars 26 Sapphic odes, 9 so-called Fourth Asclepiads and 7 so-called Fifth Asclepiads, a total of 78, or including the *carmen saeculare* of 79, 24 poems are concerned. They fall into three groups: (a) 17 poems made up of distichs, 12 of which are so-called Third Asclepiads; (b) 6 poems made up of single lines, 3 being 'Lesser' and 3 'Greater' Asclepiads; (c) the unique composition III. xii.

A preliminary point must be touched on. The supposed arrangement in fours must not be attributed to an innate liking of Horace for this distribution or to an innate aversion to single sequence or to couplets. Of 16 epodes in distichs 8 have an even number of couplets and 8 an odd number, and the 17th epode, which is in single sequence, has 81 lines. The preference in the *Odes* for composition in multiples of four cannot have been instinctive. If not accidental, it must have been deliberate.

The first question arising over the groups (a) (b) and (c) is whether it is possible that the grouping of the lines in fours should be merely numerical or quantitative, viz. expressive of nothing more than is expressed by the number of lines in the poems. Editors have naturally been reluctant to admit that the sections into which they have divided the poems are nothing but blocks of lines or blocks of feet. We may regard with personal dislike a hypothesis so crudely material; but in the lack of information we have no right to call it impossible.

It will be best to begin with III. xii. This, the only poem of its kind in Horace and the only complete one that has come down to us from antiquity, consists of 40 Ionic aminore feet or *συζυγίαι* of pyrrhics and spondees, succeeding each other in the strictest synaphea. The peculiarity of this metre is noted by Hephaestion *de poemate*, c. 2 (§ 123, Westphal) in an instructive passage where he says that the inexperienced might suppose that the poem of Alcaeus beginning *ἐμὲ δειλάν, ἐμὲ πᾶσάν κακοτάτων πεδέχοισαν* was merely a succession of similar feet (*ἐξ ὁμοίων*), but that the expert can detect the correspondences which show that it is

written in decameters, *ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ δέκα ὁρώμεν αὐτὸ συζυγίας καταμετρούμενον, κατὰ σχέσιν αὐτὸ γεγράφθαι φαιμέν.*

The decameters of Horace's ode the last Teubner editor has had the courage to print as single lines of fifteen to seventeen words apiece; but it has been the custom to divide each decameter into sections, whether of 2 trimeters and 1 tetrameter as the Latin grammarians, or of 2 tetrameters and 1 dimeter as Bentley and a number of modern editors. If these sections are regarded as separate verses, the four-line theory cannot be applied to this metre. If they are regarded as decameters, it can, supposing the whole poem to be a single stanza; it can also in a sense, if it be a pair of distichs.

This latter possibility takes me to another point. The Greater Asclepiad measure of I. xi., xviii., IV. x., had already been employed by Catullus in his thirty-first poem (14 lines) written in distichs, as I agree with Ellis (in the critical note in his large edition), after the pattern of Sappho's compositions in the same choriambic metre, as to which Hephaestion is again instructive, *de poemate*, cap. 2, § 120, where he treats of the difficulty in determining the question whether in the third book of Sappho which consisted of choriambic poems (*Manual*, cap. 10. 66) the composition was by single lines or by couplets. He there says that the fact, that 'in old copies' the verses are marked off in twos and that no instance of an uneven sum of lines is found lead us to think that the poems were written *κατὰ συστήματα*. On the other hand the likeness of the lines in each pair and the possibility of the authoress having composed all in even numbers by simple chance might induce people to maintain that they were written *κατὰ στίχον*.

The considerations which these facts suggest are not without their bearing on our problem. In the first place the improbability of the four-line grouping being due to simple chance is materially decreased if the normal basis of the metre happened to be two lines. In the second place there is an important difference between the distichs of (a)

and the couplets in the Greater Asclepiad. In the latter there is complete correspondence between the two members; in the former there is not. In the one case you obviously gain something in unity by making a pair, but nothing apparently by going on to a four; while in the other case you obtain a further unification by treating the corresponding distichs as though they were single lines. It is suggested in fact that the principle at work is that of pairing, whether the pairs consist of single similar lines or single similar couples of dissimilar lines.

Of the odes written in the Lesser Asclepiad metre I. i. (36 lines) and III. xxx. (16 lines) are divisible by both 2 and 4. But IV. viii. is divisible only by 2. And though conformable to the principle of construction adopted by Sappho and Catullus in the Greater Asclepiad, it has been rejected in whole or in part on the ground that its construction is not Horatian. So far as metre is concerned, the presumption that it cannot have come from Horace as it stands is now seen to be based on the improbability, of whatever magnitude this may be, that Horace should have written five of his extant Asclepiad poems with an even number of distichs and not have written the sixth with an odd number of distichs. This improbability, as will appear in the sequel, cannot be considered overwhelming.

The problem of the four-line group has been in general taken too much in the lump, and this not only in its numerical but also in its significant relations. I propose then to consider in detail whether the several sections of four show any traces of either (a) external or (b) internal unity.

If external unity exists, we may expect it to reveal its existence in a closer nexus between the components of the separate systems; or in other words verse 1 of any ode in question should stand nearer to verse 2, verse 2 to verse 3, and verse 3 to verse 4 than verse 4 stands to verse 5. We can test the value of this argument in the case of the Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas. If everything in these odes but the bare endings and beginnings of the lines were destroyed or removed, we could

still infer the unity of the stanza. The synaphe or the absence of hiatus would speak for itself. To estimate this we need a norm. I will take as this norm the frequency of hiatus between the end and the beginning of hexameters in 10 epistles of Horace, *Ep.* I. iii. to xii., and of trimeters in *Epod.* xvii. 378 hexameters furnish 37 examples and 80 trimeters furnish 12, the total being 49 in 418 lines, last lines of poems being of course excluded from the count. The numbers for the Sapphic odes are 34 in 786 lines, a discrepancy that obviously needs accounting for. We analyse further and we find that the examples are distributed as follows, *within* the stanzas 16 in 615 lines, but *between* the stanzas 18 in 180 lines, almost exactly the ratio of the 10 epistles. In the Alcaic odes hiatus occurs *within* the stanzas 23 times in 951 lines and *between* the stanzas 25 times in 280 lines. It is obvious then that the difference between the prevalence of hiatus within the stanzas and between the stanzas fully accounts for the difference of the Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas. In the 'biform'¹ Asclepiad stanza (Fourth Asclepiad) the total is 10 in 243 lines, and the distribution 4 in 54 lines between the stanzas and 6 in 189 lines within the stanzas. In this metre the figures indicate connexion between the constituents of the stanza, but it is much less marked than in the two preceding cases. In the 'triform' Asclepiad stanza (Fifth Asclepiad) it seems to be absent or at least not provable. The total is 6 in 153 lines, and the distribution 1 in 33 lines between the stanzas and 5 in 120 lines within the stanzas. Herr Vollmer's statement, Teubner text of Horace, p. 337, that there is synaphea between the third and fourth lines (the pherecratean and the glyconic), 'except in I. xxiii. 3. 7,' is hasty. The last syllable of the pherecratean is always *long*; but that is a different matter.

Unity however might be shown in another way. The system of four lines in all or in most cases might carry the expression of a complete thought or

¹ For the meaning of 'biform' and 'triform' see p. 26.

mental picture; in other words, the sense might in general be completed with the fourth line, the end of the system. For the Alcaic, the Sapphic and the four-lined Asclepiadean stanzas this is not necessary: their metrical unity is clear without it. Accordingly we find that a large or a considerable proportion of odes in these metres show the sense and the construction overrunning from one stanza into the next. I give the figures as they may interest some of my readers. I have not counted cases where, though a sentence is not completed, there is a sensible pause. The Alcaic 'triform' stanza shows 60 overrunnings out of a possible 280, the Sapphic 'biform' stanza 13 out of 178,¹ the 'triform' Asclepiad stanza 8 out of 33, the 'biform' Asclepiad stanza 9 out of 54.² The case however is very different with the group of odes we are now considering. How can the four-line unity be detected if all external marks of such unity are absent and our only clue is that of the multiplication table?³

Are there any indications of a four-line stanza to be discovered in our poems? Let us examine them in detail. The 12 in Asclepiad distichs claim attention first. Excluding III. ix. (24 lines), the celebrated duologue of Horace and Lydia, of which more anon, these poems present one case of elision, between an odd and an even verse (IV. i. 35-36), and 17 instances of hiatus in 278 lines. Analysing further we find these are distributed as follows: 4 in 144 odd lines and 13 in 134 even lines, from which it appears that the odd lines adhere to the following even lines. Analysing yet further we find that out of these 13 examples 10 occur at the end of fourth lines. It would seem then that in these odes distribution into fours, or into pairs of couplets, is indi-

cated by the facts. Corroboration is furnished by III. ix. which is divided between two speakers into 6 complete parts of 4 verses, a mark of construction so plain that it may be held to overpower the possibility of construction by couplets simply which might be gathered from the hiatus at the end of v. 22.

Of the remaining 5 odes in distichs of various metres 1 (*Od.* I. vii.) is in a metre already used in the *Epodes*, xii., that is, in a composition whose total of lines is indivisible by four; and the remainder, I. iv., I. viii., II. xviii., IV. vii., by their metres or general spirit seem to suggest the *Epodes* rather than the *Odes*. To come to particulars, they yield the following results:

I. vii. (32 lines). Hiatus at end of 8, 25, 28, 29, 4 instances in 31 lines (or, analysing, 2 out of 7 fourth lines, 2 out of 24 non-fourth lines). In addition to this *et* with previous elision appears at the end of l. 6. These figures are quite compatible with a four-line or a double couplet theory. Two only out of the 7 fourth lines, to wit 4, 24, end with a stop; but 4 out of 8 second lines.

I. viii. (16 lines). Hiatus after l. 3, 1 instance in 15 lines. Nothing therefore to show whether the poem is written in twos or in fours. Out of 3 fourth lines there is a stop at the end of 12 and a pause at the end of 4; none after the 4 second lines.

II. xviii. (40 lines). Hiatus after 5, 8, 18, 30, 4 instances in 40 lines (the same ratio as in the *Epistles*); or, analysing, 1 in 9 fourth lines, 3 in 30 non-fourth lines. Three only out of 7 fourth lines end with a stop. This poem clearly lends no support to a four-line construction.

IV. vii. (28 lines). Hiatus none in 27 lines and so no external indication of construction in fours. On the other hand we must note that there is a stop or pause in 6 fourth lines out of 6; though also in 5 out of the 7 second lines.

I. iv. (20 lines). Hiatus after 9, 1 instance in 19 lines. Three out of 4 fourth lines end with a stop, and 3 out of 5 second lines end with a stop or a pause.

¹ If we exclude the *carmen saeculare*, the ratio is 13 out of 160.

² I use 'biform' and 'triform' for the stanza according as it has two or three metrically different components. It will be noticed that both of the 'triform' stanzas have a higher proportion of overrunnings than the 'biform.'

³ This had to be pointed out inasmuch as in the Introduction to Kiessling's *Horace* (ed. of 1901) it is actually contended that overrunning is an argument for a four-line stanza.

Here the evidence is but scanty and indecisive and helps us little towards a definite solution of the problem.

To pass to the Asclepiads. The 3 Greater Asclepiads are I. xi., xviii. and IV. x.

I. xi. (8 lines). Hiatus after 7, 1 instance in 7 lines 'inuida aetas' in flagrant disregard of synaphea. There is a brief pause after 4 but none after any other line. The poem gives one the impression of being an indivisible whole.

I. xviii. (16 lines). A composition clearly based on the Greek, the first line being an almost literal translation from an ode of Alcaeus in the same measure. Hiatus after 11, 14, 15; 3 instances in 15 lines. Analysed 2 out of 8 odd lines, 1 out of 4 second lines, 0 in 3 fourth lines. There are stops or pauses after 1 fourth line out of 3 and after 3 second lines out of 4.

IV. x. (8 lines). Hiatus after 2, 1 instance in 7 lines. There is a light pause after every line. The poem, like I. xi., impresses us as an indivisible whole.

We have now examined all but the Lesser Asclepiads; I. i., III. xxx. and the recalcitrant IV. viii.

I. i. (36 lines). Hiatus after 11, 18, 2 instances in 35 lines. None out of 8 fourth lines, 1 out of 9 second lines, 1 out of 18 odd lines. This evidence, as far as it goes, is against a four-line construction. Stops or pauses after 2 fourth lines (8, 28) out of 8, after 7 second lines (2, 6, 10, 14, 18, 22, 26, 34) out of 9, which is distinctly in favour of a composition by distichs. In the interests of the four-line theory it has been proposed to regard the first two lines and the last two as additions made when the rest of the poem had been written in fours. But do poets work in this way?

III. xxx. (16 lines). No hiatus; and so no external indication. No stop or pause after the 3 fourth lines, a pause after 1 second line out of 4, and stops after 2 odd lines out of 8. The evidence does not favour any subdivision of the poem.

IV. viii. (34 lines). This much-disputed composition I have for clearness kept to the last; but it must of

course be considered before our investigation is complete. Three views have been held about it:

1. That it was written by Horace as it stands. Then the four-line theory goes by the board.

2. That it was not written by Horace. In this case it is no evidence either for the four-line theory or against the four-line theory.

3. That it was written by Horace, not however as it stands but in accordance with the four-line mode of construction. This is the prevalent view.

Such evidence of its composition as can be gathered from its inspection is as follows. Hiatus after 17, 24, 2 instances in 33 lines. No comparison can be made between second and fourth lines, unless theory 3 is to be ruled out as inadmissible. For if the poem was written in fours, the present numbering will be wrong, and we shall have no means of determining where the errors reside. But, taking the lines as they stand, we get stops or pauses after 10 second or fourth lines out of 16, to wit 2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 24, 28, 30, 32 (where the double succession should be observed) as compared with the 3 brief pauses and 1 stop after 4 odd lines out of 16, to wit 5, 13, 21, 27. There is thus much better support for an arrangement in distichs than any of the numerous reconstructors have been able to extract from the poem for the four-line theory by all their alterations.

It is not my intention here to discuss the poem at length with the object of proving or disproving any of the rival theories. It is enough to have pointed out the consequences flowing from the acceptance of any one of them which affect the four-line hypothesis. But the following observation may be allowed. As to 1, it would seem that the poem was known to Censorinus the author of the *de die natali* (1. 5) as I have pointed out in the *Classical Quarterly* VI. p. 43. But this does not show that it was the work of Horace but only that it had found its way at an early stage into his book. As between 2 and 3, we may note that, in addition to the attractions of four-line reconstructions, 3 seems to have found favour from the idea that the removal of a part was a more

probable remedy than the removal of the whole. But this is not the case when there is profound disagreement among the surgeons as to the part to be amputated. Perfectly unprejudiced judges will probably feel that the composition is all of a piece, that what is cut out by the various excisers is no worse than what is allowed to remain, and that insufficient reasons have been produced to show why any of the assumed insertions should have been made. The impression which, taken as a whole, the ode leaves upon my mind is that, whether it was written by Horace or another, its workmanship is inferior to that of the rest of the book.

To sum up the results of a somewhat barren, though not superfluous, investigation, for the great majority of the

Odes of Horace the four-line hypothesis is true but devoid of significance. In the case of odes in distichs composed of two dissimilar single lines the four-line construction is either an accident or a mark of preference for pairs of couplets. In the case of single line odes it may, in the odes where it really exists, show the same preference for pairs of distichs, or again it may be a freak of chance. Anyhow, excepting the four-line stanzas and the Asclepiad distichs, we cannot find that it has left any distinct traces on the metrical treatment or arrangement; and to such an extent is it negligible that an editor of Horace does ill to regard it in the printing of his text.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Liverpool.

TERENCE, *ANDRIA*, 434 (II. VI. 3).

Quid Davos narrat? Aequo quicquam nunc quidem.

THROUGHOUT the last scene Davus has been prompting Pamphilus, who after astonishing his father by his acquiescence, now goes off, leaving Davus and Simo alone. This scene opens thus:

DA. (*aside*) Hic nunc me credit aliquam sibi fallaciam portare et ea me hic restitisse gratia.

The question then for Simo is 'Why has D. stopped behind here? What game is he up to?' He accosts him, with an ironical politeness, in the 3rd person.

Quid Davos narrat?

So far good: but from this point all is darkness in the remainder of the verse; the text goes off into nonsense—

Aequo quicquam nunc quidem.

Who speaks these words? They are variously assigned by various editors. Donatus remarks *Videtur illi blandius locutus esse*. Umpfenbach and Spengel print the unmeaning words as a question, Spengel giving them to Simo. These two critics compounded with their consciences for a mark of interrogation to justify the *quicquam*; but nonsense it

remains, only the crudity a little abated. Wintersfeld conjectured *Nequeo quicquam nunc quidem* (giving it to Davus), which Fleckeisen followed.

This is one of those conjectures which dazzle at first sight: they are so cheap palaeographically. It is so tempting to leave the author half-inept, sub-frigid, hyposolecistic in order that the copyist may be acquitted of any but the slightest error. Regularly the author is sacrificed to the copyist. A curious revenge on the earlier fashion which presumed in every monkish copyist, *qua* monk, the grossest errors. Why has the all-but-inerrability of copyists become an assumed principle? What has happened to reverse the major premiss of textual criticism? No argumentative decision, but the discovery that collation is much easier work for the brain than criticism.

However, to return to Wintersfeld. Though there is no reason why a scribe should not mistake *nequeo* for *aequo*, there is good reason why *nequeo* should not have been there for him to mistake. This conjecture will not do, because in Terentian Latin *nequeo* denotes impossibility. Now Davus might conceivably say *Non est quod dicam* or *non habeo quod dicam*, but it is absurd to make

him say *nequeo quicquam (dicere)*, for this means 'I am unable to speak, my feelings are impossible to be expressed.'

As usual in this most even and self-coloured of styles, one must go to Terence sound to heal Terence corrupt. In him you can often recover a lost phrase by the echoes. Our passage may be mended on the pattern of *Haut.* 896 (V. i. 24).

CHR. Mira narras. Quid Syrus meus? Ne is quidem quicquam? MEN. Nihil.

See how a sentence of this model suits our case. It is agreeable alike to the person and the situation for Simo to ask 'What's Davus' version? Can even he give us no explanation?' *Even he*, because, like Syrus in *Haut.* Davus in this play is the type of a slave whose tongue never runs down and his wit is never bankrupt. It is nonsense to make Simo say *even now*, or *just at present*: the point is, Pamphilus may be mysteriously reserved, but Davus is sure to have a key to the mystery.

If then we have found the general type of what our context requires, how far can we pursue the inference in detail? The passage from *Haut.* has a *nihil* by the other speaker for a last iambus. And not merely this example but a closer inspection of the words which follow in our *Andria* dialogue itself persuades me that here also, since Simo continues and Davus reiterates

SIM. Nilne? hem? DAV. Nil prorsus.

there must have been a preceding *nihil*. Do not both Simo's words and Davus' *prorsus* indicate it?

I suggest then that the mischief in the text should be diagnosed as deranged order of words: the case is frequent in Terence; and no wonder, considering that by Donatus' time already the science of comic metres was virtually extinct. Suppose then you read

SIM. Quid Davos narrat? Ne is quidem quicquam? DA. Nihil.

SIM. Nilne? hem? DA. Nil prorsus.

Had the MSS. offered this in so many words it could hardly have come into suspicion: which is one test. But the faible of the solution is that it hardly accounts for *aeque* in the tradition. An alternative, which would do so, is

SIM. Quid Davos narrat? Ne is quidem quicquam? DA. Aequè nihil.

that is to say *aequè ac Pamphilus*.

Some people may feel it to be a difficulty that the same phrase should receive different metrical treatment in the two places—in *Haut.* 896 and here. But to this it may be answered that the one passage is trochaic, the other iambic; and the words in themselves can hardly be taken to have been a set phrase so hardened as to be indissoluble—like *ita-mé-di-ament* and *ita-mé-di-béne-ament*, etc. Accordingly I would propose this as the likelier reading.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

Glasgow University.

HORACE, OD. I., XXXIV.-XXXV.

THE remarks of Mr. H. J. Rose on these odes (*Classical Review*, XXX. 7, 192) seem to me worthy of a little comment. Gruppe (*Minos*, 383 ff.) mentions the significant fact that the grammarian Diomedes, whose metrical catalogue of the odes is, according to him, older than the earliest extant MS. of Horace, omits Ode XXXV. The authority of Diomedes is not conclusive, since he omits other odes, among them the undoubtedly Horatian *Integer Vitae*. Possibly Diomedes' copy of Horace was itself incomplete. However, Servius

(*Gramm. Lat.* IV. 470) also omits Ode XXXV.¹

Peerlkamp believed that these two odes were originally one, thinking that the copiers mistook the invocation of a deity (*O diva*) for the beginning of a new ode.

Gruppe was led to his conclusion by his hunt for interpolations. He believes that some foreign hand so lengthened Ode XXXIV that it finally fell into two pieces.

¹ This on the authority of O. Keller and L. Mueller.

The classic discussion of Ode XXXIV is still that of Lessing (*Rettungen des Horaz*). He rejects the idea of a conversion from Epicureanism, arguing that Stoics no less than Epicureans recognised natural causes for phenomena. He thinks that Horace's usually frivolous thoughts on religion received a rude shock from the experience of a sudden and terrific thunderstorm. Horace merely chronicles the thoughts evoked by a short spasm of terror. Any lasting philosophical recantation is out of the question.

This obvious and natural view he prefers to subtler exegesis, as, for instance, that Horace, impressed by the legend that as Augustus was returning from Apollonia a thunderbolt from a clear sky struck the tomb of Julia, Caesar's daughter, recognised the Divine sanction of Augustus' rule. Yet I believe a political source underlies the ode.

Both Plüss (*Horazstudien*, p. 6 ff.) and Oesterlen (*Studien zu Virgil und Horaz*, p. 47 ff.) believe that the fall of Antony is symbolised.

It is probable that Horace admired Antony's brilliant and captivating personality far more than that of the cold and reserved Augustus. He saw in Antony's fall a tragic irony, the great man worsted by a lesser opponent. In this way Fortune lifts the obscure. Horace took some little time to understand and admire Augustus, and the reconciliation can hardly have taken place by the time of Actium.

Moreover, the fall of Antony was a spectacle of severe drama, for Antony had revealed the tragic flaw. His dream of Eastern empire had drawn on him the Divine envy. Fortune snatched from him the *apex* of the Eastern Kings.

The fine possibilities of Antony bring the pathetic note from Horace. He was the friend of a tyrant, but after avenging

his friend he might have been the first of Roman citizens. Cleopatra had caused in him this flaw. Against her the Poet's execration and triumph burst out in Ode XXXVII.

In the light of this interpretation Ode XXXIV would not be pointless. But what becomes of Ode XXXV? If it be referred to 27 or 26 B.C., when Augustus is reported to have planned the invasion of Britain, why does it come between XXXIV and XXXVII?

Considering that the invasion of Britain was never more than a mere project, we cannot tell when it was first mooted. Augustus, immediately on coming to power, may have wished to administer a political sedative, by holding out promises of a campaign which would abolish internal discord by uniting Rome against a common enemy. Such an idea would have met the dearest wishes of Horace. He could, therefore, pay his tribute to Augustus' project without any great enthusiasm for Augustus himself. Accordingly, while his prayers for the fraternal unity of the younger generation are warm, his mention of Augustus is frigid.

Ode XXXV has the same solemn tone as Ode XXXIV. There is the same indefiniteness of political reference, but reference is there. Surely the *meretrix* (l. 25) is Cleopatra and the *volgus infidum* her crew, *contaminato grege morbo*. It was by a desertion at a critical moment that Actium was lost to Antony. It was these wassailers, with their courtesan Queen, who proved false friends to Antony, and for their reward vanished before the fortune of Augustus. Still, there is half regret for the brilliant failure, and a commendation of Caesar only in so far as prudence dictated.

L. H. ALLEN.

Teachers' College, Sydney.

NOTES

NOTE ON VERGIL, *ECLOGUE*
VII. 52.

hic tantum Boreae curamus frigora, quantum
aut numerum lupus aut torrentia flumina ripas.

THERE seem to be two fatal objections to the word *numerum*, first that Vergil could hardly have used such a slipshod expression for *numerum ovium*, and secondly that one requires a word to indicate some material obstacle in the way of the wolf as the bank is an obstacle to the torrent. I suggest that Vergil wrote *murum*, which of course can be used of any enclosure. If an early copyist wrote *merum* by mistake, perhaps with a half-conscious thought of past or coming refreshment, and then altered the first syllable to *mu*, thus, *mu merum*, a subsequent scribe might easily suppose the word to be *numerum*. This suggestion may have been made before, but I have no remembrance of having seen it.

A. G. PESKETT.

CICERO, *EP. AD FAMILIARES*
IX. 20, § 2.

Nos iam ex artis tantum habemus, ut Verrium tuum et Camillum (qua munditia homines, qua elegantia!) vocare saepius andeamus.

Wesenberg's *exquisitae artis* is usually accepted. I propose *exactae artis*, which suits the sense and accounts better for the corruption.

A. G. PESKETT.

A NOTE ON VIRGIL, *AENEID*
XI. 336-7.

tum Drances idem infensus quem gloria Turni obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris.

'THE poisoned stings of sidelong envy' represents something like the usual version of line 337, and certainly it may be defended. But it would be hard to find a better instance of *inversio*, with epithets doubly transferred; the trope *κατ' ἀνάλογον*, which Aristotle defines—(*Poetics* 1457b) 'Analogy is when

the second term is to the first as the fourth to the third: we may then use the fourth for the second or the second for the fourth.' Aristotle, speaking of nouns, takes for his illustration 'The war-god's beaker and the wine-god's shield': Virgil extends the trope to adjectives.

Obliquus and *amarus*, as they stand, admit of metaphorical translation; transferred, they have the clear physical meaning which Latin poetry loves. *Invidia* is really *amara*; for of all emotions it is, as Costecalde knew, that one which most surely disturbs the bitter bile. The most effective *stimulus* is really *obliquus*; for with the goad, as with all thrusting weapons, an oblique cut is far more painful than a straight thrust.

F. A. WRIGHT.

LATIN VOWELS BEFORE GN.

SOME authorities tell us that in Latin a vowel is long before *gn*. Some of them were originally short, and the reason for the lengthening is not manifest. If we pronounce *gn* as in our 'cognate,' moderns at any rate have no difficulty in pronouncing a short vowel before the combination. If however we give the Italian sound to *gn*, a long vowel is spoken with more ease than a short. It seems a possible inference that the Italian sound of the combination came at any early period and that we should use it in Latin.

J. S.

Westminster.

A PHRASE-BOOK OF ST.
COLUMBAN (?)

THE distinguished Italian palaeographer to whom we all owe the privilege of studying at home the treasures of the Bobbio scriptorium has put at the beginning of his collection of photographs (Cipolla, *Codici Bobbiesi* I. taf. 1) the page which contains (in Bobbio minuscule of c. 700) a list entitled *Latinitates* or *De Latinitate*. The list, printed by Goetz at the end (pp. 660 ff.) of vol. v. of his *Corpus Glossariorum*

Latinorum, has been already noticed in a Jena programme (of 1888) by Goetz and in *Arch. Lat. Lex.* 9, 142 by Woelfflin; but both these notices seem to leave the explanation incomplete. I suggest that it is a list of phrases for Latin (prose) writing, and that St. Columban, who founded Bobbio in 614, may have been the compiler. For our extant record is clearly a copy made after the list had gone out of use. The form of the original was, I take it, that of *Synonyma*, e.g. 'amat perditim et perdit, disperit eum.' But the stupid transcriber has omitted all that he could not easily decipher and rearranged the rest in alphabetical order, so that in his copy the first of this pair

stands in Goetz' apograph at 660, 15 (in the A-section), the second at 661, 37 (in the D-section). Since the abbreviation-symbols are Irish (expand Goetz's 'dx' at 661, 29 to 'dixit'), some thick-headed Paddy may be charged with this literary murder. Sometimes St. Columban (?) took the phrases from classical authors; e.g. 661, 58 ('emunctae naris') from *Hor. Sat.* 1. 4. 8; 660, 33 ('brevis crevit') from *Sall. Cat.* 7. Sometimes he seems to have invented them, e.g. 'disperit eum' (quoted above); although *deperit* is so used by many authors (even by St. Jerome in the Vulgate, 2 *Reg.* 13, 2 'deperiret eam valde').

W. M. LINDSAY.

REVIEWS

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Translated by C. T. HAINES. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xxxii + 414. Frontispiece (Triumphal Panel). W. Heinemann, 41, Bedford Street, W.C. Cloth, 4s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net.

MR. HAINES' Loeb edition of Marcus is a very creditable piece of work, the result of much careful and independent study. In addition to a complete text, with English rendering on the opposite page, of the *Meditations*, *Speeches*, and *Sayings*, we are supplied with an admirably concise account of the Emperor's stoic tenets, and with a review of earlier translations, in an Introduction of some twenty pages. Eight or nine pages at the end of the book are devoted to an interesting 'Note on the Attitude of Marcus towards the Christians,' in which there is a valuable discussion of 'his supposed uncompromising attitude towards the Christians'; 'nothing has done the good name of Marcus so much harm' as this. Apropos of Mr. Haines' defence of the Emperor in this matter, we may notice his mention (p. xx) of Mr. Jackson's recent version, in which he says: 'The book would have been more

acceptable without the introduction by Dr. Bigg, which gives a most unfair and wholly inaccurate view of the life and character of Marcus.' Another scathing allusion to Dr. Bigg will be found on p. 213 note. Mr. Haines also supplies us with three Indexes—of Matters, of Proper Names and Quotations, and a Glossary of Greek Terms—which are evidently compiled with much care, and add greatly to the usefulness of the book.

As regards the translation—which is, after all, the main matter—here is what the translator himself says about it in the Preface: 'No trouble has been spared to make the translation as accurate and idiomatic as possible. I have preferred to err, if error it be, on the side of over-faithfulness, because the physiognomy of the book owes so much to the method and style in which it is written. Its homeliness, abruptness, and want of literary finish (though it does not lack rhetoric) are part of the character of the work, and we alter this character by rewriting it into the terse, epigrammatic, staccato style so much in vogue at the present day. Another reason for literalness is that it makes a comparison with the Greek,

printed beside it, easier for the unlearned.' For accuracy and faithfulness, in the sense of closeness to the original, there is no doubt, I think, that Mr. Haines surpasses all his competitors. None the less, I imagine that most English readers, innocent of pedantry and of Greek, would vote for Dr. Rendall's version as the more attractive and the more impressive. If we admit that Marcus is commonly abrupt, it does not seem so much amiss to render him in a somewhat staccato style; while if a literal 'crib' style of translation is needed for the edification of the 'unlearned,' an ultra-censorious critic might ask why our translator in Book VII. 10 starts his sentence with 'a little while and' to render *τάχιστα*, and in VII. 20 uses the same phrase to render *ἐγγύς*; and he might cite a number of other instances of back-sliding from the creed and cult of literal exactitude.

In the construction of the text Mr. Haines has had the advantage of being able to use Schenkl's *editio major* (printed in 1913), and he acknowledges his debt 'to Professors Leopold and Schenkl for advice and help on various points.' The traditional text, as he tells us, 'is often difficult, and in many places corrupt beyond cure.' Mr. Haines is careful to mark the places

where the Greek is obviously wrong, but he rarely ventures on bold restorations. He retains, e.g. *ἡπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν* (III. 3), and *συμπεφορημένος μὲν, ἀλλὰ κόσμος* (IV. 27, where, as I have elsewhere observed, his rendering seems to me to make nonsense). On the other hand, he adopts Rendall's brilliant *τοκεῶνων* in IV. 46, and Gataker's *ἀνίαν* (for *αὐτήν*) in IV. 3; in III. 12 he makes the plausible suggestion *μηδὲν ἐν παρεμπορεύματι*, and the *locus desperatus* in VII. 24 he patches up with <δ> *ὅταν πολλάκις ἐνῇ, ἀποθνήσκει δὴ πρόσχημα*—which is ingenious enough, and at least as likely as most of the previous guesses. On the whole, Mr. Haines' text may be described as soundly conservative, though quite up to date.

A feature which is most useful for the study of Marcus' thought is the system of cross-references to parallel passages which Mr. Haines has added to his footnotes.

I have noted only a few misprints, all of minor importance; but there is at least one place (IV. 30) where the Greek and the English seem discordant.

There is a pretty topical touch about the frontispiece which represents (from a panel of a triumphal arch) the Emperor 'receiving German prisoners in the field.'

R. G. BURY.

THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

The Greek Anthology. With an English translation by W. R. PATON. In five volumes: Vol. II. Pp. 517. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons (Loeb Classical Library, Vol. LXVIII.), MCMXVII. 5s. net.

MR. W. R. PATON's edition of the *Greek Anthology*, of which this is the second volume, comes out appropriately at a time when the *Anthology* has been receiving much attention, especially from scholars in Italy, such as Veniero, Rostagno, Setti, Calderini, Cessio, and Colangelo, and in Germany. The text, based upon Duebner in the Didot edition, contains some of Stadtmueller's

results and some of Mr. Paton's own suggestions. The volume contains Book VII. of the *Anthology* (the Sepulchral Epigrams), and Book VIII. the Epigrams of Gregory of Nazianza, for whom Stadtmueller presumably cared little, since he omitted the book in his edition, although the Didot edition contains it. The theologian had a ready pen and a gift of facile expression; though Dr. Gildersleeve in his irrepressibly cheerful way has lately told us that he does not want 'to read fifty-two Epigrams on the blessedness of giving up the ghost in church, and thus exchanging a temporary slumber for the eternal sleep.' One welcomes the witty American

scholar's epigram; but, strictly speaking, the exchange is not possible in a Greek church, because there are no comfortable pews, whatever there may be in Boston. Still, perhaps the collection may lead readers to make a closer acquaintance with St. Gregory's poetical writings—for instance, the poems *De Se Ipso*, which, though prolix, are historically valuable as well as diverting.

Nothing need here be added to what was said about the translation in the review of the first volume (C.R. XXXI. 142); but since we have not yet reached an entirely satisfactory text of the *Anthology*, even in the latest selection—that of Veniero (1903)—a few criticisms may not be out of place. Among Mr. Paton's emendations may be mentioned VII. 51. 6, Adaeus, ἐμβάδ' ἐρειδομένας, which may very likely be right; and so may ἐπίκροτος for the unintelligible ἐπίρροθος in Archimedes' (?) well-known poem on the style of Euripides, VII. 50. 3; but the credit for the first suggestion of it must be given to D'Orville; πολλάκι for πολλαῖς in VII. 212. 3, Mnascalas, is an elegant correction. One had hoped for more light on the strange epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum in VII. 472, where Reitzenstein has in *Epigramm und Skolion*, p. 154, perpetrated an astonishingly careless false quantity.

To turn to other passages in the text. In VII. 267. 4, Posidippus, Νικήτην οἴτινες οἰκτίρετε cannot be right: Hecker's ὠκτίσατε (or οἰ-) is demanded by the metre and the sense. In VII. 215. 4, Anyte, ποιφύξω for ποιφύσσω is demanded by ἀναρρίψω in l. 2. VII. 492. 5, Anyte, νυμφίον ἀλλ' Ἀἶδην should go together, as Reiske and Jacobs saw. VII. 490. 3, Anyte, ἐπὶ πάντων can hardly mean 'in the

case of all,' which would be ἐπὶ πάντας. Perhaps we should take ἀπὸ πάντων or Meineke's προπάντων; ἐπὶ may have got in from ἐπὶ πολλοὶ in l. 1. In VII. 23b it is a good idea of Stadtmueller's to insert this distich in VII. 31, Dioscorides. In VII. 37. 12, Dioscorides, Stadtmueller's conjecture οὖν suits the corrupt σὸν better than the usual correction καί. VII. 240. 1, Adaeus, ἀδηλῇ gives a better sense. In VII. 240. 6, Diotimus, the lacuna is best filled by οὐ χορὸν, which may have fallen out from the similarity to οἶδ' Ἀχέρων. VII. 718. 2 ἄνθος ἀμυσόμενος of Jacobs is attractive, and Scaliger's Πατέρων for πατέρων in VII. 438. 1, Damagetus. In VII. 484. 2, Dioscorides, Reiske's οὐδ' ἐνὸς ὄνατ' ἀπο should be accepted for MS. ὠνάσατο, which has little or no authority; and in l. 3 Meineke's ἀριστεύουσα for ἀρίστη εἶδσα. VII. 656. 4, Leonidas Tar. opinions will differ: Meineke's ἦν ποτ' ἐγὼ δήϊον is certainly clever, but Geffcken's ἦν ποτ' ἐγὼν ἥριον gives a good point. VII. 740. 2, Leonidas, Kaibel's ἐγχθόνιος σποδιά for ἐν χθονίοις is certainly right; he compares σποδιῇ κειμένη ἐγχθόνιος from an inscription of Teos, and thinks that the phrase is an imitation of Leonidas. And l. 5 ὁ πρὶν —τί πλείω μυθεῖμαι; ὁ πᾶσι μακαρτὸς is impossible in so correct and so early a writer as Leonidas, owing to the break at the trochee in the fourth foot (see C.R. XXIX. 48. This piece of bad rhythm dies hard; the fact is that it is not Greek, but Latin, and confined to writers of the bilingual era of the Empire, and not common even then. It is a favourite rhythm with Ovid, and is perhaps due to his influence.

J. U. POWELL.

THE CAMBRIDGE SONGS.

The Cambridge Songs. A Goliard's Song Book of the Eleventh Century. Edited from the unique MS. in the University Library by K. BREUL. Cambridge University Press, 1915.

THE Cambridge Songs have long been known to scholars; but the problems

which they involve are so various, touching as they do upon music, religion, philosophy, and mediaeval history, besides textual criticism and language, that very few libraries would contain the whole material for studying them. Part of this work is a digest of this material, not so made as to repro-

duce it, but to indicate to the special student where he must go to find out more. Quite enough direct help is given to enable the reader to understand the songs without further trouble; the specialist alone will have to go farther, but for him also the book offers an important help in the photographs. For the whole MS. has been photographed in the same size, and the reproductions, admirably done as are all such of the Cambridge Press, enable the student to work almost as if he had the MS. before him. This is most important, since very few of those who have discussed the MS. have ever seen it; and after the fashion of scholars, they discuss each other's emendations without making sure whether they are possible. Opposite each page of MS. is a transliteration, the abbreviations being given in full, but by the usual convention in italics. These photographs alone would make the book indispensable to the student.

From certain allusions, and from parts of certain songs which are written in a Rhenish dialect, it would appear that the book from which they were copied was compiled 'in the country about Treves and Cologne.' It was then copied into the MS. which contains them, with other matter, which MS. belonged to the monastery of the Augustinians in Canterbury. It came to Cambridge soon after 1670, by purchase. Most of it is legible; but some poems which offended the pious monks have been defaced or blotted out. The chapter which describes the MS. has also a table showing how to find each song in the MS., references being added for each to the chief places where each has been printed.

Besides this Dr. Breul has grouped the songs according to subject: religious, historical and personal, 'novelistic' and humorous, poems on spring and love, didactic, classical, and 'some unconnected lines that appear to be nothing but metrical experiments.' The poems are reprinted in full, with a few correc-

tions of spelling; and thereto notes are added. Bibliography, alphabetical index, and general index complete the work.

Probably the most remarkable of the collection is a macaronic historical poem *de Henrico*, on Henry of Bavaria, perhaps the oldest of the historical songs. Half of each line is in Latin, half in the North Middle Franconian dialect. Its interpretation depends on the reading of one word, which older scholars give as *bruother*, but later scholars have been unable to read the word. One avers that he saw *bringt*, but only *bri* can now be seen.¹ The editor is unable to make up his mind; but his one piece of new evidence, that *th* and *ph* are not separated between lines, is strongly against *bruother*. The exact occasion therefore remains in doubt; but it is one where an Emperor Otto shows honour to a Henry of Bavaria. The editor inclines to refer its subject to the year 948. The *Modus Ottine*, a fine specimen of the 'sequence,' praises the Saxon Emperor Otto III. (963-1002). Passing by the other historical poems we come to an amusing tale of *Sacerdos et Lupus*, which the poet declares to be true: a *iocularis cantio*, meant to be sung to a hymn-tune. *Alfrâd*, which also reads like a true story, tells how an old lady tried to rescue her pet she-ass from a wolf. A *Carmen Aestivum*, in Sapphics, is found only in this MS.; *Luscinia* is a charming song on the nightingale, in rimed verse. A woman's song to the Spring is pathetic and graceful. This group of poems will be the most attractive to the reader who cares less for theology or mediaeval German history; they are simple and full of charm.

¹ It seems that Mr. Pribsch in 1894 was allowed to use a 'chemical reagent' which has obliterated even what was once seen there. Dr. Breul wanted to do it again, but the Librarian very properly forbade it. I trust that our treasures may be preserved with all care in the future.

THEOPHRASTUS' SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRIES.

Theophrastus' Enquiry into Plants and Minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs. With an English Translation by Sir ARTHUR HORT, Bart., M.A. 12mo. Two vols.: I. xxviii+475; II. ix+499. Portrait Bust of Theophrastus. London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. MCMXVI.

THE scientific insight of the Ionian mind, and therewith its almost silent scorn of magical and monstrous alloy, is one of the marvels of history. The searching influence of it purified medicine in Greece, Alexandria, and the Roman Empire, down to the end of the fourth century. This contemptuous shedding of thaumaturgy, already perceptible in the guileless irony of Herodotus, in Theophrastus is fully manifest. Moreover, the ancient cullers of simples, much bigger men than the druggist slaves in Rome, took care, as did the traders in spices and other precious wares, to surround the sources of their raw materials with walls of terror. As the spice gardens were protected by serpents, flying scorpions, and ants rather larger than foxes but not quite so large as dogs, as again the modern beach comber scares other rovers with hideous masks and sulphurous fumes, so were medicinal herbs protected by bogeys. From his vast collection of materials, much of which must have come by hearsay from persons apparently expert—as Aristotle gathered information from hunters, fishermen, and shepherds—Theophrastus repeats here and there rather 'tall' stories, as narrated to him by druggists and herb-diggers; saying of them τὰ μὲν ἴσως οἰκείως τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτραγωδοῦντες λέγουσι (IX. viii. 5); and a little farther on, before reciting some terrible warnings against the gathering of certain herbs, such as peony, too rashly, he sets aside τὰ τοιαῦτα ὥσπερ ἐπίθετα καὶ πόρρωθεν.

Aristotle, interested as he was in plant physiology, did not concern himself intimately with systematic botany; but no doubt he collected the materials

of botany and materia medica with the prodigious industry which he gave to the animal world. Of his great library and vast accumulations of notes, and of his distribution of these materials amongst his literary executors—such as Eudemus, Theophrastus, Straton, Menon, Aristoxenus—in these pages I need say nothing. To Theophrastus he committed the edition of his botanical record, with certain minor subjects outside our present consideration. On plants Theophrastus wrote two books, the one π. φυτῶν ἱστορίας, which is now before us, the other bearing the title π. φυτῶν αἰτιῶν which to us sounds odd; but here by 'causes' he meant the growth or propagation of plants, from which spontaneous origin (γενέσεις αὐτόμαται) is not excluded. The author cautiously includes however growth from seed or slip ὥσπερ γὰρ αὐτόμαται καὶ αὐταί. An acceptance of spontaneous origin does notwithstanding reappear many times in the π. φυτῶν—e.g. the engendering of gall insects from the seeds of the fig—but in one place (III. i. 4) he quotes the remarkable words of Anaxagoras—that the air contains the seeds of all things, and that these carried down by the rain produce the plants. And a little later (i. 6) he thoughtfully ponders 'whether there were seeds in it (the soil) already.'

To trace plant lore backwards to its sources, even in summary, would carry us far beyond these columns; but passing over the ancient trade of Egypt and Phoenicia with Ceylon, we shall more immediately call to mind the scientific results of Alexander's expedition to the East, who, probably thereunto advised by Aristotle, carried with him, like a Scott or a Shackleton, a small army of scientific explorers. Hence the descriptions of plants by Theophrastus are not limited to the flora of Greece and the Levant; he owed, says Sir Arthur Hort, to the reports of Alexander's followers accounts of such plants as cotton, banyan, pepper, cinnamon, myrrh, and frankincense. In

other places he seems to be 'referring to reports from districts visited by students of the Peripatetic School.' Pythagoras, also a botanist, like Democritus after him, who had travelled widely in Persia, Arabia, Egypt and Ethiopia,¹ had written on the virtues of plants; and from Pythagoras Theophrastus took some of his material. But the first herbal in Greek of which we have any definite knowledge was the *Ῥιζοτομικὸν* of Diocles, a very distinguished Hippocratean physician of the first third of the fourth century.² As Diocles is mentioned by Theophrastus in his tract *π. λίθων* (c. v. 344), we may presume that he had that herbal before him, and was more or less indebted to it. In those days, as we know, literary spoils were rarely acknowledged.

The story of plants, and somewhat later of minerals, as remedies and poisons, and earlier still of the venoms of animals (iology), runs, as we might expect, all through the history of medicine, and forms a very important clew to its traditions. Apollodorus, the 'father of iology,' was a contemporary of Theophrastus, but, although in the *π. φυτῶν* we find some toxicology, iology of course lay outside its scheme. Presumably because Theophrastus was in the main a botanist, and a pharmacist only by the way, his treatises on plants were not carried into the central current of pharmacy. Thus they seem in some measure and for a while to have escaped attention. It would have been to the advantage of Dioscorides had he known more of Theophrastus.³ The work of Crateuas, the physician and toxicologist to the arch-poisoner Mithridates Eupator, was more definitely medical, and thus became rather the source for succeeding pharmacists and toxicologists such as Nicander, Sextius Niger, Dioscorides, Galen, Marcellus (c. 395 A.D.); and so on to Cassiodorus and the remoter West. Unhappily from the credulous Marcellus, John of Gaddesden, Mirfield,

Bernard of Gordon, derived the tradition in Great Britain. The first scientific botanist of modern time was Nehemiah Grew (1641-1712).

The enthusiastic reports of Tournefort and of later travellers in the Levant, who have declared that the descriptions of Theophrastus are so accurate as to serve at once to identify the plants of that region, are more generous than justifiable; in fact the descriptions are often meagre, and the identifications far from obvious. Theophrastus mentions indeed only about 450 out of 3,000 or more species now in Greece. For us the interesting features in the perusal of this, as of other works of the greater scientific ancients, are not instruction in detail, but evidence of a broad rational insight into, and handling of their subjects; and instances of remarkable observation and analysis. As in his apprehension of the influence of external conditions upon life Hippocrates anticipated Buckle and Taine, so with like breadth of reason, insight, and practical grip Theophrastus pointed out the effects of 'milieu' upon plants and trees; upon the species themselves and the selection of species. For instance, he says that the wood of the silver fir when grown in damp places is not of such close grain nor so comely as when grown in a sunny position. In like manner, he indicates the species or varieties which belong to the mountains, others to the plains. Moreover, he grasped the idea of geographical botany. The discussion (in IV. xi.) on the growth of reeds, and especially of the reed used for musical pipes, with the season and method of cutting and fashioning the reed for the mouth-piece, is an interesting example of his manner; so again his description of the uses of hemlock and of wolf's-bane as poisons (II. ix. 16); the discussion of acquired immunity (II. ix. 17). When by habituation the constitution has accepted them and prevails over them, poisons cease to poison. Theophrastus tells a story of a quacksalver at whose tolerance of poisons the populace marvelled; but a passing shepherd cunning in herbs consumed a whole bundle of the stuff, and so quenched the pedlar's reputation.

¹ See Pliny, *H.N.* XXV. c. 2.

² See *Frag. Dioclis*, ed. Wellmann.

³ Some passages drifted into Dioscorides and into Galen (*De victu att.*); e.g. from Book IV. as Kalbfleisch pointed out about twenty years ago.

The *π. φυτόν* then is a very thorough and laborious piece of work; and, seeing that such technical books in Greek are hard reading, as I presume even for scholars, a translation such as this, really an edition as well as a translation, is more than welcome to botanists and medical historians. In a few passages to which I had occasionally referred I had found Wimmer's Latin translation slight; and in more general terms Sir Arthur Hort says that 'it slurs the difficulties.' Besides the technical language of the book, the style of Theophrastus, like that of Aristotle, is often rough, allusive, and curt, as of notes for lectures; or it may have been a 'Master's Book' from which he himself, and his disciples after him, preserved memoranda for teaching, and for perpetuation of a tradition chiefly oral. Thus to the literary reader the treatise is the less attractive. Except for experts, these laborious details are less inviting than wider speculations on the cosmos, on atomism, on the pneuma, and so forth.

Haeser says that J. G. Schneider first made the botanical treatises of Theophrastus available for literature (Leipzig, 1818-1821); and, if by the lexicon¹ of this great scholar we may estimate his peculiar equipment for that task, we may so far rely upon his edition. Unfortunately, as Sir A. Hort points out, the *Codex Urbinas* was not known when that edition was published. Kurt Sprengel, in his 'monumental edition,' has the credit of bringing to his work more of botanical science than of scholarship; but I see in his preface

¹ As being something of a dilettante in lexicons, may I say that J. G. Schneider's *Greco-German. Wörterbuch* (third edition, 1819) is very valuable, as it contains many curious and out-of-the-way words, especially in science.

that Wimmer is not cordially of this opinion. He says of Sprengel not only 'certi subtilisque interpretis laudem non meruit,' but also 'neque in plantis determinandis satis felix.' It is interesting to note that even upon this tangled department of scholarship the great Scaliger had descended, and written a brilliant commentary.² At present, as a complete edition of Theophrastus' scientific works, that of Wimmer (in the Didot series, 1866) holds the field. In the botanical detail of the translation Sir Arthur Hort has had the invaluable aid of Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer, to whom also we owe the compilation of the appended Index of Plants. In his text Sir Arthur has very wisely given the English names, so far as possible. Upon every page it is apparent how onerous must have been the labour bestowed by him upon these volumes, both in respect of the text, the scientific details, and the notes, all of which are brief and to the point. The mere verification of the references must have been an exacting task. Of the translation itself, coming as it does from so accomplished a scholar, it becomes me to speak only as a general reader; I have found it not only to throw much light upon the Greek, but also to be very readable as original prose.

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

P.S.—By a fortunate coincidence, since Sir A. Hort's edition was published, Professor Stratton, of the University of California, has edited the *Περὶ αἰσθήσεων* of Theophrastus, with a translation, under the title of *Greek Physiological Psychology* (London and New York, 1917); an able and very interesting study.

² Commentary, etc., on the *π. φυτόν*, Leyden, 1584; and on the *π. αἰριών*, Geneva, 1566.

PLOTINUS: THE ETHICAL TREATISES.

Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises. Translated by STEPHEN MACKENNA. Vol. I. Large crown 8vo. Pp. 158. London: Philip Lee Warner, 1917. 16s. net.

As the title-page informs us, this first volume of Mr. Mackenna's translation of

Plotinus contains 'the treatises of the First Ennead with Porphyry's life of Plotinus, and the Preller-Ritter extracts forming a Conspectus of the Plotinian system.' In addition, sandwiched between the First Ennead and the 'Conspectus,' there are about twenty-five pages of 'Bibliography and Explanatory

Matter.' This arrangement strikes one as rather awkward: one would have expected the introductory matter—including the 'Conspectus,' if such a thing is necessary—to have its place at the beginning, so that the translation of Plotinus might run on continuously from volume to volume. This, however, is a minor matter. The great matter is that here at last Plotinus has found a capable translator, and that the English student can peruse him at his leisure with comfort and satisfaction. For the volume itself is a pleasure to handle: the paper is of high quality, the type clear and well spaced, the margins ample, and the binding pleasing with its 'Michalet boards, canvas back, and paper label.'

As regards the style and method of Mr. Mackenna's translation opinions may differ. He pours scorn on the 'arbitrary principles laid down by translators of a formally precise school,' and he warns us that 'readers who desire their translations to serve as an unfailing treasury of illustrations to "X on Greek Idioms" are not asked to like this version.' 'The present translator,' he tells us, 'has not thought of his probable readers as glossary-bound pedants. . . The first aim has been the utmost attainable clearness in the faithful, full and unalloyed expression of the meaning; the second aim, set a long way after the first, has been the reproduction of the splendid soaring passages with all their warmth and light.' After this dressing-down of the critics, he would be a bold man who would venture to play the part again. None the less, one may ask whether the word 'complement' (p. 33, l. 3) is not a misprint for 'couplement'—a word I cannot take to, though it is Mr. Mackenna's regular equivalent for τὸ συναμφότερον or κοινόν. In Enn. I. i. 3, when the Greek runs ὁ τι περ ἂν περὶ σῶμα πᾶν γίγνηται, the version has 'every other affection that belongs to the body,' as if πᾶν were absent. In the same section it is difficult to see how, 'if the soul uses the body, it is separate from it,' represents χωρίζει γοῦν ὁ τὸ χρώμενον διδούς.

Towards the close of I. i. 4 (μᾶλλον ἂν τῷ σώματι κ.τ.λ.) I cannot make out how the translator wishes to take τῷ μέντοι τοιούτῳ, τῷ φυσικῷ when he writes 'their natural seat is the material member,' etc.: a pedant might suspect here a blunder in construing. In the Ritter-Preller extracts we miss any indication of the places where the translator (after Volkmann) corrects the text (e. g. ἡ χορηγεῖ for ἡ χορηγῇ, V. i. 2); and here, too, there are renderings which raise a doubt in the pedantic mind, as when ἐλθοῦσα εἰς σῶμα οὐρανοῦ (V. i. 2) is turned into 'when it comes to body.' In rendering obscure passages a certain amount of expansion may be necessary, but even a 'faithful' and 'literary rather than literal' version might furnish a more compact equivalent for ἀλλὰ τὸ ζῶον μᾶλλον (I. i. 4 *ad fin.* than 'all this is rather in the province of something which we may call the Animate.' Nor can I feel at home with 'Authentic-Existents' (for ὄντως ὄντα), 'Ordinary Mentation,' 'the Animate-Entity,' and so forth: they are awkward pieces of mental furniture. 'Plotinus,' says Mr. Mackenna, 'was pouring quite a new wine into very old bottles!' Mr. Mackenna has some new bottles for the new wine; but one is still inclined to say, of bottles as of wine, 'the old is better!' This may all be pedantry and prejudice, but—it will out.

But enough of such carpings. To commend the book and point out its merits is a much more pleasing task, and there can be no question as to the labour and learning which Mr. Mackenna has bestowed upon the production of this handsome volume. It contains much that is helpful towards the understanding of the doctrine of the greatest Neo-platonist, and it is eminently successful in one, at least, of its aims—namely, 'the reproduction of the splendid soaring passages with all their warmth and light.' And the fact that Plotinus has been so greatly neglected by English scholars and translators makes it doubly welcome.

R. G. BURY.

CAPTAIN MAGO'S ADVENTURES.

Pericla Navarchi Magonis sive expeditio Phoenicia annis ante Christum mille. Opus Francice scripsit Leo Cahun, in Anglicum vertit Helena E. Frewer, Latine interpretatus est Arcadius Avellanus: Mount Hope Classics. Vol. I. \$5. New York City, 37 Wall Street.

THIS book is one of several stories, translated into Latin by that original scholar, Dr. Avellanus, and apparently used by Mr. E. Parmadee Prentice, (who writes a preface) for the instruction of his children. The *King of the Golden River* has already appeared as *Rex Aurei Rivi*, and there has been a considerable demand for it.

The idea is admirable. It is not new, for *Robinson Crusoe* has already been published in Latin; but it has not hitherto found favour for various reasons. One is, the pedantic method of teaching dear to the hearts of schoolmasters—or at least, if not altogether dear to their hearts, for in an expansive mood they will at times utter heretical sentiments, at least it is sacred in their practice. Another is, that the translators are not careful enough to adapt their style to the needs of schoolboys. *Robinson Crusoe* erred somewhat in this respect, and our readers will see that the learned translator of Mago's adventures is not free from it.

But first let me say that the story is quite the best of its kind I have ever read. It is not one of those horrid shams like Becker's *Gallus*, which give a little rivulet of story in the midst of Alpine precipices of excursus; where the story is in itself thin, often dull, and however good it might be, it would be spoilt by the duty looming in the background, that those excursus must be read. No: it is an admirable tale of adventure, which would enthrall any schoolboy, which has enthralled hosts of French schoolboys, and the reader soon ceases to care that the hero's name is Mago and not Crusoe. There is plenty of learning in it and plenty of information, but it is given so artlessly and with so nice a judgment of time

and proportion that I believe the schoolboy will be quite pleased to have it. I can judge from my own memories that the schoolboys *consule Planco* would have read it with avidity, and I believe the same of the days *consule Georgio*, in spite of John Bull, Sherlock Holmes, and picturedromes. The schoolboy does not really object to information; he only hates to be bored, and so do I still. If any schoolboy sees these lines, he may take my word for it that he will not be bored with Mago.

He will however find the Latin more difficult than it has any need to be. The rules of classical usage are not always followed: e. g. 'ac tandem, quin ulla amplius verba fecisset, discessit;' 'nautae armati, lanceis in manibus;' 'ut se Horo pro reliquo vitae tempore devoturus esset,' 'melius quam quicunque vestrum,' 'plecti curavi,' 'vel quicquid aliud,' all from the first few pages. This is the most serious objection to the book, and one which could easily have been removed; for it is not wise, and certainly not necessary, to deviate from correct usage. The other objection, less important, is to the vocabulary. For the translator has used numbers of rare, poetic, or late words, such as *ignivomus*, *harilatio*, *argentifodinis*, many of which are quite easily understood, some of them even ornaments, but they serve to recal the style of Apuleius or Petronius rather than Cicero. And yet Cicero, when he tells a plain tale, and really wants his hearers to understand him, is incomparable, and his vocabulary is large enough for schoolboys. However, this is a minor point; it is the syntax which is the serious one. If Dr. Avellanus should think fit to modify his practice in this respect, the old words would really hurt nobody. Schoolboys have quite a genius for forgetting. In one other respect a change would be useful; if the speaker's name and any descriptive matter were put before each speech, instead of interrupting the speeches in the middle, not only would Latin custom be followed, but the narrative would be clearer.

The book is too expensive to be used in England as a class-book; but a cheaper reprint, with the suggested changes, would make it a very welcome school-reader. As it is, it may be recommended cordially to teachers of Latin. They will certainly enjoy it

themselves; and they may find ways of using it, or parts of it—for example by reading aloud, which will make the name of Avellanus agreeable to the minds of our youth.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

APULEIUS: THE GOLDEN ASS.

Apuleius: The Golden Ass. Being the *Metamorphoses* of Lucius Apuleius. With an English Translation by W. ADLINGTON (1566). Revised by S. GASELEE, Fellow and Librarian of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Frontispiece, portrait of Apuleius on a Coin. One vol. Pp. xxiv+608. London: William Heinemann; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1915. 5s. net. Loeb Classical Library.

IN the introduction to a translation of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius published seven years ago, Professor Harold Butler very modestly stated as a justification for his work that "there exists only one English translation of the *Golden Ass* that repays reading. That is the translation of Adlington, which, for all its beauty, is inaccurate and, what is more serious, exceedingly hard to procure.' Since these words were written a reprint of Adlington's translation has been issued at a moderate price, but the enterprise of the Loeb Classical Library enables English readers for the first time to enjoy a masterpiece of Elizabethan prose without straying so widely as Adlington himself from the 'strange and absurd words,' the 'new invented phrases' of the original. The present writer has no authority to speak of the textual difficulties which the *Metamorphoses* present, or of the skill with which Mr. Gaselee has exercised his discretion in choosing between many variants. But the revision of Adlington's version has been so excellently carried out that scholars of every degree, and the public who have lost their Latin, are certain to find in this edition the most convenient form in which Apuleius has yet been made available to Englishmen.

This is not the place to pursue an

inquiry into the extent of inaccuracy which can be admitted without spoiling a version, for there can be no question, as Mr. Charles Whibley has shown in his admirable tribute¹ to Adlington's qualities as a translator, that 'The XI Bookes of the Golden Asse' were in their matter but a shadow of the Latin.

It is no less beyond dispute that the conjunction of Apuleius, forcing a great language into shapes which have the metallic brilliance of a crystal about to break down into decay, and Adlington, exulting in the copiousness of the revived English which admitted words from innumerable sources, was singularly happy. A comparison of Mr. Gaselee's revision with Adlington's 1639 edition and the Latin shows that nothing has been lost of the energy of the first inspiration, and numerous improvements added without bringing to the reader's touch a sense of patches in the many-coloured garment in which Adlington fancifully exercised himself. Our own language has only once known that exuberance which gave Adlington phrases like 'a rich Chuffe called Chriseros' for *Chryseros quidam nummularius* (IV. 9), or 'thus we began our subtilty' for *ad hunc modum prioribus inchoatis* (IV. 16), or 'thou trifling boy, thou Varlet' where Venus calls Cupid *nugo et corruptor* (V. 29); and turned *hic* (IX. 35) into 'this young royster,' *avidis animis* (VIII. 28) into 'the greedy whoresons,' and *bellissimus ille pusio* (IX. 7) into 'the minion lover.' But Mr. Gaselee, with admirable vivacity, seizes openings which Adlington missed. He has 'the old trot' for *senile illud facinus* (IV. 12),

¹ In his introduction to the reprint of the edition of 1639 in the Tudor translations (David Nutt, 1893).

Adlington having used 'old witch, old trot and strumpet' with wild inaccuracy in IV. 7. With rare ingenuity he takes the well-known 'rope-ripe' for *cruciarus ille*, merely rendered 'the servant' in the 1639 edition, in X. 7, and much less properly fathered upon *puer ille peremptor meus* by Adlington in VII. 24. In IV. 14 'their wrecks' for *ferina naufragia*, is his, Adlington having 'them'; and for *narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis* (the words describing the story of Cupid and Psyche) he gives us 'a pleasant old wives' tale' for Adlington's 'a pleasant tale.' In V. 31, the spirited words 'entirely close and shut up that factory where the natural faults of women are made,' and in VI. 16 the malice of 'my poppet' for *mea pupula*, find no place in Adlington. The anti-Christian allusion latent in *salutares vere equidem illas aquas* (IX. 4) is well brought out by the substitution of 'that water, that was truly water of salvation to me' for Adlington's 'the wholesome water of my life.'

But at least for modern readers the main test of a translation of the *Metamorphoses* will always be the rendering of the story of Cupid and Psyche, and it may be well to indicate how the present version compares at certain points both with Adlington and with Walter Pater's paraphrase. Mr. Gaselee does well to retain the magical insertion 'inhabiting in the West parts' of the Elizabethan opening. For *sermonis humani penuria* (IV. 28), Adlington's 'no earthly creature' is altered to 'no earthly tongue'; Pater's 'men's speech was too poor' seems better. The opening words of Venus in IV. 30, *rerum naturae prisca parens*, are given a due Lucretian weight by Mr. Gaselee's 'the original of nature' as against Pater's 'ancient parent of nature' and

Adlington's compression of the first and second phrases in the Latin into 'the original parent of all the elements.' In V. 2 Pater unnecessarily elaborated *vox quaedam corporis sui nuda* into 'a voice as it were unclothed of bodily vesture'; Mr. Gaselee prefers Adlington's 'a voyce without any body.' Similarly in V. 4 Pater turns *clemens quidam sonus* into the modern and mystical 'a sound of a certain clemency'; Adlington seems to have read *somnus*, and translated 'the sweet sleep came upon her,' ignoring the difficulty of *ures eius accedit*; Mr. Gaselee has the simple and adequate phrase, 'a sweet sound came about her ears.' In V. 6 all the translations miss the effect of *sic ille novae nuptae precibus veniam tribuit*, an early example of a theory which has become a novelist's commonplace. Pater omits the phrase, and Mr. Gaselee accepts Adlington's 'whereat at length he was contented.' In V. 9 Mr. Gaselee's 'now already she holds up her countenance, now she breathes the goddess,' for *iam iam sursum respicit et deam spirat mulier* does better justice to a fine phrase than Adlington's feeble 'such was her countenance, so she behaved herself,' or Pater's blank verse 'she looks aloft and breathes divinity.'

These examples are perhaps sufficient to show how far Mr. Gaselee has gone beyond Adlington in ministering to scholarship, while preserving the aim of the first enthusiastic translator, who turned his difficult author into English 'to the end that amongst so many sage and serious works (as every man wellnigh endeavours daily to increase) there might be some fresh and pleasant matter to recreate the minds of the readers withal.'

M. HESELTINE.

SHORT NOTICES

La Science Française. 2 vols. 8vo.
Larousse, Paris.

THE French Ministry of Education having been invited to the Universal Exhibition held at San Francisco in 1915 sent there a library of books relating to all kinds of sciences and dating from the sixteenth century onwards. The catalogue contains what is considered as the most representative works of French science in all branches, and is now published with a notice for each section which sums up the historical development of every branch; there are altogether thirty-three different sections, the first volume being especially devoted to pure science, the second to literature, history, and philology.

The great fact which strikes one at a first perusal is that the French have acted as pioneers in nearly all branches of modern science. M. Lucian Poincaré, in his general introduction, may well write that 'the very fountain-head from which fresh streams of human knowledge have sprung forth has often the name of a great Frenchman attached to it.' If we inquire why and how it is so, he will tell us that it is because 'in every domain, whether scientific or not, France has been the most revolutionary of nations.' But as has been rightly observed, revolution would have no meaning in a country of revolutionary unanimity; revolution in a French mind often means reaction, and always comes from an indefatigable curiosity, a happy audacity of questioning everything afresh, and making a clean sweep of all that is convention, artifice, or tradition. In no branch does this appear more clearly than in philosophy, as M. Bergson easily shows in his short and yet very comprehensive account. The *tabula rasa*, it is well known, is the very starting-point of Descartes, the father of modern European philosophy; but all the great initiators, at different periods, partake of the same spirit: Rousseau, Comte, Claude Bernard. Again, if such revolutionary tendencies do not, however, imply the dangers which they might involve, the French

thinkers owe it to the fact that they unite philosophy to concrete science; they want indeed to assure themselves that they do not indulge in a mere play of ideas. Another feature just as remarkable is the constant introspection which accompanies their researches and makes of them, not vaporous *abstracteurs de quintessence*, but great psychologists and moralists.

These characteristics of the genius of France become manifest in all branches of science; but another point will also detain the attention of the reader: he will see that in many branches, and especially in historical and linguistic sciences, the studious collection of facts, commonly attributed to modern Germany, was first practised in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: good workmen, more or less renowned, from Scaliger to Dom Mabillon and the Benedictines, had thus paved the way to modern researches. True, the heritage sometimes was abandoned by the French; others have seized on it. However, during the last century a revival in such studies took place; let it be our confident hope that everywhere the rank to which French genius has been shown to have a right will not be lost again, and the qualities of clearness, concreteness, and humanity, which this genius can impart to studies which otherwise may seem to some overdry or futile, will all turn to the benefit of the world.

L. C.

The Lascarids of Nicaea. By ALICE GARDNER. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 312.
London: Methuen and Co. 7s.6d.net.

MISS GARDNER has availed herself of all the new material that the labour of many scholars in the last generation has made accessible to write the history of the Lascarid dynasty. The introductory chapters tell concisely the familiar story of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to the overthrow of the Empire at Constantinople. Then in 200 pages a clear way is found

through the half-century of intrigue, diplomacy, and war, during which the Lascarid family reigning at Nicaea maintained itself against the efforts of Turks, Latins, and rival Greeks. Every student will be grateful to Miss Gardner for the light she throws on these dark places of history. The concluding chapter describes the art and literature of the Nicene Empire and the importance of the work done by its statesmen and scholars in 'keeping alive the fire of Hellenic culture till the world in general was ripe to receive its genial and reviving influences.'

A. J. B. G.

Scrivener's Greek Testament. Cheaper Students' Edition. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is a reprint of the fourth edition (1906) revised and corrected by Professor Eb. Nestle. Printed on thin paper and bound in limp cloth, it can be carried comfortably in the pocket.

Ancient Times: A History of the Early World. By J. H. BREASTED, Professor in the University of Chicago. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 742. Numerous maps and illustrations. Ginn and Co. 6s. 6d. net.

THIS text-book of ancient history, intended for use in secondary schools, differs in several ways from most of its kind. It covers the whole ground of ancient history from the dawn of civilisation to the fall of the Roman Empire, giving about 200 pages to the history of the peoples of the East, 260 to that of the Greeks, and 230 to that of the Romans; it deals less with political events and much more with social life, industry, commerce, religion, and culture; and it has an unusual wealth of pictorial illustration, each picture being accompanied by a valuable explanatory note.

Only experiment can show whether Professor Breasted has escaped the common error of attempting too much in so small a space, but the book is attractive and deserves to be tried by those who have found the present text-books unsatisfactory.

A. J. B. G.

The Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria.

By MORRIS JASTROW, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. 1 vol. Royal 8vo. Pp. 515. Map. 164 illustrations. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1915. 25s. net.

THIS volume is intended to give 'the larger public' a general view of the civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria. The first two chapters tell the story of the excavations and of the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions. The third chapter narrates the history of the Oriental States from the beginning to their conquest by Cyrus. The remaining five chapters describe their religions, temples, lands, commerce, art, and literature.

Professor Jastrow has made a wise selection of material, and he writes interestingly from a fulness of knowledge. The numerous photographic reproductions and the translations from the tablets are a valuable addition to a useful book.

The price of the book will put it beyond the reach of many general readers, but schools and colleges would do well to place a copy in their libraries. It is difficult to imagine a more attractive introduction not only to the study of Oriental history, but also to the methods by which the nineteenth century recovered what had so long been buried and forgotten. A pocket edition of this book would be a welcome gift to many soldiers of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force.

A. J. B. G.

Flosculi Rossallenses. Pp. viii + 256. Cambridge: University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

THOUGH no doubt it is true enough that the refinements of Greek and Latin composition are for the few, and that the time which used to be devoted to it in past generations was largely wasted, the classical scholar who has had the training and has profited by it will heartily welcome this volume. It contains versions of all sorts; Latin and Greek prose and verse of every conceivable metre—all of a high level of merit.

The haphazard method by which the book has been arranged gives it an added charm. The order of the pieces has been determined by alphabetical sequence, based on the opening word of the English passages, and the result is a happy blend of many generations. Two Porson prize compositions appropriately bring the collection to a close.

The question is often asked whether the art of versification is not dying out: the fact that this volume contains compositions by boys who had just left school when the war broke out is sufficient to show that this is not true of Rossall. At the same time we think the most scholarly of the versions are those of the older generation; and though it may be invidious to select one out of more than sixty contributors we are inclined to put W.W.W. first.

Composition masters will find the book an invaluable storehouse of models, while those of us who amuse ourselves in spare moments with efforts at versification will find much material to practise upon, and much to stimulate us in its pages.

R. B. L.

Pocket English - Greek Dictionary of Idioms, Proverbs, and Phrases. By A. KYRIAKIDES. Cyprus: Nicosia, 1916.

M. KYRIAKIDES is the author of a modern Greek dictionary, and this book is a supplement to it. He has indeed collected an enormous mass of material, and the book is most useful to one who knows how to use it. But the author, like most Greeks, is uncritical. He has mixed up spoken Greek with the bastard newspaper Greek that no tongue ever speaks, and they are not always kept distinct; sometimes there are words or phrases which are very ancient. Modern proverbs and idioms are often enclosed in commas; but it is necessary to know modern Greek in order to use the book properly. With idioms, he does not always find a corresponding Greek idiom; sometimes he simply translates the English literally, or gives the bare sense. Thus: 'food for powder' is rendered *στρατιῶται*; 'his work is cut out for him,' *τὸ ἔργον*

του εἶνε προδιαγεγραμμένον, which is wrong, on p. 126, but on p. 890 he has learnt what it means, and gives an idiom *εὐρήκα τὸν μπελᾶ μου*. With these reservations, we recommend the book.

W. H. D. R.

Studies in Ennius. By ELEANOR SHIPLEY DUCKETT. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1915.

IN this learned and clever little treatise the authoress considers (1) Ennius' place among writers of history and (2) his influence on the Chorus of Roman Tragedy. She deals first with the theory started by Ranke and developed by others, that the legends of Rome, as given by the earliest Roman annalists, were borrowed from the *praetextae* of the early dramatists, who either invented them or imported them from Greek literature. We think she shows clearly that the scanty remains of these plays do not support the theory built upon them, while there is evidence from coins and works of art to show that one legend at any rate (that of Romulus and Remus) was current long before Naevius took it as the subject of his *praetexta*. The conclusion is drawn that Ennius in his *Annales* recounted the legends of the Regal period merely as legends and without any attempt to embroider them. In the historical period of his work his account is full and authentic.

The second part of Miss Duckett's treatise is a criticism of Leo's view that the chorus in Ennius' plays had ceased to sing as a whole, but was represented by the recitative in some stichic metre of the coryphaeus or others. Here we are not quite sure whether Miss Duckett appreciates the significance of the scanty evidence afforded by the fragments. She quotes the *Iphigenia* and the *Medea Exul*, where the chorus give expression to their feelings in trochaic septenarii, and adds, 'these two fragments are the only certain ones extant which show non-lyric metre given by Ennius to a chorus in his plays.' True: but they *are* certain; and it is surely most significant that the passage from the *Medea* is in lyric metres in Euripides;

while the 'lyric' fragments of Ennius are most uncertain and, even if admitted, do not require to be spoken by the whole chorus. We still feel that there is much force in Leo's contention that Ennian tragedy and Plautine comedy ran upon parallel lines. Greek tragedy confined the dialogue almost entirely to the trimeter and found variety in the lyrics of the chorus. Ennius, like Plautus, seeks for variety in long trochaic and long iambic lines delivered in recitative.

With Miss Duckett's final contention that Ennius allowed the chorus to participate in the life of the plot to a greater extent than did his predecessors we should be inclined to agree. The fragments certainly show that the chorus frequently intervenes, and as she remarks, 'the Romans learnt Greek drama of the Hellenistic type prevalent in Magna Graecia. . . . It is not surprising that the original mind [of Ennius] should have turned away from the familiar Alexandrian school to follow more closely the old tragic poets in his plays.'

F. W. HALL.

War Time Lectures. By E. V. ARNOLD.
London, 1916.

OF the three sections into which this volume is divided, only one, the first, is within the province of the *Classical Review*. It consists of two lectures, entitled 'Trade Unions and Friendly Societies of the Roman Empire.' They refer almost entirely to the western half of the Empire. It is always tempting to apply such designations as 'Trade Union' and 'Friendly Societies' to the Roman *collegia*, but none could well be less appropriate. Many *collegia* were indeed composed of members of the same craft, but they pursued aims far different from those of the modern Trade Union. For example, the 'strike' is a phenomenon alien to ancient civilisation, with rare exceptions. Even less suitable is the phrase 'Friendly Society.' Some of the *collegia* resemble our 'Burial Clubs,' but otherwise there is but small trace of the principle of mutual assistance. Again, the ancient associations were institutions restricted to particular towns; there were

hardly any widely extended societies having branches in different communities. The chief exception is that of the association of Dionysiac artistes. When *collegia* in different towns bore the same name they were still independent. Like some who have preceded him, Prof. Arnold does not sufficiently insist on these wide differences. The subject is of course intricate and has extensive ramifications and is not easy to expound in small compass. He has produced a lucid and serviceable general account conveying information which the English reader will not easily find elsewhere. In so rapid a survey of so difficult a field, an occasional want of precision was almost unavoidable; but there are few things here which challenge dissent. On p. 35 *quinquennales* are mentioned as though they were functionaries holding office for five years. It is hardly the case that the so-called *collegia illicita* existed 'in defiance of the law' (p. 29). The Roman Government treated many things with a toleration which seems illogical to moderns. It was well understood that a *collegium* would not be suppressed if it were harmless. This applies to religious societies, of which it can hardly be said that 'religious brotherhoods were forbidden' (p. 28). They were destroyed if thought to be dangerous; otherwise they were neglected. There is only one statement in the book which seems to call for a vigorous protest—viz., that 'corn was not grown in Italy after 200 B.C.' (p. 44). This belief is far from being peculiar to Prof. Arnold. It is to be found in many books and articles and threatens (in England at least) to become a canonical error. Plenty of positive evidence to the contrary is scattered about in the records. Nor can it be accidental that we have no testimony to the dependence on imported grain of any ancient Italian city excepting Rome.

J. S. R.

Caesar's Wars with the Germans, ed. by W. C. Bowie (Blackwell, 86 pp., 1s. 6d. net), is rather elementary. Caesar's text is in the first ten pages broken up into easy detached sentences, in the next eleven it is slightly simplified, in the remaining twenty-one pages it is not

modified. The notes on language are short, clear and sound. The common uses of the cases are well distinguished. The subject-matter is treated very briefly.

We have two other books for the same stage of progress, both of which have the merit that they are much easier than the texts on which they are based. S. E. Winbolt's *Caesar's Belgian Campaign* (Bell, 107 pp., 1s. 6d.) is successful in preserving some of the interest of the stirring story of *B.G.* II. The introduction is not very hopeful. There are short notes at the foot of the page, exercises and a vocabulary. In his *Books of Britain and the Emperors: Book I., Julius Caesar to Agricola* (Bell, 96 pp., 1s.), E. C. Marchant has attempted a

more difficult task. The book lacks unity of interest. We have stories of Julius and Augustus and many others, but we do not hear enough about any of them to become really interested. With Claudius we turn our attention to Britain, but, as the editor says, 'owing to the vagueness of the ancient historians it is impossible to follow the campaigns closely.' However, we are glad to see someone trying a new experiment. Let us add that the book is remarkably well produced; the print is large and clear, there are two maps and some well-chosen pictures. There are some misprints which will give a little trouble, e.g. *finitimibus gentis* for *finitimis gentibus*.

Σ.

PARAPHRASES.

Μάρκου Ἀργενταρίου.

Ἡσιόδῳ ποτὲ βίβλον ἐμαῖς ὑπὸ χερσίν ἐλίσσων
Πύρρην ἐξαπίνης εἶδον ἐπερχομένην·
βίβλον δὲ ρίψας ἐπὶ γῆν χερί, τοῦτ' ἐβόησα·
ἔργα τί μοι παρέχεις, ὦ γέρον Ἡσιόδε;

The point of the epigram lies of course in the double sense of ἔργα παρέχεις, 'Why do you worry me?' and 'Why offer me your *Works* (*and Days*)?'

Νικάρχου.

εἰς Ῥόδον εἰ πλεύσει τις Ὀλυμπικὸν ἦλθεν ἐρωτῶν
τὸν μάντιν, καὶ πῶς πλεύσεται ἀσφαλῆως·
χὼ μάντις, πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, καινὴν ἔχε τὴν ναῦν,
καὶ μὴ χειμῶνος, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἀνάγουν.
τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν ποιῆς, ἤξεις κἀκέῃσε καὶ ᾧδε,
ἂν μὴ πειράτης ἐν πελάγει σε λάβῃ.

Μελεάγρου.

Σφαιριστὰν τὸν ἔρωτα τρέφω, σοὶ δ', Ἥλιοδώρα,
βάλλει τὰν ἐν ἐμοὶ παλλομένην κραδίαν.
ἀλλ' ἄγε συμπαίκτην δέξαι Πόθον· εἰ δ' ἀπὸ σεῦ με
ρίψαις, οὐκ οἶσ'ω τὰν ἀπάλαιστρον ὕβριν.

ἀπάλαιστρον, a happy emendation of the meaningless ἀπαλαιστέραν of the original hand, clearly means (rudeness) 'against the rules of the game.'

Ἀδελφον.

Εἰς ᾧραι μόχοις ἱκανώταται· αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὰς
γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι ΖΗΘΙ λέγουσι βροτοῖς.

ZHΘI is '7, 8, 9, 10,' 'expressed in letters,' the numbers following the six hours to be given to work.

I pored on Milton one fine day,
When dearest Anna passed my way;
Her dainty form I spied.
Straight on the floor the book I tossed;
'My paradise shall not be lost
For yours, old John,' I cried.

To an astrologer there went
A merchant on a voyage bent.
'Consult the stars, and let me know,'
Said he, 'how safest I may go.'
A horoscope the wizard cast,
And pondered long, and spoke at last—
'The stars direct that you be shipped
On a stout vessel well equipped.
In summer, not in winter, sail;
Select a calm, avoid a gale.
If you obey, no harm befalls you—
Unless a pirate overhauls you.'

LOVE-TENNIS.

Love is my partner, dear, to serve
My bounding heart to you;
Be Cupid yours, to watch the curve
And take my service true.

Put me not rudely out of court;
Beware, or 'fault' I'll call.
My court is made in more than sport;
So play the game—Love all!

BIRTHDAY THOUGHTS OF A SPELLING REFORMER.

Soe tu-dai I'm fifti-for;
Aul dhe best ov lyf iz o'r.
Stil, my yeerz a kumfort giv;
For dhair numberz bid me LIV.

WALTER LEAF.

NOTES AND NEWS

At the December meeting of the Northumberland and Durham Branch of the Classical Association, the Rev. E. Pelham Pestle, M.A., read a paper on 'Classics and the Boy: Some Recent Tendencies.' The standpoint was that of one whose schooldays had been spent in elementary and secondary schools of the twentieth century and whose classics had been hardly come by. Endeavouring to bring his apologetic up to date, Mr. Pestle advocated an active offensive on behalf of classics, taking due account of (a) fossils who believe only in the 'old-fashioned classical education,' (b) cynics who say one subject is as good as another for educative discipline, (c) snobs who hold that Classics are for the 'Classes,' not for the masses. Two excellent recent books, Professor Burnet's *Higher Education and the War* and Mr. Livingstone's *Defence of Classical Education* seemed to have an inadequate perspective of the field of education: to the lecturer it appeared that, though there is a ladder of a sort from primary school to University in mathematics

and science, the ladder does not exist in the humanities. Four proposals were submitted for discussion: (1) Greek might be taught sometimes in secondary schools without Latin as a previous discipline; (2) modern history would be more intelligible if some ancient history were taught first; (3) methods of English teaching in primary schools should be dictated by the methods of teaching classics in the secondary schools; (4) premature specialisation in science should be discouraged, and for those who find out their mistake in such premature specialisation the study of Greek *ab initio* should be made possible at the University.

The discussion which followed was taken part in by Canon Cruickshank (Durham), who presided, Dr. Dawson Walker (Durham), Mr. R. Y. Welch (Gateshead), Miss Stafford Smith (Durham High School), Miss Ashley (Darlington), Professor J. H. How (Durham), Dr. Gee (Durham), and Professor J. Wight Duff (Newcastle-upon-Tyne).

The Classical Review

MAY—JUNE, 1918

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE GREEK WINDS.

IN the orientation of the Greek Winds—that is to say, in the interpretation of the Greek ‘wind-rose,’ or compass-card—there lies a pretty problem, which to my thinking is but little understood by scholars. The subject has been touched on of late by Sir Arthur Hort in his translation of Theophrastus *De Signis*, and by Mr. E. S. Forster in his Oxford translation of the Ps. Aristotelian *Ventorum Situs et Appellationes*. Both writers borrow their statements and their diagrams from W. Capelle’s paper on the treatise *De Mundo* (‘Die Schrift von der Welt,’ *Neue Jahrb.* xv. 1905), as Capelle in turn had followed for the most part in the steps of Kaibel (‘Antike Windrosen,’ *Hermes*, xx. pp. 579-624, 1885). Our scholars, in short, have followed the Germans, and these Germans (as I hope to show) are wrong.

The wind-rose of the Greeks, as interpreted by Kaibel and Capelle and copied by Forster and Hort, is unsymmetrical, or has at best a curiously imperfect symmetry (Fig. 1). It shows us (1) the four cardinal winds, N., S., E., and W.; (2) next, and midway in the four quadrants, the N.E., S.E., S.W., and N.W. winds; and, lastly (3), four more winds intercalated midway in the two northern and two southern octants, so that the whole circle is divided into twelve sectors, of which four are large and eight are small, the eight small ones being each just one-half the size of the other four. In other words, our circle of 360° is divided into four sectors of 45° , and eight sectors of $22\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ each. The main point is that the four winds

Caecias, Eurus, Lips, and Argestes (Z, Δ, Γ, Ε) are (on this interpretation) set midway between the four cardinal

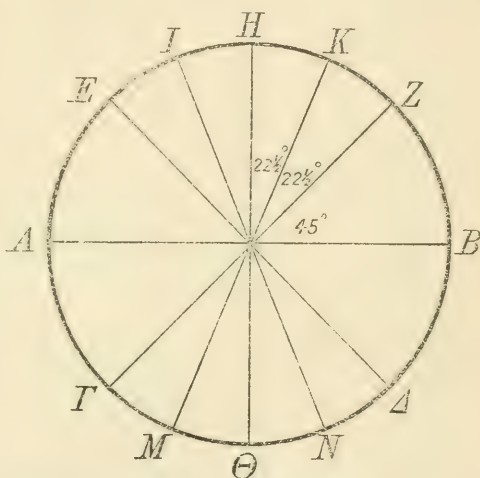


FIG. 1.—Capelle and Kaibel's interpretation of the Aristotelian wind-rose.

winds. They are described as N.E., S.E., S.W., and N.W. winds respectively; and they are so defined in Liddell and Scott, with no manner of doubt or hesitation.

Now Aristotle's account, as set forth for instance in the *Meteorologica* (2, vi. 363a), is very different from this; moreover it is very plain and simple,¹ and all the more so if we be careful to read and interpret it in the light of Aris-

¹ Save only for a textual difficulty in a single sentence (364a 13), pointed out by Salmasius and by Ideler. Ideler's restoration of the text (Arist. *Meteor.* 1834, vol. i., p. 576) was subsequently rediscovered by Mr. F. H. Fobes, in *C.R.* 1916, p. 48.]

totle's repeated statements that the winds are dependent on the sun (*cf. e.g. op. cit.* 2, v. 361b, ὁ δ' ἥλιος καὶ παύει καὶ συνεχόρμα τὰ πνεύματα).

He bids us construct our compass-card as follows (Figs. 2, 3): Let A be the

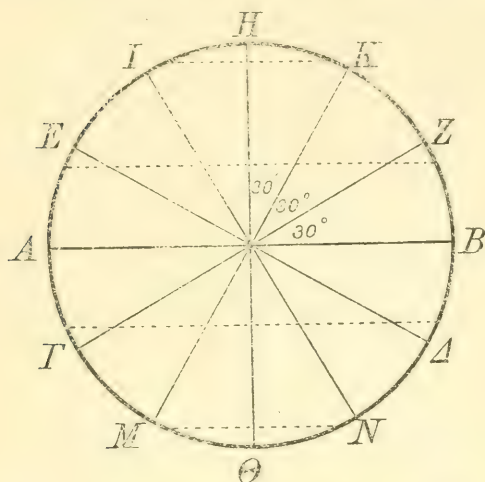


FIG. 2.—The Aristotelian division of the compass-card; showing sunset and sunrise at the equinox (A, B); also at the winter solstice (Γ, Δ), and at the summer solstice (E, Z), as seen (approximately) from the latitude of Athens. (The dotted lines represent the tropic and arctic circles).

place of sunset, and B of sunrise, at the equinox, the *δυσμὴ καὶ ἀνατολὴ ἰσημερινή*, when the sun rises and sets due E. and W. (in accordance with the very definition of these terms); here we have what Milton, and the Italians, call 'the Levant and the Ponent winds.' A diameter HΘ, cutting AB at right angles, then gives due north and due south; and our four cardinal points are thus determined. The next step is the remarkable one: [ἔστω] τὸ δ' ἐφ' οὗ Z ἀνατολὴ θερινή, τὸ δ' ἐφ' οὗ E δυσμὴ θερινή· τὸ δ' ἐφ' οὗ Δ ἀνατολὴ χειμερινή, τὸ δ' ἐφ' οὗ Γ δυσμὴ χειμερινή. The eight winds, blowing from these eight points, are as follows: A, ζέφυρος· B, ἀπηνιώτης· Γ, λίψ· Δ, εὔρος· E, ἀργέστης (ὄλυμπίας, σκίρων, ἰάφυξ in the *De Mundo*)· Z, καικίας· H, βορέας or ἀπαρκτίας· Θ, νότος.

The third and last step consists in subdividing four of these eight sectors, viz. the two northern and the two southern ones (*i.e.* the sectors HE, HZ,

ΘΓ, ΘΔ), so as to give four new points, I, K, M, N. Only, according to the account in the *Meteorologica*, while the winds θρασκίας and μέσης are hereby defined as blowing from I and K respectively, it so happens that opposite to these (*viz.* at M and N), no winds actually occur, or none at least are conspicuous in Nature. As to the original eight, they go in pairs, diametrically opposite: οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ κατὰ διάμετρον τε κείμενοι ἄνεμοι, καὶ οἱ εἰσὶν ἐναντίοι. The rest have no antagonists—no winds diametrically opposite to them—ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶ καθ' οὓς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναντία πνεύματα. And these are, as we have already said, Thrascias and Meses: ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ I, ὃν καλοῦσι θρασκίαν, οὗτος γὰρ μέσος ἀργέστου καὶ ἀπαρκτίου· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ K, ὃν καλοῦσι μέσην, οὗτος γὰρ μέσος καικίου καὶ ἀπαρκτίου· ἐναντία δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς πνεύμασιν, οὔτε τῷ θρασκίᾳ οὔτε τῷ μέσῃ. But, after all, Aristotle immediately proceeds to qualify this statement, and to suggest that, at the point N., opposite to Thrascias, there may be found a certain wind, Phoenicias (Euronotus in Theophrastus and the *De Mundo*): εἰ μὴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον πνεῖ τις ἄνεμος, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον φοινικίαν. We must go to other writers (including the author of the *De Mundo* and the *Ventorum Situs*) for the denom-

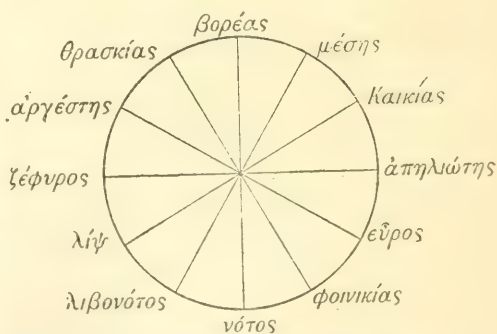


FIG. 3.—The Aristotelian wind-rose, according to the construction shown in Fig. 2. (The wind λιβονότος is interpolated from Theophrastus).

ination of the missing twelfth wind, opposite to Meses—the wind termed Libonotus in the *De Mundo* by Theophrastus, by Pliny and by Lydus (*De*

Menss. c. 3), and Leuconotus by the author of the *Ventorum Situs*, by Posidonius (Strabo, i, p. 29), and by Seneca.

In all this not a single word is said about dividing the four quadrants into *halves*, and so fixing the positions of N.E. and S.E., N.W. and S.W. winds; but, on the contrary, there is a clear and unmistakable injunction that the places of the four secondary winds are to be determined, like those of the cardinal winds, by a certain direct, if more complicated, reference to the sun. Obvious as this point is, there are few writers who appear to have noticed it. One is the learned Ideler; another is H. C. Genelli, who wrote (not without help from Ideler) a very good paper, 'Ueber die Windscheiben der Alten,' in F. A. Wolf's *Analecta* (ii, pp. 461-500, 1820); a third is Mr. James G. Wood, author of a too much neglected translation of the Theophrastean *De Signis* and *De Ventis* (London: Stanford, 1894). Part of my object, indeed, in writing this note is to recall attention to Wood's work, which has fallen into such complete oblivion that Sir Arthur Hort has translated the *De Signis* over again, unaware that Wood had done it all before, and had done it uncommonly well. But we shall come back in a little while to these scholars.

Another man of learning whose contribution must not be overlooked is Coray. In his French translation of Hippocrates *περὶ ἀέρων κ.τ.λ.* (Paris, 1800, *Discours prélim.* pp. lxxiii-lxxxiii), he gives a good account of the winds, and adds to it a still more admirable table, showing the various classifications of the winds and divisions of the compass from Homer to the moderns. He does not say a word about the solar, or astronomical, definitions of the winds; he merely indicates in his text (p. lxxix) that to the four cardinal winds 'on ajouta dans la suite quatre autres, qui sont le *κακίας*, Nord-est; *εὖρος*, Sud-est,' etc.; and that 'Aristote ajoute à cette rose trois autres vents, qui sont le *μέσος*, placé entre le Nord-est,' etc. And then, without any further explanation, he seems to take it for granted that, once the wind-rose of twelve winds was established, these twelve winds would take equal shares in the division

of the compass-card, and so he represents them in his table and diagram. That is to say, in his final reference to the modern compass-card of thirty-two points, or thirty-two 'winds,' he says that 'la plupart des vents de cette rose ont dû être divisés par fractions, pour correspondre aux roses anciennes, et principalement à celle de douze vents, dont chacun ne pouvoit comprendre que deux vents et quatre-sixièmes de vent de la rose moderne (*i.e.* $32 \div 2\frac{2}{3} = 12$). He gives them their places, accordingly, in a compass-card of *equal* and symmetrical interspaces or sectors. In much the same way Salmasius had arranged the twelve winds in a regular dodecagon, though, like Coray, he also had missed the essential point (which we are now about to discuss) of the *ἀνατολή θερινή* as defining the place of *κακίας*. But Salmasius' learned treatise on the Winds (*Exercitatio Pliniana*, pp. 1244-1253) is more than we can do justice to here. To return to Aristotle:

When Aristotle tells us that a certain wind blows from the *ἀνατολή θερινή* or *χειμερινή*, we may safely take it that he means the *midsummer* or *midwinter* sunrise, the rising of the tropical or solstitial sun, in direct relation and contrast to what he had said of the equinoctial sun immediately before. Now, as Philemon Holland puts it (Pliny, 18, 34): 'The Levant varieth every day, for that the Sun never riseth the morrow morning from the same point just that he rose the day before: which I note lest haply any man should take one certain line for to point out the Sun rising or the East, and make his quadrant or compass thereby.' And so, to understand the place where the sun rises or sets at the tropic (or any other day of the year), we need the help of a very little elementary astronomy, just such astronomy as our grandmothers learned from 'the use of the globes.' For, by the way, that obsolete but time-honoured subject of feminine education was no laughing matter; it harked back to the Middle Ages, it was a direct inheritance from the scholastic astronomy of the days before the telescope, the astronomy that Chaucer and George Buchanan and Milton knew.

We know that the ecliptic cuts the equator at an angle of about $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$; and at precisely that angle, then, to the north and south of East or West, does the sun rise or set at its midsummer or midwinter solstices, as seen from the equator itself. But we also know that, in our northern latitudes, the midsummer sun visibly rises and sets a very great deal farther to the North, and that, when we reach the Arctic Circle, $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ from the pole, the midsummer sun neither rises nor sets at all.

Without attempting to explain the trigonometrical reasoning by which the formula is arrived at, let us take it from the astronomers that the apparent direction (or angle of azimuth) of the solstitial sunrise (or sunset) is given by the expression

$$\sin x = \sin \omega, \operatorname{cosec} s,$$

where ω is the angle of the ecliptic ($23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$), s is the co-latitude (or $90^\circ - \lambda$) of the place in question, and x is the solstitial azimuth required. (If we understand 'the use of the globes,' we can do the whole thing practically in a minute or two; and if we happen to be yachtsmen we shall not calculate it at all, but shall look it all out in Birdwood's *Azimuth Tables*.) Now Athens lies in latitude 38° N., almost exactly; and, working out our equation from this value, we find that the midsummer sun rises just about $30^\circ 24'$ to the North of East, or (in round numbers) has a 'north amplitude' of 30° . And though we go as far south as Northern Egypt or as Babylon (say 32° N. latitude), or as far north as Thrace (say 40° N.), the amplitude, or azimuth, of the midsummer sun will not vary more than from about $27\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ to $31\frac{1}{2}^\circ$: it will still be, very approximately, *one-third of the way round* from East to North. (The value for Rome is $32\frac{1}{2}^\circ$, for Greenwich close on 40° , and for Dundee, where I write, $46\frac{1}{2}^\circ$.)

So, coming back to our compass-card (Figs. 2, 3), we perceive that when Aristotle (or whoever it may have been) had found from the sun the places of his four secondary (or as we may now call them *solstitial*) as well as his four cardinal winds, these secondary or solstitial winds lay just

one-third of a quadrant on either side of east and west, and left therefore vacant sectors towards the north and south of precisely twice this magnitude. And finally, therefore, when these latter sectors came to be divided in half, the compass-card was found to be *equally and symmetrically divided* into twelve sectors, each of 30° .

Ideler, Genelli, and Wood all put their finger on this simple explanation; but Ideler seems to have fought shy of it before he was done. Though he is somewhat hard to follow, it seems plain that Ideler comes at last to the conclusion that by Aristotle's midsummer sunrise we are to understand not the apparent sunrise at any particular locality, but the theoretical angle of the ecliptic (Fig. 4). And this he assumes definitely

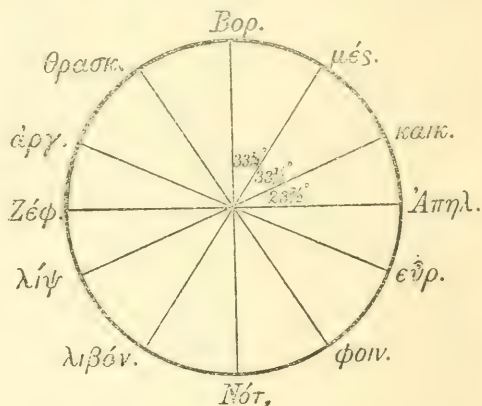


FIG. 4.—A hypothetical wind-rose, as conceived (e.g.) by Ideler: in which the solstitial winds blow from the theoretic angle of the ecliptic, that is to say from the solstitial sunrise and sunset as seen from the equator.

in his note on *Meteor.* 2, vi. 363b, where Aristotle tells us that the points I, K (the positions of the winds Thrascias and Meses) coincide nearly, but not precisely, with the Arctic Circle: ἡ δὲ τοῦ ΙΚ διάμετρος βούλεται μὲν κατὰ τὸν διὰ παντὸς εἶναι φαινόμενον, οὐκ ἀκριβοῖ δέ.—'Recte, nam ex nostra divisione Meses spirat ex puncto quod respondet $23^\circ + \frac{67^\circ}{2} = 56^\circ 30'$ lat. bor. Circulus arcticus contra 67° lat. bor.' (Ideler, in *Meteor.* 1, p. 575-6). As a matter of fact, our symmetrical orientation of Meses, at 60° N., brings it still nearer to the Arctic Circle (Fig. 2), and into

still better harmony with Aristotle's statement.

Mr. Wood wrote independently, without knowledge of Ideler's work or of Genelli's; and his conclusions are, in general, those which I here adopt and advocate. That is to say, after pointing out clearly that the 'secondary' winds are defined by reference to the solstitial sunrise and sunset, he goes on to say (p. 82) that there are reasons against placing the supposed observer at the equator, and that 'altogether it seems most reasonable to suppose that, writing at Athens for Greeks, he (Aristotle) took Athens as his centre of observation.' This is the whole gist of the matter. The reader may be a little perplexed (as I was) by the fact that, in the end (p. 91), Mr. Wood sets forth the direction, or orientation, of the several winds according to Aristotle in a table of which the following is a part: Boreas, 0° ; Meses, $33^{\circ} 15' \pm$; Caecias, $66^{\circ} 30' \pm$; Apeliotes, 90° . But here Mr. Wood (as he now tells me) was only giving the benefit of the doubt to other possible alternatives: 'I did not think myself justified' (he says, *in litt.*) 'in putting down my own view as the *only* possible solution of Aristotle's expression.'

While we may confidently dismiss the current view, the view of Kaibel and Capelle and their followers, that the four secondary winds, Caecias, etc., blew from the N.E. and so on, we are bound to pay due respect to the other element of doubt, viz. whether Aristotle took them as blowing from the theoretical, or from the actual visible sunrise. I believe (just as Mr. Wood believes) that Aristotle (or whoever introduced the system) was thinking of the actual sunrise, just as he was thinking of an actual wind; he was not thinking of an observer at the equator, where no Greek had ever been; and moreover he would be the less apt to think of, and guard against, the influence of locality, inasmuch as even considerable differences of latitude make comparatively little difference in the particular latitudes in question. Again, as a further argument, it seems to me that the choice of the ecliptic angle ($23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$) would have led naturally to a division of the quadrant into *four* coequal parts (for a quarter of 90° is $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$), just as

the choice of the solstitial azimuth at Athens (30°) must lead naturally to a division of the quadrant into three.

We come, then, to the following conclusions: (1) That the Aristotelian classification of the winds was based originally and directly on a meteorological theory of their connection with the sun. (2) That this same classification, and the corresponding division of the compass-card, was a duodecimal one—a method precisely akin to the duodecimal or zodiacal division of the ecliptic, and for that very reason (as we may perhaps venture to say) more than a little suggestive of Babylonian origin or influence. (3) That this division was a symmetrical one, into twelve *co-equal* sectors, an arrangement which, in the latitude of Athens, happened to harmonise precisely (or within a fraction of a degree) with the solar hypothesis, and which would still agree with it very approximately within any part of the area of Hellenic or pre-Hellenic civilisation.

This duodecimal classification of the winds held the field, though not without competition, for a very long time. It was in all probability old, even apart from our conjecture regarding its Babylonian origin. We seem to find in it (as Mr. J. G. Wood has told us) the origin and meaning of the Homeric myth of the twelve colts, begotten by Boreas of the mares of Erichthonius (*Il.* xx. 225): αἱ δ' ὑποκυσάμεναι ἔτεκον δυοκαίδεκα πόλους | αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν σκιρτῶεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν, | ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θεόν οὐδὲ κατέκλων; and we have it again, in the *Odyssey*, in the six sons and six daughters of Aeolus, though in the *Iliad* Homer only mentions three winds by name (*Il.* ix. 5, xxi. 334, xxiii. 195, etc.),¹ and in the *Odyssey* four (*Od.* v. 295). We have the duodecimal classification in Aristotle and Theophrastus; and again in Varro and Seneca,² both of whom discussed and appreciated the

¹ In the Old Testament also we have but three winds, N., E., and S.; cf. C. Kassner, *Meteorologie der Bibel, Das Wetter*, xi. 1892, pp. 25-37; *Meteor. Zeitsch.* 1894, p. 400.

² Cf. also Veget. *Milit.* 5, 8; Auct. epigr. in *Anthol. Lat.* 2, p. 381; Philarg. ad Virg. *G.* iv. 298, omnes autem venti, praeter enchorios, sunt duodecim.

underlying relations to the sun (cf. Seneca, *Nat. Q.* v. 16: *Quidam illos duodecim faciunt: quatuor enim coeli partes in ternas dividunt, et singulis ventis (i.e. ventis quatuor cardinalibus) binos subprae-fectos [or collaterales, as late writers, e.g. Isidore of Seville and Bartholomew the Englishman call them] dant. Hac arte Varro, vir diligens, illos ordinat, nec sine causa. Non enim eodem loco semper sol oritur et occidit, sed alius est ortus occasusque aequinoctialis, bis autem aequinoc-tium est, alius solstitialis, alius hibernus. . . . Ab oriente solstitiali excitatum kaiklas Graeci adpellant, apud nos sine nomine est, etc.). We have it in marble in the 'Table of the Winds' on the Belvidere Terrace adjoining the Museo Clementino of the Vatican—a monument of the second or perhaps third century of our era, of which a photograph is to be found in Mr. Wood's book. And it survived, through Agathemerus, Adamantius and Isidore of Seville, into and even beyond mediaeval times. Bartholomew (*De Proprietatibus* xi. 2) retains it; so does Joachim Camerarius, in his *Aeolia* and *Prognostica* (Nuremberg, 1535); and, as Wood tells us, we find it (together with the comparatively modern division of the compass-card into thirty-two points¹) in Vincenzo Coronelli's *Epitome Cosmografica* (1693). In our own older school-books on 'The Use of the Globes' (for instance Moxon's, 1659, and probably in others much later still) we have the very same thing: 'The two other circles [on the wooden horizon of the Globe] are the Circles of the Winds: the innermost bearing their Greek and Latin names; which by them were but twelve; and the outermost having their English Names, which for more preciseness are two and thirty.'*

A still more interesting case is that of the Emperor Charlemagne, who,

according to Eginhard (*Vita Karoli Imp.*, cap. 29, p. 92, ed. Theulet) gave distinguishing names to the twelve winds, of which up to his time it was 'scarcely possible' to find [Frankish] names for four. (Wood suggests, by the way, that this reform may have been due to the learned Alcuin of York, afterwards Abbot of St. Martin of Tours.) These Old High German names were such as the following: the east wind (*subsolanus*) is called *Ostroni*; the next wind towards the north (? *Vultur-nus*, i.e. *καυκίας*), *Ostnordroni*; the next again (i.e. *μέσσης*), *Nordostroni*; and the north wind itself (*Septentrio*), *Nordroni*. Now these Carolingian names, and their fellows, remind us that we ourselves are still in a verbal difficulty as to the naming of the winds under a duodecimal system. Our Saxon forefathers had a nomenclature precisely corresponding to that Frankish one which has been ascribed to Charlemagne (cf. the seventh century Corpus College Glossary, A 46 Ab Euro: eastansudan; A 89, Ab Africo: sudanwestan, etc.; also Abbot Alfric in Wright-Wülcker's *AS. Vocab.*, 1884, p. 144; cf. also 'circius: uuestnorduind,' etc., in *C.G.L.*, v. 355, 72); but we have no corresponding appellations, and the thirty-two points, or 'rhombs,' of the compass do not serve our purpose. We cannot call (with Liddell and Scott) the wind *καυκίας*, whose bearing is 30° North of East, a *North-East* wind. It actually lies between E.N.E. (22½°) and N.E. by E. (33¾° N.); a sailor would probably call it *N.E. by E.*, *easterly*. Charlemagne and Abbot Alfric called it an 'East-North' wind, which is not the same as their 'North-East' wind; while *our* North-East lies midway between their two. We are reduced to periphrasis, or better to the retention of the untranslated classical names.

Let us note in passing that neither the later Greeks nor the Romans, any more than Homer himself, seem to have thought of describing any particular or temporary wind in terms of the precise quarter from which it happened to blow. They still thought of the winds as a certain limited number of individualised things, each having its own particular domicile in the heavens; and the primi-

¹ The 'modern' compass-card of 32 points is of medieval origin; it came first into use in the Mediterranean, where its history is involved with that of the compass itself. This subject has a copious literature of its own. Cf. (e.g.) D'Avezac, *Aperçus historiques sur la Boussole*, *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris*, (4) xix. 1860; Ap-histor. sur la Rose des Vents, *Bollet. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, xi. 1874; P. Tim. Bertelli, *Studi storici int. alla Bussola nautica*, *Mem. Accad. d. N. Lincei*, ix. 1893, etc.

tive state of mind which this betokens is one which we ourselves have by no means got rid of.

In addition to, but later than, the duodecimal classification of the winds, we also find a well-established method of octants, such as is the basis of our own compass-card. The chief ancient monument on this plan is the celebrated Tower of the Winds at Athens, otherwise known as the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrestes, of the second century A.D., which is described by Vitruvius (i. 6) and elaborately drawn to scale in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (vol. i. pls. 1-19, 1762; cf. also Le Roy, *Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce*, 1770, ii. pp. 7-10, 50-51; and G. Hellmann in *Himmel u. Erde*, ii. 1890). Seneca, in the *Agamemnon* (v. 469 f.), likewise speaks of eight winds, and so does Pliny (*H.N.* ii. 46). But it by no means follows that these eight are to be identified with the eight octants of the Tower of the Winds. Rather may we take it that both by Seneca and Pliny, and certainly by the latter, the duodecimal classification was by no means abandoned, only that the four subordinate winds were left out of account. Thus Pliny's eight winds are clearly defined (with a slight exception in the case of Aquilo) as blowing (1) from the north and south; (2) from the equinoctial sunrise and sunset, *i.e.* from east and west; and (3) from sunrise and sunset *at the solstices*. He goes on to say that some persons add four others to this list, *viz.* Thrascias, Caecias,¹ Phoenicias, Libonotus, these being the remaining four of the full duodecimal or Aristotelian classification. And lastly, we may perhaps supplement this brief account of Pliny's classification by a quotation from Agellius (ii. 23; *cit.* Salmasius, p. 1245b): 'Eae duae regiones caeli Orientis Occidentalisque inter se adversae sex habere ventos videntur. Meridies autem, quoniam certo atque fixo limite est, unum Meridiale ventum habet; Septentriones

autem habent ob eandem causam unum.'

The foregoing paper is little more than a note on a particular though fundamental point, and is a very long way short of an attempt to discuss the whole subject of the Greek and Roman winds. Every point that I have touched might easily be enlarged upon, and there are many interesting questions which I have wholly omitted or to which I have scarcely referred. Thus, for instance, we might make an attempt to deal with the origin of the Aristotelian and Ps.-Aristotelian views (*cf. e.g.* Eugen Oder, 'Antike Quellensucher,' *Philol. Suppl.* vii. p. 363; Genelli, Kaibel, etc., *op. citt.*); with what Posidonius had to say on the matter, or what Timosthenes, or what Thrasylces (Strabo, i. p. 26b). We might deal with the very complicated synonymy of the winds, and the overlapping or conflicting nomenclature of some of them; with why, for instance, Pliny and Seneca set Boreas or Aquilo to the eastward of Septentrio or Aparctias, or why 'Vitruvius Solanum dicit qui aliis est Eurus, et Eurum qui aliis Volturnus,' and with other kindred difficulties of nomenclature and identification in very many authors, from Herodotus (vii. 188) onwards. Again, with the various winds which do not come within the more general classification, such as the Etesian and Ornithian winds; or the *πρόδρομοι*, the N.W. winds which heralded the rising of the Dog-star; or the land-breezes and sea-breezes (*aurae, venti altani*), the *ἀπογέαι* and *τροπαίαι*; or the trade-winds and monsoons—such as the wind Hippalus, whereby men 'navigant diebus quadraginta ad primum Emporium Indiae Muzirim.' With the *νόθοι άνεμοι*, 'venti enchorii,' or 'venti locales et certarum tantum regionum peculiare,' (Adamant. apud Aetium); with these and other geographical appellations, such as Olympias, Hellespontius, Strymonius, (*cf. e.g.*, F. Umlauf, *Ueber die Namen der Winde, Meteor. Zeitschr.*, xxix. 1894); and with their bearing on the question of where the writers dwelt who make mention of them. With the interesting question of the grouping of the winds, and why, for instance, Aristotle brought them all down at length to two groups,

¹ There is some confusion here, with which we cannot stop to deal. Caecias is out of place; and Pliny has no wind from sunrise at the summer solstice, where Caecias ought to be.

of Northerly and Southerly winds (*Meteor.* ii. 6; cf. Strabo i. p. 29). With the endless folk-lore tales and familiar epithets of the winds, in old Greece and in new: how the North Wind is Βασιλεὺς ἀνέμων in Pindar, and Κύρ βορεᾶ to this day, and Γέρο βορεᾶ, the Old Man of the North, to sailors; how men raised altars to Boreas and to Zephyrus, and to these alone;¹ how the Father, or the Mother, of the Winds treated their blustering sons; and how Sirocco, cruellest of them all, comes home calling, 'I smell the blood of an [English] man'—'Ἦχι, μητέρα, ἀνθρωπινὸν κρέας.'² A minor theme would be to inquire into the continued modern usage of certain of the ancient names, of which we have an interesting case, as Ideler tells us, in the Provençal *cers* (*circius*) for the Mistral (in Narbonensi provincia clarissimus ventorum, nec ullo violentia inferior), of which Strabo gives us a vigorous description. And, lastly, there would still remain the whole mass of meteorological considerations connected with the seasons, characters and properties ascribed to the several winds,³ including the many interesting and strictly scientific questions raised in the twenty-sixth book of

Aristotle's *Problems*—why, for instance, at Cyrene and the Hellespont the North-wind, but in Lesbos the South-wind, is the rain-bringer; or why a miser is said 'to gather gold as Caecias gathers clouds.' In which inquiry some questions would soon arise of a very technical kind; but in regard to others we should be content to recognise the faithful witness of familiar lines. Then we might call to mind 'Sirocco and Libeccio': this, *protervus, creber procellis*, the 'Sou'wester' of the mariner, *decertans Aquilonibus*: that, (with little doubt) Horace's *pestilens Africus*, and (of a certainty) Ovid's '*madidis Notus alis, Terribilem picea tectus caligine vultum*.' It is 'il vento pellegrin, che l'aer turba'; or 'Afer, black with thunderous clouds from Serralliona.' It penetrates to the Euxine, it drove Ovid to despair: '*Terribilisque Notus jactat mea dicta, precesque, Ad quos mittuntur, non sinit ire deos*.' Here too Ovid felt the blind fury of Boreas 'romping from the North'—'*nunc gelidus sicca Boreas bacchatur ab Arcto*': as it blows, harsh and cold, in the Tramontana of Piedmont and in the Bora of the Adriatic, and blew (as some take it) in St. Paul's Euroclydon. Or we might think again, in happier recollection, of the soft Atlantic winds of Portugal, (or of Galway), where αἰεὶ ξεφύροιο λυγρὸ πνεῖοντας ἀήτας | Ὀκεανὸς ἀψήσι.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

THREE PASSAGES IN HESIOD'S WORKS AND DAYS.

I HAVE read with great interest Mr. A. S. F. Gow's notes on *The Works and Days* of Hesiod in the July number of the *Classical Quarterly*. He has discussed many passages with admirable candour and judgment, and if one could accept the tradition as perfect or even approximately correct, which is far from being the case, one might be disposed to agree with most, if not all, his conclusions. For example, I think he is quite successful, when dealing with 18 f., in rescuing Zeus from the suburbs of Tartarus, in spite of the scholiasts who would place him there, as does Paley rather half-

heartedly. Still I submit it is hardly right or possible to make Hesiod consign the good Eris, or the bad one either, to the same undesirable residential area. Hesiod is far from doing so. He says expressly (11):

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαίαν εἰσὶ δῶω·

However, I do not rely on this argument, good as it may seem. Let us look at the whole sentence referring to the good Eris. It stands thus (Rzach):

τὴν δ' ἐτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγείνατο Νῦξ ἐρεβεννή,
θῆκε δὲ μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίστῳ γόσῳ, αἰθέρι ναίων,
γαίης ἐν ῥίζῃσι, καὶ ἀνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω

(τ' ἐν MSS. τ' del. Gurzet). Mr. Gow accepts this as it stands, and Zeus is represented as placing Eris in this district 'at the roots of the earth' and making her 'much better for mankind.' To begin with, the concurrent double construction of *θήκε*, first with the prepositional phrase and then with the adjective, is hardly admissible; and if we ask whether Zeus did either of these things, the answer in the first case is certainly, and in the second case probably, negative. How could Zeus place Eris ἐν γαίης ῥίζησι when that was her birth-place? He might detain her there or send her back there, neither of which he did; neither of which could well be described by *θήκε*.

It follows, I think, inevitably that the three lines fail to convey the poet's meaning, and the reason for this failure is not an unfathomable mystery. Hesiod must be held responsible for two lines only:

τὴν δ' ἐτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγένετο Νύξ ἐρεβεννή
γαίης ἐν ῥίζησι καὶ ἀνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω.

They convey reasonable information. The second Eris is the child of Night. She was born in the lower regions. She is the elder, and more than that she renders far better service to mankind.

Then comes in the interpolator, a character whose work no intelligent reader of Hesiod can fail to be conscious of, though its extent may be, or rather must be difficult to gauge. In this case he seems to have been somewhat of a religious enthusiast, bent on doing honour to Zeus, and impressing us with the unlimited extent of his power to control the forces of the universe. He inserted then from the best of motives the intermediate line,

θήκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίστου αἰθέρι ναίων,

gaining his end indeed, but throwing Hesiod's statement into its present confusion. Cf. 4, 79, 99 (a very clear case) and probably 105, Theog. 465, 1002, etc.

Still greater is the confusion that prevails in the 'notorious crux,' as Mr. Gow calls it, the passage beginning 314:

δαίμονι δ' οἶος ἔησθα, τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμείνων,
εἴ κεν ἀπ' ἀλλοτρῶν κτεάνων ἀσιφφρονα θυμὸν
εἰς ἔργον τρέψας μελετᾷς βίου, ὥς σε κελεύω.

The difficulty is almost wholly in the first line. Mr. Gow does not seem in-

clined to accept *ἔησθα* and the rendering 'whatever be your fortune,' and I think he is right; but not so when he proposes to remove the comma after *ἔησθα* and place it after *ἐργάζεσθαι*, accepting the absurd statement of Hesychius that *δαίμων* is the same as *δαήμων*. Archilochus is a very different authority, but I do not for a moment believe that the line from fr. 3,

ταύτης γὰρ κείνοι δαίμονες εἰσι μάχης,

was thus written by Archilochus. He almost to a certainty said *ἰδμονες*, and in later times, unwilling to tolerate the seemingly ghastly hiatus, the copyists put the delta first and easily produced *δαίμονες*. Mr. Gow might indeed read *ἰδμονι* here, but this makes the difficulty of *τό* before *ἐργάζεσθαι* still greater. But what reason is there to suppose that Perses was either a skilled workman or a demon for work? Hesiod evidently thought he was an idle rascal; and if he possessed any skill, why did the poet give him so much information that must in such a case have been superfluous? He would simply be carrying coals to Newcastle.

I see but one way out of the difficulties of this extraordinary line, and that is to make it plain and intelligible by some slight correction. We ought, I think, to read it thus:

δαίμονι, εἶος ἔης, τόφρα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμείνων,

'My good fellow,' says Hesiod, 'while you live it is better to work all the while.' *Δαίμονι* conveys a sort of hint that Perses was not altogether a satisfactory character, but perhaps a little abnormal. Then comes the couplet, εἴ κεν . . . κελεύω, which is really an epexegetis of *ἐργάζεσθαι*: Perses will be doing real work if he gives up trying to get other people's property and attends to his farm.

For the sequence *εἶος . . . τόφρα* v. Σ 16 f. μ 327 f. Naturally the first syllable of *τόφρα* is always in arsis, and therefore long, but there is nothing to be urged against the same syllable being short in thesis. It is an interesting question and may at another time claim attention, but is not of vital importance to my suggestion for the rehabilitation of this line except so far as *τόφρα* affords a very probable starting-point in the pro-

cess of the corruption it has sustained.

The perplexities of 416,

μετὰ δὲ τρέπεται βρότεος χρώς
πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος,

are ably stated and discussed by Mr. Gow. He concludes rightly enough that *χρώς* here means 'skin' rather than 'body'; but his resultant translation, 'the skin of men becomes less burdensome by far,' is really not materially better than Mair's 'the flesh of men turneth lighter far,' or Goettling's long rigmarole *Longe magis agile et vegetum ad obeunda negotia surgit humanum corpus*. The body might feel lighter, but the skin cannot. The weight of the latter is not felt by any human being at any season of the year or at any period of life. On the other hand, Hesiod is not likely to to have said that the body feels lighter or more active and vigorous in the autumn: many have remarked that this phenomenon occurs in the spring, as of course it does, not in man alone but in all animal and vegetable life.

Once more the fault lies not with Hesiod, but with those who have transmitted his words to us. The punctuation, and the punctuation alone, has made nonsense of the passage. Hesiod wrote it thus:

μετὰ δὲ τρέπεται βρότεος χρώς·
πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος δὴ γὰρ τότε Σείριος ἀστήρ
βαῖον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς κηριτρεφῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐρχεται ἡμάτιος, πλεῖον δὲ τε νυκτὸς ἐπαυρεῖ·

Πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος, 'much less oppressive,' is descriptive of the Dog-star, and occupies an emphatic but legitimate position in front of *δὴ γὰρ τότε*, which under ordinary circumstances would stand first, cf. *σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηαι* (A 32).

Five results, four physical, one economic, follow the disappearance of the intense midsummer heat: (1) sunburnt human beings lose their tan (416) because Sirius is less active; (2) v. 420; (3 and 4) v. 421; (5) wood-cutting becomes the farmer's incumbent duty (422).

T. L. AGAR.

August 3, 1917.

OVIDIANA: NOTES ON THE *FASTI*.

II.

II. 770.

769 *Carpitur attonitis absentis imagine*
sensus
ille. recordanti plura magisque placet:

' sic sedit, sic culta fuit, sic stamina nevit,
neglectae collo sic iacuerunt comae,
hos habuit vultus, haec illi verba fuerunt,
hic color, haec facies, hic decor oris
erat.'

Tarquin is infatuated and is recounting to himself the various charms of Lucretia. The MSS. are almost unanimous with regard to line 770. M has *iamque*, and a few inferior MSS. vary between *illa* and *atque* for *ille*. One late MS. has *pulchra* for *plura*, and a few read *placet*. Heinsius suggested

illa recordanti pulchra (or plusque) magisque placet.

I feel certain Ovid wrote

ille. recordanti plurima, plura placet.

'As he thinks of her many charms, many more occur to charm him.'¹

For the word play, compare

I. 212 et cum possideant plurima, plura
petunt.

Ibis, 119, 120 dignusque puteris
qui, mala cum tuleris plurima,
plura feras.

Ovid delighted in such tricks of phrase; we have many in the *Fasti* (e.g. IV.

¹ It is possible that there is a similar word-play in IV. 441, where Ovid may have written
plurima lecta rosa est, plures sine nomine
flores.

'Many a rose is gathered, more still the nameless flowers' (sunt et sine R, et sunt sine V, lecti sine Bentley, sumpti sine Riese). The assimilative type of blunder is very frequent in MSS. of our author, and 'flores sine nomine flores' may have emerged here. In the vulgate we have a correction of 'some such blunder, or possibly the intrusion of a completive gloss (et sunt).

924; cf. *A.A.* I. 160, 310; *Trist.* III. 5, 21). By a peculiar irony of fate, such triumphs of neat expression suffered most at the hands of copyists and correctors (cf. *Trist.* I. 11, 12; *Rem.* 484.¹ The stages of corruption were 1, *plurama plura*, 2, *plurama*, and our corrector regarded the latter as=*plura magis*; he had little scruple about adding a *q*;²

III. 713-718.

Tertia post idus lux est celeberrima Baccho.

Bacche, fave vati, dum tua festa cano.

nec referam Semelen, ad quam nisi fulmina
secum

Iuppiter adferret, spretus inermis erat,
nec, puer ut posses maturo tempore nasci,
expletum patrio corpore matris opus.

So Peter reads, adopting Riese's *spretus* for the *parvus* of all MSS. In 715 V, M, and nearly all the remaining MSS. read *nisi*: this word is added *sup.* *lin.* in R. One second class MS. (*T*) has *cum*, which is a *v.l.* in *E*. In 716 we have *inherbis eras* R, *inhermis erat* R₃: *inermis erat* V: *inermis eras* M.³ The following attempts have been made to restore the passage: *cum f. s.* | *I. a., partus acerbus eras* (Koch), *cum f. s.* | *I. a., partus inermis eras* (Heinsius, Madvig), *nisi f. s.* | *I. a., sarcina matris eras* (Merkel): Riese's suggestion is given above. Here R gives us, as he often does, apparently nonsense. The copyist was ignorant and somnolent, but he is none the less useful because he fails to concoct a plausible forgery. Observe (1) that he omitted a word after *quam* (I suggest that it was added by another hand or that it was omitted by the first hand of R's original);

¹ Of course some critics remain unconvinced. Merkel is unable to receive the reading of an inscription (Gruter, 637, 5 *CIL.* VI. 2 n. 9632) against the MSS. in the *Tristia*; Ehwald clings still to P's *quaerenti* in

'credite: credenti nulla procella nocet' (*Am.* II., 11, 21).

² For *plurama* from *plurima*, see Havet, p. 134: *plura* would drop out after *plurama*. Thus *nube* is omitted after *nubere* (*Her.* IX. 32) in P, and we have only *nubere pari*.

³ Merkel's statement that *parvus inermis erat* is the reading of 'vett. ed.' is hardly accurate. Except the *Ed. Venet. Rub.*, such old editions as I have seen read *parvus inermis eras*.

(2) that he wrote *eras*, that he wrote *parvus* followed by *inherbis* which is unmetrical and nonsense, but still a sign that the writer is more concerned with copying than improving his text. Let us proceed on the hypothesis that a word dropped out after *quam*, that R's *inherbis* is a blunder, and that R's *eras* is right. *Eras* seems to be right. Ovid is addressing Bacchus, and it is to Bacchus that we would naturally expect the parenthetical clause introduced by *ad quam* to refer. The whole sentence occupies the two couplets 715-719. The two direct objects of *referam* (*Semelen* and *expletum opus*) are enlarged by supplementary remarks; the subject of the second of these remarks is Bacchus (*posses*); structural symmetry would suggest that the subject of the other remark was also Bacchus. Apart from this point, I feel that in Riese's emendation the *inermis* is feeble and otiose (= *sine fulminibus*), and I think that Ovid would not in this particular instance have put the subject of *erat* in the *nisi* . . . *adferret* sentence, but would have observed the more natural order (*nisi f. s. adferret, Iuppiter spretus erat*). And *erat* in V can be explained. The copyist had before him something very like R's *parvus inherbis eras*. He was certain to make the obvious correction *inermis* for *inherbis*. But even without *inermis* he could hardly help thinking of lines 437-448: 'Iuppiter est iuvenis . . . fulmina nulla tenet . . . primo tempore (= *parvus*) *inermis erat* . . . vesca parva vocant . . . cur non ego Veiovis aedem non-magni (= *parvi*) suspicer esse Iovis.' Here in 715, 716 was a passage dealing with *Iuppiter* and his *fulmina*; whether it was *parvus* produced *inermis* or *inermis* produced *parvus*, one thing seems certain to me—that the reminiscence of the earlier passage produced *erat*. Once the copyist formed the theory that *inermis* was a predicate of *Iuppiter*, *nisi* and no other word would fill the gap in 715. Let us see, therefore, if we can make anything for ourselves out of R's 'ad quam . . . fulmina secum Iuppiter adferret parvus inherbis eras.' Retain *eras*, assume that *inermis* is the correct emendation (it is the most obvious one) of *inherbis*.

Parvus will then be a blunder (due to the suggestion of the earlier passage for some noun¹ or past participle of possibly similar appearance. Now Ovid is very fond of *prendere* and *deprendere*. He uses the former in a literal (=catch), the latter in a figurative (=detect) sense, but this distinction is not always observed.² And *deprendere inermem* seems to be peculiar to Ovid. We have:

Am. II. 10, 3 per te decipior: per te deprensus inermis.

Am. III. 7, 71 per te deprensus inermis
Rem. 347 improvisus ades, dependes tutus inermem.

In our present passage Ovid is indicating, in quick touches, the all-victorious career of Bacchus, the conqueror of the Orient, of Scythia, and Thrace, the god who was so present to help his friends and punish his enemies (713-724). But sceptics had scoffed at the story of his birth and had suggested that Semele had been punished by Jupiter for blasphemous falsehoods. How is it, they would say, that this all-powerful and victorious god could not save his own mother from a miserable death? Ovid meets this reproach; he apologises for Bacchus's one failure³ (and not for Jupiter's cruelty, as Riese thinks). I think we might restore the passage thus:

nec referam Semelen (ad quam cum fulmina secum

Iuppiter adferret, prensus inermis eras),
nec, puer ut posses maturo tempore nasci,
expletum patrio corpore matris opus.

Jupiter destroyed Semele—true, but at the time Jupiter found Bacchus helpless and unarmed.⁴ There is a tacit

implication that Jupiter would not care to provoke the Victor Bacchus of later life.⁵ This conceit partakes of impiety as regards Jupiter, but Ovid had few qualms where a story or even a dialectical point was concerned.

Cum was likely to be omitted after *quam*, especially if abbreviations were used in the archetype (I have several reasons for believing that there were).⁶ The substitution of *parvus* (*puus*) for *prensus* (*pnus*) is not in itself unlikely, and would be rendered almost inevitable for a copyist who remembered the earlier passage.

IV. 617.

813 'nil opus est' dixit 'certamine' Romulus
'ullo:

magna fides avium est. experiamur
aves.

res placet. alter init nemorosi saxa
Palati,

alter Aventinum mane cacumen init.

817 sex Remus, hic volucres bis sex videt
ordine. pacto

statur, et arbitrium Romulus urbis
habet.

Lines 817, 818 are found as above in most editions. *Pacto* is read by R, and apparently V; M and a very large number of second class MSS. have *facto*. One MS. has *ordine fecit*, another has *ordine frater*. In 818 *statur et* is supported by the mass of MSS.: *alter et* (from 816) in a few MSS., *instat et* in

caught in the storm of Fire, without resource or helper (cf. *A.A.* III. 359 'bellatorque suo prensus sine compare bellat'). His plight is somewhat analogous to that of the sailor caught in a sudden squall, 'in patenti prensus Aegaeo' (Hor. c. II. 16, 2).

⁵ The warlike side to Dionysus' character is sometimes forgotten, but his followers gloried in it. Infidels scoffed at the defenceless stripling ('puer inermis,' *Met.* III. 553), and the effeminate debauchee (see Eur. *Bacch.* 223-238), but he was potent on the battlefield, both as an inspirer of panic (Eur. 301-305) and as a real rival of Ares (Bacchus Ἐννάλιος cognominatur, Macr. I. 19, 2). His triumphs rivalled those of his sire: 'Dionysus praeter Iovem solus omnium deorum triumphavit' (Lact. *Inst.* I. 10, 8). See Brandt's note on *A.A.*, I. 190. Most modern editors (except Dr. Gow) differ—perhaps rashly—from Bentley on Hor. c. I. 12, 21, and ascribe to *Liber* the epithet *proeliis audax*.

⁶ I speak with some diffidence on such matters, but see Lindsay, *N.L.*, p. 41 and pp. 215-218.

¹ *Parvus* can hardly be used as a noun, see Burman on II. 385: he forgot this note when he read *parvus* here.

² *E.g.* *A.A.* II. 557-559 'deprendere parcite vestras . . . crescit amor prensis?'

³ Bacchus made reparation by bringing up Semele from Hades: Diod. IV. 25, Apoll. III. 38, Hyg. *Fab.* 251. The ascent was through the Alcyonian Lake at Lerna, Paus. II. 37, 5. It is to this descent into Hades that Horace alludes in *Ode* II. 19, 29. The legend was an old one; Pindar describes Semele living amongst the immortals, *Ol.* II. 25, *Pyth.* XI. 1.

⁴ *Prensus inermis* is more appropriate than *deprensus inermis*, for Bacchus is actually

one, and *frater et* in another MS., seem mere blunders.

'Vera lectio,' says Heinsius, 'quicquid turbant codices nonnulli,' and he cites *Met.* II. 818 to confirm *pacto statur*. And *ordine* in itself seems all right, whether you take it to mean 'in turn' (cf. V. 513), or 'duly' (cf. IV. 159, or 'one after the other' (cf. V. 727).¹ But I think we may learn something from the variants. They were introduced by correctors who felt that the strong pause after the fifth foot should not be followed by a pause after the trochee in the first foot of the pentameter. I think that we should make a slight correction

sex Remus, hic volucres bis sex videt:
omine pacto
statur, et arbitrium Romulus urbis habet.

In *Met.* VI. 448 all the good MSS. read *ordine*: the correct and accepted reading *omine* appears only in the margin of M. Ovid did not make fine distinctions between *omina* and *auguria*; we have, a few lines later:

tonitru dedit omina laevo Iuppiter . . .
augurio laeti iaciunt fundamina cives
(833-835).

VI. 345, 346.

Ovid is narrating the αἴτιον of the honour paid to the ass during the Vestalia. By connecting Vesta and Priapus he is able to construct a *multi fabula parva ioci*, finding at the same time the reason for the Roman regard for the ass and the sacrifice of that animal at Lampsacus. The scheme of this fable is the same as that of Priapus and Lotis (I. 391-440), for which it probably formed the model. Priapus was foiled by the braying of the ass:

343 territa voce gravi surgit dea, convolat
omnis
turba: per infestas effugit ille manus.
345 Lampsacos hoc animal solita est mactare
Priapo

¹ It was the number not the mode of flight which was important. Each vulture signified a *saeculum*. Professor Housman's 'Roma supremas desperavit avis' (*Carm. Bucol. Einsidl.* II. 34; see *C.Q.* IV. 1, p. 47) is certain. On the subject of these auguries, see S. Reinach, *Une prédiction accomplie*, in *C.M.R.* III. pp. 302-310.

346 apta asini flammis indicis exta damus
quem tu, diva, memor de pane monilibus
ornas:
cessat opus, vacuae contiguere molae.

The MSS. are practically agreed on lines 345, 346. A few inferior codices have *Hinc asini* in 346, and I have found this in many of the early editions. The *Ed. Venet. Rubei* (1474) has *Lampsacos hunc soli solita est*, which appears also in the Gryphian text.

Heinsius characterised the distich as spurious 'ab aliquo homine male feriato hic praeter rem inculcatum.' Burman, Cnipping, Merkel (Teub. ed.) bracket the lines. Burman had some qualms, for he saw that if we omit the lines, *Quem* (347) must refer to Silenus (*sic*). Riese, Davies, Peter, and others accept the distich as it stands. Now the lines cannot be omitted; omit them, and *quem* must refer to *ille* in 344, and Priapus will become a Bottom. Moreover we require an explicit statement of the αἴτιον of the sacrifice. Finally, Lactantius paraphrases this very couplet: 'apud Lampsacum Priapo litabilis victima est asellus cuius ratio in *Fastis* haec redditur' (*Inst.* I. 21, 25 Brandt). Lactantius narrates the assault on Vesta, and proceeds (27) 'hac de causa Lampsacenos asellum Priapo, quasi in ultionem, mactare consuevisse: apud Romanos verum eundem Vestalibus sacris in honorem pudicitiae conservatae, panibus coronari.'

But we cannot accept the couplet as it stands. A statement that 'We (*i.e.* the Romans) sacrifice asses to Priapus' is not only false but stultifies Ovid's story. Madvig (*Adv.* II. p. 108) suggested *L. h. a. s. e. m. Priapo fata: asini f. i. e. damus.* Bergk (*op.* I. 664 ff.) proposed *L. hinc a. s. e. m. Priapo, a. a. f. i. e. domans.* Burman had already suggested *L. hinc a. s. hoc m. Priapo: hinc asini f. i. e. damus.* Ehwald and Peter commend Bergk's *hinc animal* (it really belongs to Burman), but are not satisfied with the proposed corrections of line 346. *Hoc* seems to be sound, cf. I. 439, II. 473 *hoc genus (=pisces)*, IV. 711 *gens haec (=vulpes)*. Apart from the absurd *damus* there are other objections to the pentameter: (1) the elision is suspicious; (2) the position of *asini*

is strange—it intervenes between *apta* and its construct, and compels one to think of, if not to translate, 'the flames of the tell-tale ass.' If we can draw any inference from the following line, *diva . . . ornas* suggests a *deus* whose action is expressed by a verb in the present tense. I think it not impossible that Ovid wrote:

Lampsacos hoc animal solita est mactare
Priapo:
apta putat flammis indicis exta deus.
quem tu, diva, memor de pane monilibus
ornas.

Accidents were sure to happen to *apta putat*: it might become *aptat*, *aputat*,

aputa (is there a trace of this in E's *apata*?), or simply *apta*. The blank was filled by the gloss *asini*, which belonged to *indicis*. A verb was required in place of the defunct *putat*, and a copyist took it on himself to change *deus* to *damus*; he may have regarded *ds* as a legitimate contraction of *damus* in this line.

I do not know if attention has been called to the fact that to Ovid the unforgivable sin was tattling; he inveighs again and again against this vice in the *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* (cf. *Am. l.c.*).

E. H. ALTON.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE *LYDIA*.

THERE can be no reasonable doubt that the poem which follows the *Dirae* in MSS. is indeed the 'Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber,' the famous work of that teacher whom Bibaculus called 'unicum magistrum, summum gramaticum, optimum poetam,' that Professor of Poetry who had the *novi poetae* (and Virgil too) for his pupils, who introduced Alexandrian versification to Roman literature, the great 'Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren, qui solus legit ac facit poetas.' In the first place, as has often been remarked, no rival or imitator would steal the name Lydia for the heroine. That name was by literary convention the property of Valerius Cato as much as 'Highland Mary' is the inalienable property of Burns. And further, the *Lydia* is eminently a professional poem, packed with illustrations of the new mannerisms which Cato taught to his class, e.g.: (1) Σπονδαίζοντες, 33, 47, 67, (2) Transposition of *que*, 71 *tristi turpabatque mala fuligine barbam* (for 'tristi malaque turpabat'), (3) Parentheses, 18 (*currite lymphae*), 27. Just as the *Dirae* with its parentheses (e.g. *Dir. 96 mec. mor.*), (4) Parataxis, *Dir. 41* (*non iterum dices, crebro 'tua Lydia' dixti*), and so on. The last mentioned line (along with *Dir. 89, 95*) shows us that the arrangement of the two poems in MSS. was alphabetical, not chronological. The *Lydia* was composed before the *Dirae* and was the first attempt

to reproduce in Latin the 'linked sweetness' of the Alexandrian Pastoral, that recurrent cadence imitative of a shepherd's flutings, as in the Scotch song 'I've heard them lilting at our ewe-milking, Lasses a' lilting before dawn of day.' That is the effect Cato aims at by his repetition of *formosa* (1-2 *Invideo vobis, agri formosaeque prata, Hoc formosa magis mea quod formosa puella*, etc.), of *dulcis* (57-60), of the syllable *aur* (26-28), by the *Lydia ludit* (4). The Greek bucolic caesura indeed he uses only once (in line 18), as sparingly as Virgil (*dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus?* [an *Meliboei*?]). It must have been unsuitable to the Latin hexameter, for Cato avoids monotony of rhythm and exhibits a great variety in his eighty lines. But the 'echo-lines' (e.g. *invideo vobis agri* 1, 8, 20; cf. 24, 41; cf. 59, 65), that represent in words the recurrent theme of melody, are in the Greek pastoral style, and even the boorish jest in line 69. The *Lydia* is the most careful and finished of poems. We should admire it more if Virgil had never written the *Eclogues*.

In line 3 Cato may possibly (though Virgil would not) have begun with the interjection *st* (persistently written *est* in MSS.) 'I envy you, fields and meadows fair, the more fair that 'tis to you my fair—hush!—is sighing low her love for me.' At any rate *vobis suspirat amorem* has the same construction as 30 (*silvis*

mugire dolorem). Heinsius' *in* (est MSS.) *vobis* is adopted by Vollmer, who also alters the traditional text at 22 and 68, finding the transition of thought too abrupt. But since 21 ends *mea quae fuit ante voluptas*, there is no need of *mihi* (a word like *nunc* would have a better claim) in 22: 'at male (*mihi* Vollmer) *tabescunt morientia membra dolore*.' And in 68 *grandia* is so suitable to the Queen of Heaven that the only change needed is *brachia* for *gaudia*, a change confirmed by Catullus' imitation (64, 332) of the same original: 'levia substernens robusto brachia collo.' It is hardly possible that the *gaudia* of the MSS. can be right, an imitation of some novel word used by Callimachus; although more than one curious expression in the poem seems due to a Greek original, e.g. 63 (of metamorphosis) 'Iuppiter ante, sui semper mendacia factus'; 80 ('a shadow of my former self') 'ut maneam quod vix oculis cognoscere possis.' In 43 *laurus* must, I suppose, be printed *Laurus* 'of Daphne': 'Phoebe, gerens in te Laurus celebrabis amorem'; and the 'gerens in te,' supported by 45 'secum sua gaudia gestat,' seems to suggest a myth that a sun halo (or the like) was Daphne, as the 'man in the moon' was Endymion, 41.

The pretty passage about the Moon and the Sun has received a new charm from Dr. Mackail. Everyone knows ('nisi silvis Fama locuta est') the suggestion in his Oxford lectures that a 'Volkslied' underlies 41-42 (Luna, tuus tecum est; cur non est et mea tecum? Luna, dolor nosti quid sit; miserere dolentis) 'Luna, tuus est ut tecum, cur non est et mea tecum? Luna, quid sit dolor sentis; miserere tu dolentis.' This charming contribution from one Professor of Poetry to another has, I hope, come to stay. Severe accuracy will frown it away, for this type of 'Volkslied' is rather medieval than pre-Augustan; but it adds to the pleasure of the reader, and

the *Lydia* was written merely to please. The passage begins with a description of the sky after sunset (39): 'sidera per viridem redeunt cum pallida mundum' (*mundus* 'sky' again in 46), after which we should, I think, read (40): 'inque vicem Phoebo curres aequae aureus orbis (*Phoebi currens atque* edd.).' The omission of *est* in 44 (*et quae pompa deum* 'and all the Pantheon') finds a parallel in 76 (*infelix ego, non illo qui tempore natus*); so no alteration is needed. But *illi* in line 70 must be altered to *illic* ('in officina'), unless there is a change of subject (*id illi?*) from *Volcanus* to *opus*; and in line 45 *scitis* has become *sitis*, then *estis*, 'you, my readers, know all these stories of mythology.'

The poem has not been too severely handled by time, and the (comparative) accuracy of its tradition gives a palaeographer little chance of guessing at its 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte.' An interchange of *f* and *v* always points to a Spanish (rather than Italian or French) scribe; but we do not find it at line 61. For *impia vota* (if it really has been substituted for *invida fata*) would be the scribe's reminiscence of the recurrent phrase in the *Dirae* which he had just been transcribing. And in line 79 *vita* ('my love, my life,' i.e., *Lydia*) should not be altered to *fata*. Ellis, who assigns this meaning to *vita*, also retains *impia vota*.

For convenience, I append a list of the alterations (not all new) here proposed of Vollmer's (the latest) text: 22 male (not 'mihi'); 40 Phoebo curres aequae (not 'Phoebi currens atque'); 43 Laurus (not 'laurus'); 44 quae (not 'qua est'), silvis (not 'vilis'); 45 scitis (not 'estis'); 65 (delete full stop at end); 68 grandia (not 'Cypria'); 71 turpabatque mala (not 'turpabat malam ac'); 79 vita (not 'Fata'). Can *que* in line 48 be used for *quoque*?

W. M. LINDSAY.

HORACE (SERMONES, I. 6. 126).

fguio. { rabido si tempore signi. D
cāpū lusitq. trigonem. G
Campum lusumque trigonem V
rabiosi (rapiosi R) tempora signi cett.

SINCE Bentley the editors have almost unanimously¹ adopted, with or without some slight modification, the reading of V. Further, there has been a tendency to consider the sharp divergence between VG (representing class B = Mr. Garrod's β) on the one hand and the rest of the MSS. (including class A = α) on the other hand, so marked as to suggest the possibility that we have here traces of an after-thought introduced by Horace himself in a second edition. A, it is argued, represents the first and B the second thoughts of the writer. 'The two readings cannot be corruptions of one and the same original.' This belief was questioned by Palmer,² but only in a half-hearted way.

My object in what follows is to press the point which Palmer raised, and to show, as I think it can be shown almost to demonstration, that the 'archetypes' of the two classes, A and B, differing far less than their descendants, read respectively, (1) 'fugio rabido si temporis igni' A, and (2) 'fugio rapidum si temporis ignem' B.

(1) The text of D has been vitiated (a) by the alteration of one letter only, and (b) by a 'prava continuatio verborum,' the exact counterpart of which is to be found in the oldest extant MS. of Horace, *Bernensis* 363 (which unfortunately fails us in the *Satires* after i. 3. 134), at *Carm.* iv. 2. 19, where for 'centum potiore signis munere donat' it has (see the Leyden photographic reproduction) 'centum potiores ignis' *e.q.s.* D in fact divided its original TEMPORISIGNI wrongly, and made the common mistake of changing an *i* to an *e*. Otherwise its text is tenable. The ablative without a preposition is bold, but not, I take it, impossible. If it were, *either si a temporis or rabidos-*

ignis might be proposed. 'Rabiosi tempora signi' represents a futile attempt to correct the text of D: the original error is kept and others are added to it.

(2) I have taken D as the least corrupt member of the A family; in regard to the B family it is better to deal with the text of G—which we have—rather than with that of V, which we have lost, and of which there remains only Cruquius' report. Here it is to be noted that, in minuscule, confusion between *ul* and *id* is easy and not infrequent; and we must also remember that hardly any error is more common than the omission or addition of the conjunction 'que.'³ But 'capacis' and 'rapacis' are confused in the MSS. of Ovid at *Metamorphosis* 8. 243; and, bearing these points in mind, we see that 'cāpū lusitq. trigonem' may not improbably be derived from 'rapidū sit[q.] trigonem.' Now 'trigonem' is uncommonly like 'ignem,' preceded by some compendium—say 'tis' (*cf.* Prou's *Manuel*, p. 331)—for 'temporis'; and when the specialists assure us that the B class of MSS. had undergone emendation at the hands of a learned scribe,⁴ I confess that, with the collateral evidence of the A class reading to guide us, it seems to me more than likely that the original reading of the B class was 'fugio rapidum si temporis ignem.'⁵

Instances of confusion in MSS. between 'rapidus' and 'rabidus' are

³ Very striking instances occur in Ovid, *Met.* 5. 386 and 669. *Cf.* also Lucretius 5. 342, and the Vergilian *Catalepton* 1. 1 and 3. In *Sat.* i. 5. 37 read, perhaps, 'In <que>' Mamurrarum. A conjunction is needed, and there is no reason why Horace should have lengthened the first *a* which in Catullus is short.

⁴ See note 6 *infra*. 'The second class' [*i.e.* the B class] 'they' [*i.e.* Keller and Holder] 'hold to have come from a good codex, but one which, being illegible in places, was corrected by a learned man, the emendations in this class being rather of a rhetorical or poetical character than grammatical' (Palmer, p. xxxvii). The mention of the 'trigon' appears to involve an anachronism, as if an editor should introduce an allusion to 'pingpong' in the text of Præd.

⁵ 'Si,' on the assumption that the *t* (in 'sit') comes by dittography from 'temporis'; 'si' and 'sit' are confused in the MSS. at *Epp.* i. 3. 30 and 16. 54.

¹ Keller and Holder, followed by Dillenburger, keep 'rabiosi tempora signi': but see Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

² Horace, *Satires* (1905), p. 38. See also Holder and Dr. Gow.

as plentiful as blackberries. Very much to the point here is Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 225, where, against the 'rapidi vicinia solis' of the majority, one good MS., *Parisinus* 8001 (*olim* Berneggeranus), offers us 'rabidi vicinia solis.' Horace himself prefers the epithet 'rapidus' at *Carm.* ii. 9. 12.

The 'time' ('tempus') is the time of day (*cf.* the 'amicum tempus' of *Carm.* iii. 6. 44). The punctuation will need modification—a comma, not a full-stop, at the end of the line. Then the whole—commonplace—paragraph will run thus:

ad quartam iaceo. post hanc vagor (aut ego
lecto
aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet ungor
olivo . . .)
ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
admonuit, fugio { rabido si temporis igni,
 { rapidum si temporis ignem,
pransu non avide, quantum interpellat inani
ventre diem durare, domesticus otior.

'After the fourth hour first a stroll (or the alternative), then the bath; then—if I want to take cover from the heat of the day, if, that is to say, like Sybaris, I feel "impatiens pulveris atque solis"—then a light lunch and an afternoon at home.'

If this theory is right, the trouble arose partly from a blurred original, in which the last two words were not easily decipherable, and partly perhaps from some doubt in the scribe's mind in connexion with the rare use of 'ignis' for 'aestus,' which we need not stay to illustrate here.

In conclusion, let me stress three points:

(a) The evidence of the numerous ancient scholiasts—Acron, Porphyron,

and the rest—cited by Keller and Holder *ad loc.*: (i.) Not one of them knew or recognised the 'Campum . . . trigonem' reading. (ii.) The notes of all (with their references to the dog-star) are consistent with the view that their texts had 'rabido (*sive* rapidum) . . . temporis igni (*sive* ignem),' and that they took 'temporis' to denote the dog-days—*i.e.* the time of year instead of the time of day—a natural error.

(b) But for the change of a single letter (and that only an *i* for an *e*) 'rabido si temporis igni' is the lection of a representative MS. of the *a* class, in regard to which Mr. Garrod (S.C.B.O., *Praefat.*) writes: 'stirpem a generi alteri longe praestare et ab *a* precario discedi Horatianae criseos prima lex.'

(c) The β variant (offered by GV), far from being, as is commonly asserted, something *sui generis*, distinct and divergent, does admit of explanation, almost stroke for stroke,¹ as a variant (an easy and perhaps a preferable variant) from the text of the other family.

This is a strong case. Surely—in spite of Bentley and his flock—the 'bright jewel' of V is only paste after all? But—remembering Mr. Wells's 'Dedication' to his critics—I ask the question with all due diffidence and restraint.

¹ At Juvenal vi. 93 P has 'ignium changed to Ionium' (Duff). Here V's exemplar had *ionem* corrected to *ignem*: hence (see Lindsay on Martial xi. 106. 1) 'igonem,' which, preceded by the compendium for 'temporis,' might only too easily give rise to the anachronistic 'trigonem.' At *Ars Poetica* 393 the B class (*i.e.* VB) have 'rabidos' as against the 'rapidus' of the rest.

D. A. SLATER.

TWO VIRGILIAN BIRD-NOTES.

AENEID X. 262 FF.

clamorem ad sidera tollunt
Dardanidae e muris, spes addita suscitatur iras,
tela manu iaciunt, quales sub nubibus atris
Strymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera
tranant
cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.

THERE has been trouble about this passage owing to the word 'Notos,' which is usually supposed to mean a

stormy wind from the south; thus the cranes are imagined to be flying northwards on their spring migration, though this is by no means implied in the parallel passage in *Iliad* iii. 4 ff. But birds in spring are not apt to fly before storms; they wait for fine weather, and profit by it when they get it.

This does not matter for the general sense, for the point of the simile is of

course the comparison between the noise made by the birds as they fly, evidently a cheerful noise, and the *hopeful* shouts of the Trojans when they see the great shield of Aeneas on the leading ship. Mr. Page's word *exultant* is, I think, a little too strong, but as usual he seizes the real point of the passage—*e.g.*, he notes that Virgil mentions thrice the noise of the cranes: 'dant signa, cum sonitu, clamore secundo.' 'Dant signa' simply means, I think, that they are calling to each other, after the manner of flocking birds, not, as Henry thought, providing omens of bad weather, which would falsify the simile.

There would be no difficulty if it were not assumed that the cranes are on migration. I used to think so myself (see *A Year with the Birds*, chap. vii.), but I now believe that they are conceived by Virgil as simply flying before a big black local storm, as they certainly are in *Georgic* i. 373:

nunquam imprudentibus imber
obfuit; aut illum surgentem vallibus imis
aeriae fugere grues . . .

Both passages suggest to me the sudden appearance of a storm in the Mediterranean region; the words *sub nubibus atris* especially point to the deep black clouds of a thunderstorm.¹ Cranes, let us note, move about like our rooks or starlings, which also often fly before a storm, or on their way to rest. Canon Tristram, whose knowledge of Mediterranean birds was both extensive and accurate, writes as follows: "In the southern wilderness, south of Beersheba, the cranes resort in immense flocks to certain favourite roosting-places during the winter. . . . Their whooping and trumpeting enlivened the watches of the night, and till dawn we could hear the flocks passing overhead on their way to their quarters close by."² It would be interesting to know whether any of our officers on the front from Gaza to Beersheba has made similar observations.

I may add a word about 'Notos.' The true Latin word for the south wind is 'Auster,' as may be clearly seen in Pliny's elaborate account of the winds (*N.H.* ii. 119 ff.). 'Notus' is a Greek

word (see *Iliad* xvi. 765, or Strabo, bk. i., p. 62), and has in Latin a less definite meaning than in Greek. On *Aen.* i. 575 Servius notes that 'Notus' may either be *any wind*, or the true 'Notus' which blows from the Syrtes to Carthage—that is, south-east. In xii. 334 the horses of Mars in Thrace 'ante Notos Zephyrumque volant.' The plural as Virgil uses it in this passage and x. 266, points perhaps to local and gusty winds. One or two passages of Propertius also suggest this, though he uses the singular: *e.g.*, ii. 5-11 ff.:

non ita Carpathiae variant Aquilonibus undae,
nec dubio nubes vertitur atra Noto,
quam facile irati verbo mutantur amantes:

Here we have a black storm-cloud again associated with 'Notus.' In book ii. 9, 34 we have another comparison of 'Notus' with the fickleness of lovers; and in iv. 6, 28 we find *iratos Notos*. The poet's idea of the wind seems to have been that it was sudden, stormy, and fickle, by no means such a wind as blows steadily from any one quarter. I think, then, that Virgil uses the word in this same sense, and that the cranes are not going steadily on migration either in spring or in autumn, but simply changing their feeding-grounds on account of a local storm.

AEN. XI. 271 FF.: DIOMEDEAE AVES.

nunc etiam horribili visu portenta sequuntur,
et socii amissi petierunt aethera pennis,
fluminibusque vagantur aves (heu dira meorum
supplicia!) et scopulos lacrimosis vocibus im-
plent.

Latinus had sent an embassy to Diomedes in Apulia to ask him for help against the Trojans; and in the course of his reply Diomedes brings in one of the favourite old Mediterranean legends of the metamorphosis of human beings into animals. He himself, he says, was driven into exile after the fall of Troy, and his companions were changed into birds. In the story he reached the coast of Apulia between the Aufidus and the promontory of Garganus, where his comrades suffered this fate. At the end of Heyne's commentary on *Aen.* xi. there is a very learned excursus on this legend and its various forms, and those who wish to examine it as a whole will do well to consult him. I am here only

¹ Cf. ix. 668 ff.

² *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 240.

concerned with one feature of it—the miraculous change into birds, and the inviting question what birds these were, which I am inclined to think I can answer with some confidence. Heyne has laboured hard to do so, diving into ancient and modern zoological writers from Pliny and Aelian to Aldrovandus and Willughby.¹ Unluckily this really learned man was not an ornithologist, and missed the one almost certain clue we have to the identification of these birds.

Strabo (vi. p. 284) tells us that there were two small islands off the promontory of Garganus; one was inhabited, the other desolate, and in this latter were the birds of Diomedes even in his own day—i.e., a little later than Virgil's lifetime. About these birds Pliny has an interesting passage, which is taken from Juba the learned king of Numidia, who lived about the same time as Strabo. Here are Pliny's words:²

And I will not omit the birds of Diomedes, which Juba calls Cataractae, telling us that they have teeth and fire-coloured eyes, but otherwise are white. They always have two captains, one to lead the band, the other to bring up the rear. *These birds dig furrows with the beak, then cover them with wattlework, and hide this with the earth thrown out at first; in these places they breed.* Each furrow has two openings, one facing east, by which they may go out towards their feeding-grounds, the other facing west, by which they may return. They always flutter out to disburden the belly, and against the wind. In one place only of the whole world are they to be seen—namely, that island which we have set

down as famous for the tomb and shrine of Diomedes, over against the shore of Apulia.

Stripped of a few freaks of fancy, this account is credible in one important point, namely, *that these birds nested in holes or burrows.* The only seabird of the Mediterranean which does this is the representative in that basin of our own Manx Shearwater, of which the burrowing habit has been often described by British ornithologists. These Shearwaters (*Puffinus kuhli*) have the habit of frequenting small islands off a coast, and are not uncommon in such places on the Italian coast and elsewhere; I well remember seeing them in the Straits of Bonifacio, where there are many small islands. In his book on the birds of Italy Professor Giglioli mentions several places in which they are found, and says that in Istria they still bear the name Artana, by which the birds of Diomedes seem to have been known in the sixteenth century (Heyne, p. 621).¹ It would be interesting to know whether the Shearwaters nest at the present day in the islands off the coast of Apulia, but Giglioli has nothing to tell us about this.

I will only add that the Shearwater seems to have acquired a ghostly reputation in the eastern Mediterranean. 'From their restless habits and dark sombre plumage they are believed by the Moslems to be tenanted by the souls of the condemned,' says Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 211; and in another place he speaks of them as 'the mysterious ghost-birds of the Bosphorus.' Can this be a survival of the same old form of legend which we find in the story of the birds of Diomedes? I think it possible that the real reason for this ghostly reputation may be found in the dismal noises made by the Shearwaters, especially at night. 'The keepers said they heard them at night making a noise 'like a child sobbing in trouble.' Another described the noise

¹ He also refers to a writer unknown to me—Vervard, *Account of Divers Choice Remarks made in a Journey*, p. 359 (1701)—but adds 'sed nec is scientia naturae satis fuit instructus.'

² Pliny x. 126-7. The translation is that of our oldest English ornithologist, William Turner, whose work was edited by Mr. A. H. Evans at Cambridge in 1903. The original Latin of the important sentence is as follows: 'scrobes excavare rostro, inde crate consternere et operire terra quae ante fuerit egesta: in his fetificare.' My friend, Mr. O. V. Aplin, described the nesting of our Shearwater in the *Zoologist* for 1902, p. 16: 'They breed chiefly in a steep grassy cliff . . . some in holes under the rocks, where they emerge from the turf; others in long clefts in and winding passages among the rocks.' This was in Bardsey Island, North Wales. In St. Kilda the birds make their own burrows, as they seem to have done in Italy, but if they find a rabbit-burrow to hand they use it (Seebohm, *Eggs of British Birds*, p. 72).

¹ Willughby (edited by Ray) has a chapter on the 'Artena of the Tremiti Islands,' which comes through Aldrovandus from Gesner, who seems to have seen a specimen. Aldrovandus' description suits the Shearwater very fairly well: upper parts dusky or dark ash, under parts white, bill hooked, size that of a 'good corpulent hen.'

as sounding like a deep-drawn out repetition of the words 'it's your fault,' the emphasis on the word 'your' (Forrest's *Fauna of North Wales*, p. 415).

The word 'fluminibus' in Virgil's lines suggests that the birds did not

confine themselves to islands, but might stray up rivers, e.g. the Aufidus, and this is true of the Shearwaters. Professor Giglioli says that one was taken at Terni in Central Italy in 1877.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

THE INDICATIVE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES.

PROFESSOR J. A. SMITH has raised a question as to the use of the indicative mood in relative clauses (*C.R.* for May and June, 1917, pp. 69-71), and appealed to those who have made a special study of Greek syntax for an answer. Is it possible for a relative clause with the simple *ὅς* and an indicative to express generality? No answer has yet appeared, so I feel moved to attempt one. Professor Smith has been guided by Goodwin, and I do not wonder that the use of the terms 'indefinite' and 'definite' in the *Moods and Tenses* (§§ 515-518 and succeeding sections) should have given rise to difficulties. Goodwin nowhere defines these terms; for I cannot regard it as a definition to say that a 'definite antecedent' is found where the relative pronoun refers to a *definite* person, thing, time, or place, and an 'indefinite antecedent' where the relative pronoun refers to an *indefinite* person, thing, etc. What is a definite person (thing, time, or place)? I suppose by 'definite' Goodwin means 'having clearly marked features of its own, so that it may be recognised with certainty,' like a picture with clearly marked outlines. But surely there may be all degrees of definiteness in this sense. 'John Smith' stands for a very definite person to me if I know him; so too 'my wife.' 'Your wife' is something less definite to me. Still more indefinite is the subject of the main clause in 'The man whom I saw arrested seemed to be a foreigner; but I could not see his face or hear what he said.' More indefinite still is the subject of 'The man (or A man) who has no music in his soul,' etc. How about 'Whoever has no music in his soul?' Is that more indefinite than 'The (or A) man who,' etc., or is it

not? Perhaps I may be told that questions are of the nature of those objectionable ones which 'would upset any theology.' But they force themselves upon any reader of Goodwin who tries to see how his rules apply. Why, for instance, does he put Demosthenes *De F. L.* (§ 262) under the definite category? The meaning of *τηνικαὐτα ὅτε οὐδ' ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἔξετε* is 'at a time when you will not even be able to do what you ought,' the time of this event being surely as much unknown as that in 'The day will come when sacred Troy will (shall) fall,' *ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλη* *Ἰλίου ἱρή* (*Il.* IV. 164), where the construction of the relative clause is quite different. It is in connexion with the last two of the above-mentioned types of sentence that Professor Smith's question arises, and it relates particularly to the interpretation of Plato, *Rep.* X. 596 A, *περὶ ἕκαστα τὰ πολλὰ οἷς ταῦτὸν ὄνομα ἐπιτίθεμεν*. Can this mean 'in connexion with each group of particulars to which we apply the same name' (Adam's translation)? Now a reference to examples like those contained in Goodwin, *M.T.* § 534, would not answer Professor Smith's question. Nor would examples like the following, which naturally suggest themselves: *Ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκου νέος* (Menander, quoted by Stobaeus, *Flor.* 120. 8). *Νέος δ' ἀπόλλυθ' ὅντινα φιλεῖ θεός* (Stobaeus 120. 13), which, whether metrical or not, is at any rate good Greek for *ὅντιν' ἂν φιλήῃ θεός*. *Ὀλβιος ὃς τὰδ' ὅπωπε*, etc. (*Homeric Hymn* II. 480-2). *Ὀλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν ἐκεῖνα κόϊλαν εἰσιν ὑπὸ χθόνα* (Pindar, *Frag.* 8). For Professor Smith's query relates to instances which have an antecedent expressed, like *ἕκαστα τὰ πολλὰ* in the *Republic* passage.

This antecedent is to be defined by a clause introduced by *ὅς* (not *ὅστις*). Such an antecedent will necessarily be *incomplete*, as needing definition; in other words, it will be in one sense indefinite (*i.e.* undefined). In such cases it is usual in English to use no comma before the relative pronoun. But Greek sentences like 'This is the house that Jack built' would not be to the point; for the antecedent of the relative must apply to all or everyone of a class. I have not made any systematic search for Greek examples having these characteristics, but I suggest that instances like the following might easily be multiplied: (1) Plato *Gorg.* 450 B *ἐκάστη αὐτῶν περὶ λόγους ἐστὶ τούτους οὐ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐ ἐκάστη ἐστὶν ἡ τέχνη*. Here there are *two* examples, and they may be contrasted with *ταύτην ῥητορικὴν καλεῖς ἢ ἂν ἡ περὶ λόγους* (*ibid.*, below); Jowett's translation makes no difference between the clauses with the indicative and the clause with the subjunctive. (2) *Phaedo* 65 E *αὐτὸ ἕκαστον περὶ οὐ σκοπεῖ*. (3) *Soph. Ajax* 812 *ἄνδρα γ' ὅς σπεύδει θανεῖν*, where English would have the *indefinite* article, 'a man, who is bent on death.'¹ An example with

the negative *μή* may be even more conclusive: Plato *Rep.* 605 E *τοιούτων ἄνδρα οἷον ἑαυτὸν τις μὴ ἀξιοῖ εἶναι*. It is a curious fact that examples to the point are in grammars conspicuous by their absence; it would seem that they have been thought to need no notice. But I am inclined to agree with what Mr. A. C. Pearson says in the *Classical Quarterly* for April of this year (pp. 66, 67), that in the interests of clearness a more exact classification of relative clauses is required. Among other things we must consider whether the character of the antecedent as either *incomplete* (in the sense indicated above) or *self-contained* (as, for example, when it is a proper name) is of importance for the grammatical construction of the relative clause; and we may well raise the question whether the distinction of 'definite' or 'indefinite' ought not to be replaced by something a little less *indefinite*.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

Ajax. A clause with the indicative may follow an incomplete antecedent just as well as an antecedent which is self-contained, though its function differs in the two cases. With Jebb's note in support of *σπεύδει* compare his note on 1160 of the same play, where he rightly prefers the indicative. The two passages are parallel—the one with, the other without, an antecedent expressed.

NOTES

THE TITLE OF ISIDORE'S ETYMOLOGIES.

PROFESSOR ANSPACH, who is to edit Isidore for the Vienna series (but when?) has declared (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1912, col. 1628) that the time-honoured alternative title of Isidore's great encyclopaedia, *Origines*, should be dropped, and the more cumbersome title substituted, *de Origine Quarundam Rerum*. Why? Because, in a preface written for the (abortive?) publication of the work in Sisebut's reign, Isidore thus describes its nature and contents: 'en tibi, sicut pollicitus sum, misi opus de origine quarundam rerum,' etc.

I would enter a caveat against discarding the familiar *Origines*, if no better argument can be found. For an author's account of a book in a letter to a friend is one thing, the title under which he handed the manuscript over to the bookseller is another. To take one example out of many, Cicero writes about his *Academics* to Atticus (13, 16, 1): 'illam ἀκαδημαϊκὴν σύνταξιν totam ad Varronem traduximus.' But who would dream of arguing that this Greek phrase was the title (or a title) which Cicero assigned to the book or by which his friends and contemporaries referred to it?

Let me take this opportunity of asking

anyone who has a copy of the Oxford edition of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (sive *Origines*) to correct an extraordinary mistake in its first line of text. The prefatory Epistle A should begin *dum amici litteras*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

PORTUS ITIUS.

ON re-reading recently Dr. Rice Holmes' argument in *Ancient Britain* for the identification of Portus Itius with Boulogne, it occurred to me that the apparently most improbable point in that theory has an almost exact parallel in modern times. He believed that to the native settlement of Gesoriacum (or rather to its harbour) the Romans first gave the name Portus Itius, indicating the spot as *the* port of the district,

and later the name Bononia, which was brought from Italy, though not strictly Latin. The theory involves the supposition that the term Portus Itius died out, while the other two names lasted on together for a time, till Bononia finally alone survived, and has remained to this day. So to the locality called by the natives Tekwini we have given the name, first of Port Natal, and then of Durban, which, though not English but French in origin, is an importation from Europe; and while the Zulu word is known, not by Kaffirs only, but by many Europeans on the spot, 'Port Natal' is to-day rarely used there, and in England it is hard to find, in ordinary company, people who know that Port Natal and Durban are identical.

E. E. GENNER.

Jesus College, Oxford.

REVIEWS

HISTORY OF ANCIENT COINAGE, 700-300 B.C.

History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B.C.

By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., Professor of Classical Archaeology in Oxford. Pp. xii+463. Clarendon Press, 1918.

IF in the near future we are to expect an improvement in Classical teaching with corresponding increase of interest in the ancient learning, then Professor Gardner's work on Greek coinage is a timely publication. His previously published essays on the Ionic Revolt and on the earliest issues of Hellas Proper had thrown such a welcome flood of light upon difficult and complex problems, that the announcement of the larger work seemed perhaps to raise our hopes to a dangerous height: they were not, however, doomed to disappointment.

Experts will find plenty of important suggestions to ponder over: but the real merit of the new volume lies in its method. It is not too much to say that, for those who merely regard numismatics as a branch of general archaeology or rather as a necessary

adjunct to the study of ancient history, the book will mark an epoch. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of placing the whole subject of Greek coinage in a new and clear light: Previously it was extremely difficult or impossible for the outsider or novice to get any proper grasp of numismatic facts or their bearings upon the broad flood of history. The facts indeed were there in great number—too great, for it was impossible to see the forest for the trees. The 'Historia Numorum' was a mine of information, not narrowly regarding coins only; but then you necessarily found little or no co-ordination between the facts relating to individual city states. Everything was detached, everything far to seek. Head attended to his own business, which was numismatics: Dr. Gardner, no mean numismatist, is above all the historian—and one withal who combines judgment with imagination to a quite unusual degree. And so he has for the first time treated the subject as a simple and organic unity.

We find two outstanding features in

this work. First of all the writer attacks the really difficult problems—those connected with the east and north-east of the Aegean area. Previously he had cleared away the fogs that surrounded the origin and early history of money in the Greek mainland and especially in Athens, which had seemed before he wrote to present almost insoluble difficulty. But the perplexity, the confusion, the haziness in which the coinage of Asia Minor and Thrace had appeared to be enveloped was something indescribably bad: it was little wonder that the ordinary student of Greek and Greek history found himself excused from the obligation of trying to pierce for himself this appalling region of *plus-quam*-Cimmerian gloom. Now Gardner takes you by the hand, shows you what were the main forces operating at various epochs in the Near East, and how they would have affected the issue and circulation of various sorts of money. A method like this cannot be, and does not claim to be, infallible—but when applied with knowledge and discretion it becomes thoroughly enlightening and encouraging to the groping student. He at least sees some facts in their proper setting: he learns what is the true perspective of numismatic study. In every science it is the judicious use of hypothesis that counts. In every science, the true guide, while he uses hypothesis is yet continually warning us against the abuse of it, which consists in straining evidence beyond its due limit.

The other main characteristic of Professor Gardner's treatment seems to lie in his extraordinary insistence upon the importance of standards as distinct from types, symbols and inscriptions. No one knows better than he how difficult and elusive is this aspect of numismatic study. Yet it seems to the present writer that from the outsider's point of view, it is a great boon to have assistance in this matter not merely on account of its difficulty, but also because of its importance. Naturally the beginner is drawn (was not Gardner drawn when he wrote his *Types of Greek Coins*?) to study those features in money which

first strike the eye, those which can also be reproduced in the photograph or electrotype, and which bear a direct relation to art as well as to history. All the same, Dr. Gardner has done well to remind us in his new work that weight is the real standard of value, and that if we are to proceed with coins beyond the merely dilettante stage we must be prepared to deal with varieties of standard quite as readily or more readily than with the more attractive varieties of type and symbol.

For the English reader who has previously gone to Head for his information about standards and numismatic history, it will be a distinct reassurance to find how closely Gardner is in accord with the earlier authority. It is true that he gained his numismatic knowledge under Head during the sixteen years he spent as a member of the British Museum staff. On the other hand, Gardner's mind is so independent and his whole outlook so original that to see his confidence in Head's theories (speaking generally, of course, because there are also numerous instances to the contrary) will tend to increase the reader's reliance upon both writers.

Another interesting feature in Gardner's work is his attempt, often very convincing, not merely to connect the general trend of history with the facts and tendencies of numismatic output, but also to date numismatic issues exactly by reference to known events. For instance, he gives reasons for asserting that the Olive Crown, which appears on Athena's helmet on all but the very early tetradrachms of Athens, was adopted in honour of the victory of Marathon. This of course is particularly interesting to the student—and the book positively teems with similar suggestions, which it would take too long to enumerate.

We may, however, refer to a few points in the work which seem to offer special difficulty or ground for respectful criticism. It seems a pity that Dr. Gardner, in his enthusiasm for Greek art, is at all times inclined to write slightly of the Minoan civilisation, or at least its influence upon later Greek culture. Many students think

about Evans's work, and probably he thinks himself that (next perhaps to his attention to problems connected with early writing) his theories on Minoan weights and standards constitute his most important contribution to learning. Now, the origin of the most truly Greek coin standard, which is the Aeginetan, has always been a great difficulty to numismatists, and Evans claimed to find at Gnosso the secret of this problem. Gardner was free to reject this theory, of course. But he seems to do so on very slight grounds, and chiefly on account of the *a priori* impossibility of Gnosso having influenced later Greece. *Quod erat probandum*. Nor does he appear to attach sufficient importance to Mr. Hogarth's arguments for the existence of coins in Ionia long prior to 700 B.C. Again, though it is a much smaller point, as regards the derivation of the coinage of Corcyra from the Aeginetan standard, Gardner does not appear to be clear. Unless we have quite misunderstood his meaning, the account given of the matter in pp. 139-140 appears to be contradicted on pp. 169 and 375.

To revert once more to the Athenian currency, Dr. Gardner's reading of the much-discussed passage in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes is different from that of Head. And Gardner seems to think that the expression *χάλκια πονηρά* does not refer to a bronze coinage of any sort, but to the gold coins, to the issue of which as a war necessity the poet is objecting. This appears to strain the text, and as Head speaks of the existence even in the British Museum of plated bronze tetradrachms of this period (giving a reason for their rarity) we think the author might reconsider his explanation. Again, on p. 226, remarking on the slowness of the change at Athens from very small silver to bronze, he gives as a reason for this that they often carried their change in the mouth, and that the taste of bronze would be unpleasant. Is it possible to believe that there was anywhere a custom of carrying bronze in the mouth? It is said that silver was so carried, evidently on account of

its extreme tenuity and the consequent risk of its loss. But it appears to the present writer extremely unlikely that bronze would ever have been so carried, and that perhaps Aristophanes in the *'Ekklesiazousai'* was joking when he suggested the existence of the practice.

We should also like to ask whether our author does not insist too much upon the distinctness of the Attic as compared to the (original) Euboic standard? That Peisistratus did raise the standard from about 130 to 135 grains, and that he forced up the Euboic standard at Corinth and elsewhere, we take as sufficiently proved in the earlier essay of Dr. Gardner. And the reasons given by him for believing there was elsewhere a previous standard of 135 grains are weighty. But all the same the main reason which Gardner himself holds for the raising of the standard—namely, the increased supply owing to the discovery of silver at Laurium—would seem to suggest the issue of heavier coins of the old rather than the adoption of a brand-new standard. It is perhaps to some extent a matter of words, but the multiplication of distinct standards is to be avoided where unnecessary, and elsewhere Gardner speaks of mints uttering heavy coin for sufficient reasons, though undoubtedly the changing of standards in the opposite direction would have been commoner.

We think on the whole that the author did right in not bringing down his treatise beyond Alexander the Great, or approximately the end of the fourth century. The succeeding periods may be interesting, and even enormously so; but the interest is different, and the relation of numismatic to historical study not perhaps so vital. We are informed, however, that possibly in the future a work on the later period will be forthcoming; and if so, we may safely predict that neither the student's admiration nor the weight of his obligation to Dr. Gardner will be thereby diminished.

H. BROWNE.

University College,
Dublin.

EASTERN VERSIONS OF THE ROMANCE OF ALEXANDER.

Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman. By I. FRIEDLAENDER. Pp. xxiv + 338. Berlin: Teubner. M. 12.

PROFESSOR FRIEDLAENDER of New York has undertaken and carried through a task of considerable importance. He has traced the history of the chief figure in Mohammedan legend, Chadhir, from various sources, of which he finds the chief in the *Romance of Alexander*. In his regress he halts for an interesting moment at the eighteenth Sura of the Koran, in which Mohammed repeats a legend about Moses, which is, in turn, an echo of the adventure of Alexander with his cook, as told by the Pseudo-Callisthenes. The cook one day was called upon to prepare a salted fish for the table, but the fish came to life again as the cook began to wash it in a certain spring. When the fountain of life was thus discovered, the cook, without telling anybody of his discovery, took some of the water for his own consumption, and so became immortal. But the immortality thus gained was of no value to him, for Alexander had a stone tied round the neck of the immortal cook and threw him into the sea, where he still lives as a sea-spirit. In the Koran, the Alexander of this story reappears first as Moses, and soon after as the Two-horned. The cook may perhaps be traced in Chadhir who, although he does not appear under his own name in the Koran, is identified with a servant of Moses mentioned in the same eighteenth Sura.

Such are the bare outlines of the theme. The author has treated it in a masterly manner, both from the standpoint of literary history and from that of folk-lore. He has surveyed and described the literary sources—Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic—not to speak of Ethiopian and Persian—in such a way that the reader has before him an illuminating outlook upon the Eastern world of legend.¹ Dr. Friedlaender's Jewish training has made it

doubtless the easier for him thus to control the rich Semitic literatures to which Hebrew furnishes perhaps the best key. It must be my partial excuse for having so long delayed this notice, that I have been tempted to verify, in some cases at least, the references which are so adequately furnished. In particular, we may notice the exactness with which the Arabic historians have handed down through long chains of records the first authentic statements (p. 133).

Not less admirable is the method of the author who points out that the details of a legend are mainly important so far as they converge upon the leading figures (p. 35 n.). For Dr. Friedlaender proceeds upon the principle that in folk-lore mere resemblance does not prove that one of the parties to the likeness is related historically to the other. While the same details recur in various stories, only definite historical tradition can justify us in declaring that one form of a legend is derived from another in which the leading figure is different. There is only one case in which, I venture to suggest, the author's caution in this respect has carried him too far. The striking resemblances between the *Romance of Alexander* and primitive Babylonian legends fail, for the author, in convincing him that Babylon influenced the writer of the Romance. Neither Dr. Friedlaender nor Ausfeld in his study of the Romance² has taken account of the history of Berosus, who opened out to the Greek world for the first time an adequate knowledge of Babylonian traditions. I am the more surprised that Dr. Friedlaender should have given us no help in this quarter, because our knowledge of Berosus, is largely due to the references which Josephus makes to him. In fact, the Jewish scholarship, which at Alexandria culminated in the translation of the Septuagint, has for its pendant a scarcely less important attempt at Babylon to bring the Semitic traditions

¹ C.R. 1890, pp. 259-261. Margoliouth's review of Budge's *Pseudo-Callisthenes*.

² C.R. 1910, p. 70.

before the surrounding non-Semitic world. Unfortunately, for the present, we must be content to take note of the proselytism which so much enlarged the Jewish community. In the absence of further knowledge, we may regard the book of *Jonah* as the chief monument of the fruitful contact of the Jewish mind with the spiritual life of their gentile neighbours. For the author of *Jonah*, in the form of a Midrash, deals with the circumstances of the Jewish community, as they appeared about 300 B.C., and his book is an appeal to his fellow religionists to spread the faith of Yahweh in the empire of Alexander. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Babylonian Talmud should furnish evidences of familiarity with the legends which grew up round Alexander already while he was still alive. But it is also probable that the account which the Babylonian Talmud gives of the great king did not depend only upon oral tradition, as Dr. Friedlaender suggests, but also upon Greek literary sources (pp. 42 ff.). The encyclopedic character of the Talmud has been somewhat disguised by the later Jewish particularism against which *Jonah* protested.

The problem thus presented is so difficult that, in the light of it, we may well hesitate before we admit the direct influence of the Indian East upon Greek culture, before the time of Alexander. When did Dionysus pay his first visit to India?

In his account of the Syrian sources for the later form of the legend, the author omits an interesting contribution to the Romance which is found in a Syriac version, but has not yet been traced to a Greek original.¹ It closes fragmentarily with a description of the gorgeous temple of Dionysus at Nysa; steps of sapphire, golden statues of

dancers and musicians, show us an oriental imagination playing round the fact that Alexander's army recognised in their march eastwards through the Khyber pass a worship which reminded them of Dionysus, not only in the details of ritual, but in some of the local place-names.

Just before I received this interesting book for review, I had visited at Rome the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli and, like so many other visitors, had been perplexed by the horns upon Moses' head in Michael Angelo's monument to Julius II. The Vulgate translation in Exodus xxxiv. 35, *faciem Moysi esse cornutam*, explains well enough for the moment, and should have been noted by the Old Testament Revisers. For if we go behind the Vulgate, we find that Aquila—Jerome's authority for the reading 'was horned' rather than 'shone'—claimed to translate the Hebrew text with more accuracy than the Septuagint had done. Aquila probably represented the opinion of the Palestinian school (an opinion held also, it would appear, by the Jewish instructors of Mohammed) that Moses was horned after his interview with Yahweh. We are reminded irresistibly of the horned Alexander upon the coins of Lysimachus and Ptolemy,² who in his turn had met the ram-god Amen face to face. Even if we suppose that the horns of Moses stood in some relation to the ancient symbolism of the bull under which form Yahweh was worshipped, we are left with the profound idea that the worshipper who sees his God becomes like him. Dr. Friedlaender has confined himself to literary evidence, but there opens out before us an artistic history which might serve as an appendix to this admirable piece of work.

FRANK GRANGER.

¹ Cf. Roediger, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*³, pp. 103 ff.

² G. F. Hill, *Hist. Greek Coins*, pp. 121, 158.

POETI ALESSANDRINI.

Poeti Alessandrini. By AUGUSTO ROSTAGNI. Pp. 398. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1916. Lire 5.

THIS is a very interesting and well-knit book. The author holds a definite theory about the character of Alexandrian poetry in general. He has read widely in the scattered German, French, Italian and English books and papers on the subject, and supports his statements by notes placed at the end of each chapter. If he seems inclined, like many present-day scholars, to make his bricks with the straw of bad evidence in default of good, or it may be on occasion with no straw at all, it would at any rate need a critic of much learning to confute him, and the freshness of his interest in third-century poetry and the world from which it sprang throws much light on the political, literary, country and town life of the period. His habit of constantly inverting the subject and object of sentences makes his style somewhat difficult to an English reader, and the Italian language is apt to be more lavish of words than our own, but his power of making the charm of the authors whom he discusses felt is unquestionable, his translations are full of grace, and even the vivid pictures of Theocritus are enhanced by his descriptions.

In the fourth century, as Greek poetry declined, prose advanced, being, in Signor Rostagni's opinion, the appropriate means by which the scientific spirit of the age could express itself. But this spirit of intellectual curiosity needed an outlet for the imaginative portrayal of human life, which it could not find in the strict forms of classical poetry. Euripides had, it is true, given a new colour to the traditional framework of myth, but, as a rule, the fourth century, which had broken with the past, found the conventions of hymns, paeans, elegies, and tragedies artificial and hampering. For a time poetry withered; only scanty fragments have come down to us, but if we had lost none of the great quantity that was produced, we should still, says

Signor Rostagni, feel 'a sense of void,' as though these works, 'suffering from the effect of an unfavourable climate, had only come to birth out of respect for tradition' (p. 25).

Euripides, Antimachus, and Choerilus show a consciousness that society and art in their day had detached themselves from the society and art of the past. This consciousness 'created the atmosphere necessary for the refflorescence of poetry.' Artistic fiction, in the opinion of Signor Rostagni, is the distinctive quality of this refflorescence. The poets of an earlier age would compose a hymn or an epithalamium for a special occasion, to be sung by a special chorus; Theocritus and his contemporaries invent a scene, a marriage or a festival, describing the actors and their surroundings in detail, and introducing imaginatively the songs that they would sing in such situations. If we follow Signor Rostagni, we shall look on the art of the Alexandrians not as a decadence, but as a transition to a modern attitude of mind, which cheerfully takes the whole spectacle of human affairs, great and small, for its province, with a decided tendency to dwell on *οἷς χρώμεθα, οἷς σύνεσμεν*. Euripides felt pain in the process of coming down from the heroic to the ordinary world, but Theocritus wears his scepticism lightly, and all the Alexandrian poets reveal that they breathe the air of 'perfumed *salons* and comfortable libraries' (p. 41).

Signor Rostagni sums up Theocritus as the poet of all aspects and hues of life, who enjoys its many-coloured picture with a quiet sense of pleasure (p. 94). It is a mistake to look upon him as the typical poet of the country as opposed to the town, for he is fully as much, if not more, at home in the streets of Alexandria, as in the pastures and hills of Sicily and Magna Grecia (where Signor Rostagni conjectures that he may have lived for a while, before going to Cos), or in the literary circle of Cos. His natural bent is for the things of 'la piccola umanità,' and though he casts his eye over anything

and everything with intelligence, he does not take everything equally to his heart; hence a certain frigidity, when he deals with court and heroic themes. All through his work we can descry Theocritus himself enjoying the spectacle that he has created for us, whether it be Simaetha's passion, the *littérateurs* of Cos masquerading as shepherds, and betraying their knowledge of art and music, or the hints to Aeschines of blemishes in the character of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Herein lies the distinction between Theocritus and Herodas: 'Theocritus we know, but we could never know Herodas, except negatively, because he has never gone beyond the surface of the things that he describes' (p. 84). The lay figures of Herodas, in their own lack of vitality, disclose nothing of their inventor's temperament.

The handling of the Daphnis myth in popular legend, and in literature from Stesichorus downwards, gives Signor Rostagni the opportunity of discovering what he takes to be the true nature of literary pastoral poetry. With Maass, he finds the origin of the legend in Euboea, and believes that it was transplanted to Sicily by Ionian colonists. One form prevailed round about Himera, another in the regions of Leontini and Catana, and the Ionian Daphnis, spreading his sphere of influence, came into contact at Syracuse with the Dorian bucolic hero Diomos, and superseded him in popularity. Rustic legends and songs, peasant life as represented in these songs—such was the natural material for third-century poets to seize eagerly in their revolt against the rigidity of classical restrictions. In particular the myth of Daphnis, with its romantic story, provided Hermesianax, Sositheus, and others, including above all Theocritus, with a theme after their own hearts, which reappears again and again. Alexandrian bucolic poetry is many sided; sometimes it depicts country folk in their 'rudezza originale'; sometimes it shows us town poets playing at being Arcadian shepherds (in Watteau's sense), and again it develops the lyrical and emotional side of current legends as a means of expressing 'la

propria poesia della natura e del cuore' (p. 162). Signor Rostagni might have referred to D'Annunzio's *La Figlia di Iorio*, as a splendid example of the Theocritean spirit in our own day.

In a chapter on Asclepiades and his school in Samos, the same tendencies of the Alexandrian age are set forth. Humour, scepticism, a lively interest in the world at large, and especially in themselves and their emotions, characterised these poets, and they, one after another, made play with the myth of Glaucus just as another group used Daphnis for a poetical air and variations. But the part of the book which is the most likely to attract attention and challenge controversy is the treatment of Callimachus in Chapter V. The author holds that the six *Hymns* are inspired by one design, and all date from 280-270. The *Hymns* to Demeter and Pallas stand somewhat apart from the rest, in being free from current politics, but all six are literary compositions, not songs intended to be sung at actual festivals. As other Alexandrian poets paint town or country life, so Callimachus chooses to set before us 'the sacred ceremonies which in a certain degree satisfy his tastes as an artist and a learned man' (p. 256). Along with this wish to 'hold up a mirror to the religious hymns of the past' (p. 261), Callimachus unites, in the *Hymns* to Zeus, Delos, Artemis, and Apollo, the purpose of celebrating his king, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Arsinoë II. Signor Rostagni finds that the parallel between Zeus or Apollo and Ptolemy runs throughout the poems, and does not merely crop up incidentally in the few passages where it is distinctly announced. In order to support his views, he discusses several chronological questions, notably in an appendix on the dominion of Ptolemy in Ionia, which he considers to have lasted from about 274 to shortly after the death of Arsinoë. At the end of the *Hymn* to Apollo he holds Apollonius Rhodius to be the poet 'as vast as the sea,' to whom Callimachus objects, and thinks that the date of the hymn is approximately that of the time when Apollonius left Alexandria, owing to the failure of the first book of the *Argonautica* to win

royal favour; from this position it is an easy step to see in the peroration of the hymn the triumph of Callimachus over his discomfited rival.

Besides chronology, some questions concerning Theodorus Syracusanus, Rhinthon, Dosiades of Crete (who is the Lycidas of Theocr. VII., according to Signor Rostagni), and the debt of Propertius IV. 6 to Callimachus are discussed in appendixes. A confusing slip inverts Dorians and Ionians on p. 143.

Though on his own showing, Epicharmus, Menander, not to speak of Euripides, Antimachus and many more, have qualities which would be called Alexandrian in third-century writers, Signor Rostagni is a very persuasive advocate, and has a great body of learning at his command, whether to call witnesses to his aid or to overthrow his opponents.

ADELA MARION ADAM.

MODERN GREEK IN ASIA MINOR.

Modern Greek in Asia Minor: a Study of the Dialects of Silli, Cappadocia, and Pharasa. With grammar, texts, translation, and glossary. By R. M. DAWKINS, M.A., late Director of the British School at Athens. With a chapter on the subject-matter of the folk-tales by W. R. HALLIDAY, B.A., B.Litt., Cambridge University Press.

THIS is a book of real importance for the student of Modern Greek. Mr. Dawkins has an extraordinarily acute ear, and he takes the most minute care in his transcriptions; probably no one has ever recorded Modern Greek sounds with such exactitude. He has also chosen a district of which very little was known, at a time when the dialects were dying out from natural causes, and it is not likely that many of them or those who speak them will survive this war. In the summer of 1914 the Turks were already persecuting their Greek subjects and driving them from their homes by the thousand, with murder and robbery, as I happen to know from reading hundreds of captured letters; and what they have done since we may easily guess. Very little has been printed before about these dialects; what there is, Mr. Dawkins has used.

Besides the linguistic matter, the book contains a good deal of information as to population, local buildings, and the way the people live, with several photographs. There are most extraordinary underground houses and even churches; the practice of living under-

ground is mentioned by Xenophon. One is reminded by such a sketch as Fig. 2, p. 16, of the tomb of Christ, with a stone rolled along for a door.

The forms of these dialects are all carefully tabulated and critically examined. The dialects are in themselves less attractive to the literary student than those of the Greek mainland or the islands: they are degraded and corrupt, and contain an unusual number of Turkish and Latin loan-words. The Turkish influence, as one might expect, is very strong, and here, as elsewhere, the influence of the local schools is very bad. I have found in my own travels that the schoolmaster is generally a pedant, whose literary style is dreadful; but providence gives us a compensation in the schoolmaster's wife, who is delightfully primitive, speaks a good dialect Greek, and knows the local tales and superstitions. Mr. Dawkins sums up the characteristics of the dialects in a special section (p. 192). One remarkable feature is the borrowing of Turkish verbs, for verbs are not borrowed until dialects begin to fuse.

More than half the book is occupied by the text and translation of folk-tales, and this alone would give it a permanent value. As stories, the tales are disappointing; they are told in a bald style, and are not in that respect equal to those we already know. But they are full of interest, not only for the student of folk-tales, but still more for the student of life and manners. They are a fairly representative collection, and the largest collection yet published

in English. Mr. Halliday analyses their contents, showing the analogies with other Greek tales, and some parallels from other fields; he also adds a bibliography. There are hardly any classical echoes; the Cyclops story is probably not an unbroken tradition,

but there are not wanting classical episodes, such as the floating box. Each tale has its authority given. Finally, there are dialect glossaries, Greek and Turkish, an index, and sketch-maps; the indices fill 115 pages.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

POSTGATE'S *LUCAN*, BOOK VIII.

M. Annæi Lucani de bello civili. Liber VIII. Edited by J. P. POSTGATE, Litt.D., F.B.A. One vol. 8vo. Pp. cxii + 146. 1 map. Cambridge: University Press, 1917. 3s. net.

A GOOD explanatory edition of the eighth book of Lucan was badly wanted. Professor Postgate has supplied the want in an edition which no one who loves Lucan or Latin can afford to neglect. It pours out in liberal measure the results of many a year's devotion to ancient literature, and one may say with full confidence that no one will read it without finding in it both enlightenment and stimulus. There is probably no book of Lucan which affords more room for differences of opinion than Book VIII. In several places I cannot quite see eye to eye with the present editor. A few of these passages will be noticed here; others do not admit of discussion within the limits of a short review. But one can learn a great deal from Professor Postgate's notes even when one does not agree with him, and no amount of disagreement could avail to shake one's admiration for this edition, which bears on every page the unmistakable stamp of the great scholar. The introduction is a fine piece of work, with a valuable discussion of historical, literary, geographical, and ethnographical questions; it will be particularly welcome to those who wish to sift the ancient evidence for 'the last days of Pompeius.' The critical notes are very different from the usual dry-as-dust compilation. Of the commentary I have already spoken, but a special word of praise must be given to the apt illustrations with which it abounds. It was a happy idea to add a small portion of Book IX., containing

the apotheosis of Pompey and Cato's famous eulogy.

A few comments may now be made on some points in the explanatory notes.

V. 1. *-que*. I do not quite understand the references to Virgil. *Aen.* 1. 672 is a wrong reference; *Aen.* 2. 99 does not seem to be to the point. 2. *deserta petens dispendia silvae*. Stat. *Theb.* 2. 496 f., which is probably a reminiscence of Lucan, illustrates very well the difference between *dispendia* and *compendia*, and might have been quoted. 38 *uector* (in sense corresponding to *uehi*; cf. 4. 133, 5. 581). Not quite 'an isolated use'; cf. *gestator* (Mart.). Lucan uses *uector* also in the other sense, 6. 392. 67 *amplexibus ambit* in Claud. *Id.* 5. 35. 97 *accipe poenas*. A note perhaps advisable. Cf. Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 425, etc. *Ib. sed*. Some indication of the frequency of this use might have been given for the benefit of the younger student. 100 *mari* dative or ablative? See Heitland, *Intr.*, p. civ. 108 *sicca . . . Thessaliae*. Can such a use of the dative be paralleled? It seems much safer to read the ablative. Codex V. is often in the right. 117 *omnia = cetera*. It might have been mentioned that this natural licence occurs as early as Plautus. Cf. Luc. 2. 52, 589; *cunctis*, 5. 509. 134 It seems possible that *navem(-im)* has dropped out between *regina* and *cum* in Flor. 4. 11. 8. 137 *nocentes sc. uos*. A good parallel is 4. 363 *securumque (sc. te) orbis patimur post terga relictis*. 157 *nulli grauis*. To the examples from *Carm. Epigr.* add 226. 2. 157 f. (of Cornelia in Lesbos):
quod submissa nimis nulli grauis hospita
turbæ
stantis adhuc fati uixit quasi coniuge uicto.

I have given the text as Professor Postgate prints it. There are variants *animis*, for *nimis*, and (poorly supported) *turba*. The expression *nimis . . . turbae* is translated 'a humble sojourner with a retinue overburdensome to none.' The puzzling *stantis adhuc fati* may be, as the editor suggests, a strained use of the genitive of description, but the meaning cannot be 'she lived (as one) of a still unfallen fortune.' This gives no sense in its context; the only meaning which will suit is 'while she was still of unshaken fortune she lived as if her husband were already conquered.' Liv. 21. 1. 4 offers perhaps as good a parallel as can be found: *fama est Hannibalem, annorum fere decem* (when he was about ten years old), . . . *iure iurando adactum*. But here, as in the examples quoted by the editor, the noun in the genitive denotes time or a person's age, and it is doubtful if Latin would allow such an extension as is here attributed to Lucan. It really seems a less violent course to read *turba* and to take *stantis adhuc fati* as depending on it: 'oppressing none with the retinue that her still unshaken fortune gave her' (more literally 'the retinue that belonged to her still standing fortune'). It can hardly be denied that this use of the gen. is possible; it certainly seems less harsh than that which the other view of the passage entails, and it is only a short step beyond the similar *fortunaë apparatibus suae* (Liv. 9. 17. 16), 'the sumptuous appointments belonging to his high station' (cf. Curt. 3. 12. 12, *apparatu pristinae fortunae*). Possibly Lucan was prompted by a somewhat vague recollection of Ov. *Trist.* 1. 5. 34, *cetera fortunae, non mea, turba fuit*, which refers to the crowds of friends who surrounded the poet in his days of prosperity. Should neither of the above explanations satisfy we must resort to emendation. A possible solution will occur to any scholar who will look at Claud. *Get.* 318, which looks like a reminiscence of the present passage.

208 *terrarum dominos*. The fact may well be that the ambiguity of Hor. *C.* 1. 1. 6, *terrarum dominos euehit ad deos*, which is noticed by Ps.-Acron, caused Ovid (*Pont.* 1. 9. 36) and Lucan to

interpret the line in different ways, Ovid taking *dominos* as in apposition to *deos*, Lucan understanding it as object to *euehit* and as referring to the princely victors at the Olympic games [Rühl in *Rh. Mus.* 67 (1912), p. 153]. 223 *duros aeterni Martis Alanos*. As the idea that a genitive of description cannot depend on a noun to which an adjective is attached has not quite disappeared, some illustrations might have been given, e.g. 5. 468 and probably 198. 263 *instar*. For English readers the article in Nettleship's *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* might have been cited; its conclusions are very similar to Wölfflin's. 288 *Romana*. Add 9. 1075. 306 sq. *fiducia . . . in*. Cf. 447; Iuu. 10. 306 (with Friedlaender's note). Lucan usually prefers the gen. 337 *auersos . . . polos* 'the S. pole.' 1. 54 ought to have been quoted. 387 I must here thank Professor Postgate for supplying an instance (Sil. 6. 194) of *artus* = 'hemmed in,' which I tried in vain to find when writing a note on 9. 449 (*C. Q. X.* pp. 155 f.). My *artans* must give way to his *artum*. 391 *tanti est . . . ut . . . ?* A note would have been useful. 444—No note on *hinc—inde*: cf. 1. 116 (*inde—hinc*), 2. 54, 9. 337, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 5, Aus. *Mos.* 165, Rut. *Nam.* 1. 154, Flor. 4. 2. 5. In Luc. 1. 173 and 176 *inde* and *hinc* are not contrasted. Lejay's note on 1. 116 gives some other instances and some useful references. 449-451. Contrast 281 f. 462 *transuerso ueritur*. For other examples see Hosius, *Praef.*, p. xxix. Add Luc. 5. 459 *sequi . . . secundo*. *Dicitur dixisse* occurs not only in the passage of Seneca cited in the note, but at least twice in Livy (4. 48. 6, 9. 7. 2). Some of Lucan's sound-combinations are very harsh to a modern ear, e.g. *dum nondum*, 2. 60, *nam iam*, 9. 317. 485 f. 'Dat poenas laudata fides cum sustinet,' inquit, 'quos fortuna premit.' The wording of this reminds one of Livy, who is fond of saying that the *fides* of barbarians depends on the *fortuna* of one side or the other (22. 22. 6, *qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutauerat fidem*; 28. 17. 7, *barbaris, quibus ex fortuna pendet fides*). It is very likely that he used this favourite sentiment in narra-

ting the incident that Lucan is here portraying. This passage may therefore be added to the many other indications that Livy is Lucan's chief source. 496 *non impune . . . contempserit*. As *contempserit* is (rightly) said to be perf. subj., it might have been pointed out that *non* (not *ne*) goes closely with *impune*; cf. 5. 756; contrast 2. 50. 513-526. All explanations of this passage seem to have suffered from not noticing that the lines are an explanation of *querellae* (512). In them Pothinus suggests a form of 'complaint' which Ptolemy might reasonably address to Pompey. This is made quite clear by vers. 518. f. and especially by vers. 520-524, words which are senseless as well as incredibly presumptuous if considered as an utterance of Pothinus in his own person. At ver. 527 Pothinus resumes his own speech, the change being facilitated by the *tu, Ptolomae* of ver. 528. Thus the reason given in the critical note for changing the punctuation of ver. 518 scarcely holds good, and in the note on 523 it would be better to write 'Ptolemy' for 'the Egyptians' and 'he' for 'they' (*bis*). 522 *malueram*. Other examples of this rarity occur in Calp. 6. 30, Aus. *Epitaph.* 26. 2. 533 *cognita fata*. Haskins' strange error shows that an explanation would not be out of place. 533-5 Lucan here recalls 485-7, where the same sentiment is found in different words. 593 *ad* depending on *anxia*. This is, according to the *Thesaurus*, the only instance in Latin. 608 See *Carm. Epigr.* 249. 19, with Bücheler's note. 626 Is not *probaris* fut. perf. ind.? 640 It might have been pointed out that *avia* *Lesbos* has the force of an abstract noun with the gen., or of a noun-clause, = *quod L. avia erat*; cf. 1. 79, 5. 53, 8. 13, 9. 583, etc. Lucan is notably fond of the pres. part. in this use, e.g. 1. 72, 2. 490, 708, 3. 213, 5. 154. 693 *sceptris cessare sorori*. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1. 29 f. 735 *proiectis armis*. *Proiectis* seems best taken as 'flung from them'—a vivid expression for 'renounced,' as often. The *maerens exercitus* would have no heart to fight under another general. 749 *si quid sensus post fata relictum*. Compare also Cic. *Arch.* § 30, 795 ff.; *Fam.* 4. 5. 6; *Carm. Epigr.* 179. 1, 180. 2, 1147. 3. A similar sentiment (perhaps

borrowed from Lucan) is expressed in Mart. 5. 74. 818 f. *super alta deorum culmina*. It is ingeniously suggested that *super* means 'high up on,' and the use of *pro* in *pro rostris*, etc., is compared. Possibly this is right; the use of *sub* in expressions like *sub montis radicibus* (Livy), 'down at the base of the mountain,' is a slightly better parallel than the use of *pro*. But I am not sure that Lucan did not write *limina*; the two words are confused elsewhere. 860 f. *nunc est pro numine summo hoc tumulto fortuna iacens* (so Professor Postgate prints the sentence). I fondly imagined that the meaning and construction of these words were demonstrated beyond all reasonable doubt in a recent paper (*C. Q.* VIII., pp. 109 f.), and it was a great disappointment to find that the present edition ignores the view there given and proposes (or rather resuscitates) in its stead one which involves much difficulty and uncertainty. *Hoc . . . iacens* is translated 'he whose portion it is to be in so poor a grave,' and Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 191 *trahitur . . . regum fortuna*, and some other passages containing that well-known but untranslatable idiom are cited as parallel. All these examples, however, have a genitive depending on *fortuna*, and if an idiom requires an accompanying genitive, that genitive cannot be omitted, even by Lucan. My interpretation, without doing violence to the Latin, obtains by a different punctuation the very meaning that Professor Postgate desires, with the effective addition of a taunt flung at Fortune, as in ver. 793 and elsewhere.

My allowance of space does not admit of detailed comments on the interesting critical notes. The note on ver. 638, however, must be dealt with, as it contains a question which is really addressed to me. In the *Classical Quarterly* X. (1916), pp. 104 f., I argued that in 637 f., *at non tam patiens Cornelia cernere sacrum quam perferre nefas*, the word *patiens* is, according to a usage frequent in post-Augustan authors, independent of the time of the main verb, and that the phrase merely gives us Lucan's opinion of Cornelia's character, that she was less able to bear the sight of cruel wrong done to others

than to suffer it in her own person. 'But,' asks Professor Postgate, 'on what occasion did Cornelia quail at the sight of a barbarous outrage (*saevum nefas*) such as the murder of Pompey?' This challenge makes me realize, with much regret, that in the effort to emphasise the 'timeless' meaning of *patiens* I used language which was liable to be misunderstood. Had I expressed myself clearly, Professor Postgate would no doubt have seen that, although a contemporary might have asked Lucan for an answer to the above question, it would not be quite fair to call me to account for what the poet chooses to assert. If Lucan wishes to record his opinion that Cornelia was that sort of woman, he has, of course, a perfect right to do so, even if he give no other instances to prove it. But it may be suggested that the poet had good grounds for believing that Cornelia had been a horrified spectator of many a *saevum nefas*. It is sufficient to think of the many revolting acts of pillage and murder which took place openly in Rome from 58 to 52 B.C., and if we remember Cornelia's family connexions, including the Crassi, the Caecilii Metelli, and Pompey himself, all of whom were concerned in the Clodian or anti-Clodian proceedings, we shall realise that those horrors were brought very near to her. It is not unlikely that a *saevum nefas* was presented to her eyes as early as 59 B.C., when Metellus Celer, who was, I presume, some sort of relation, died mysteriously, poisoned, as was believed, by the infamous Clodia. Lucan may have known all this, but whether he did or not, his statement in vers. 637 f. is, I venture to think, quite plain. Moreover, a passage in Book V. represents Pompey as expressing an opinion of Cornelia similar to that which Lucan, as I believe, expresses in the passage under consideration. Toward the end of that book we find Pompey deciding to send Cornelia for safety to Lesbos before the real fighting begins. He tries gently to break the news, and one

of the arguments he uses is that, unless love has blinded him to his wife's real nature, she is not the sort of person who could bear to look on (*spectare*) the horrors of civil war (5. 748 f.; the question of reading does not affect the present argument). In the early part of Book VIII. the Cornelia who faints at the sight of the haggard fugitive is prepared to undergo the cruellest death for his sake, in order to remove the ill luck which seems to dog those who attach themselves to her. This truly womanly combination of gentleness and fortitude, weakness and strength, is what Lucan tries to sum up in vers. 637 f.

With regard to ver. 306, where Professor Postgate, with friendly bluntness, declares that my interpretation, which would keep the *tantia* of the MSS., 'cannot be extracted from the Latin,' I can only plead that I am not the only person who has extracted it. The question is one of individual feeling, and scarcely admits of argument, so that Professor Postgate is thoroughly justified in confining himself to a direct negative. His attractive emendation, *tota*, will, I have no doubt, find many supporters.

In the Introduction, § 2, mention might have been made of Roszbach's theory that Florus did not borrow from Lucan, but both writers used a historical work of the elder Seneca. On p. xxiii, among the scholiast's citations from Livy the very interesting one in the *commentum* on VIII. 91 (Usener, p. 259) is inadvertently omitted.

I have noticed very few misprints; the most important are *manebit* for *manebat*, note on 157, and *patit* for *petit*, note on 321. In the commentary on ver. 402 there should be an asterisk after the number of the line. Footnote 3 on p. xxxiii refers to a non-existent annotation.

W. B. ANDERSON.

*The University,
Manchester.*

DE CICERONIS LIBRO CONSOLATIONIS.

De Ciceronis libro Consolationis. By
T. VAN WAGENINGEN. Pp. 1-54.
Groningen, 1916.

IN this modest and unpretending work the writer has endeavoured to reconstitute, so far as possible, the contents of Cicero's lost work, the *Consolatio*, which he wrote in B.C. 45 to comfort himself after the death of his dearly-loved daughter Tullia. The subject has already been treated by other inquirers, notably Corssen (1881), Buresch (1887), and Pohlenz (1909), who have put together the materials which Professor van Wageningen has arranged and utilized in this dissertation. Cicero claims to have read all the existing works on the theme which he could find (*Att.* XII. 14. 3), but his chief source appears to have been the work of Crantor *περὶ πένθους*. We are told by Pliny (*Nat. Hist. Praef.* 22) that Cicero's work was a literal translation of Crantor. Elsewhere (*Ac.* II. 135) Cicero speaks of Crantor's treatise as short, but of pure gold, and quotes a saying of Panaetius that everyone ought to learn it by heart. The few fragments of Cicero's own work survive in quotations, or references, in *Tusc.* I. and III., written very shortly afterwards, and in quotations of Lactantius and Augustine.

Recent writers have shown that much further information can be gained from similar *Consolationes*, either founded on that of Crantor himself or drawn from Cicero's lost work. The chief of these is a treatise included among the works of Plutarch,¹ written to Apollonius on the death of his son. The writer quotes Crantor (*φησὶν ὁ ἀκαδημαῖκός Κράντωρ*, p. 102 c-d) for a view which is also cited by Cicero as that of Crantor in *Tusc.* III. 12. There are many similarities of a striking kind

between Plutarch and passages in the *Tusculans*—e.g. in *Tusc.* I. 115 Cicero quotes from Crantor a story about Terinaeus, a native of Bruttii, which also appears, without reference to Crantor, in *Plut.* 109 b-d; so in *Tusc.* III. 129 he cites a fragment from Euripides which is also found in *Plut.* 112 d. It was suggested by Pohlenz that the order of Crantor's work, and therefore of Cicero's imitation, could be recovered from Plutarch. Wageningen goes further, and holds that the work itself is practically preserved by Plutarch. This is somewhat bold, since Plutarch, while using Crantor, may well have drawn from other sources.

Further evidence is yielded by other imitations, notably those of Jerome in *Ep.* LX. on the death of Nepotianus, and of Ambrose on the death of his brother, Book II. Jerome refers to a number of 'bright, particular stars in Roman history' (*quorum virtutibus quasi quibusdam stellis Latinae micant historiae*) whose bereavements were described by Cicero in his *Consolatio*. Ambrose, who in § 50 ascribes to pagan authors the *tripertita divisio*, which he has adopted, refers to Crantor and Cicero. Various passages in Jerome and Ambrose correspond closely with passages in Plutarch, or references to the *Consolatio* in the *Tusculans*, and it seems a fair inference that they were founded on Cicero's lost work.

With the help of these materials Wageningen has made an interesting attempt to reconstruct Cicero's treatise by combining existing fragments with passages in Plutarch and imitations in Jerome, Ambrose, and other writers. These are arranged according to the order which is furnished by Plutarch. The reconstruction which is given is very plausible, and the work, which is written in excellent Latin, is distinctly useful.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

¹ Wageningen, for the sake of convenience, quotes the work as that of Plutarch, but does not suggest that it is genuine. It is generally held to be spurious.

THE VERB 'TO BE' IN HERODOTUS.

De la Phrase à Verbe 'être' dans l'Ionien d'Hérodote. Par D. BARBELENET. One vol. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 114. Paris: Champion, 1913.

PROFESSOR MEILLET has organised the study of 'la phrase attributive' in a number of languages. 'Dans tous ces travaux,' says M. Barbelenet, 'on examine avant tout la présence ou l'absence de la copule et sa place par rapport à l'attribut.' M. Marouzeau's elaborate work on this type of sentence in early Latin was reviewed in *C.R.* XXVI. (1912), p. 129 ff. The book before us was published in 1913, but has only recently come into my hands.

The author draws an important contrast between Greek and Latin: 'Cette différence entre les deux langues tient à ce que *εἰμι* a une force bien plus grande que *sum*. Les formes du présent sont beaucoup plus pleines qu'en latin. En latin toutes, même l'infinitif, sont devenues enclitiques. En grec les particules atones ou accentuées viennent, comme en indo-européen, après le premier mot de la phrase, fût-ce l'attribut et établissent ainsi une séparation mécanique entre le verbe et l'attribut quand celui-ci commence la phrase, ce qui est fréquent. Aussi le groupement attribut-verbe ne pouvait devenir presque automatique, et *εἰμι* ne pouvait prendre de place fixe. D'ailleurs par analogie les formes accentuées à l'époque historique tendaient à donner de l'indépendance aux formes du présent, et enfin la liberté de la construction a été assurée par l'existence en grec d'une forme toujours tonique, qui n'a pu se maintenir dans le système de la conjugaison latine, à savoir le participe présent. . . . En grec au contraire *ὄν* est extrêmement fréquent et a une valeur très forte à en juger non seulement par les dérivés *ὄντως* "réellement" et *τὰ ὄντα* "la réalité," mais encore par la proportion très considérable des cas où il précède l'attribut.'

Hence *εἰμι* is more independent than *sum* and its connexion with the predicative word is less close. In Latin these two elements become so nearly

inseparable that, apart from a few fixed expressions, the omission of the verb 'to be' is unusual. In Greek, on the other hand, the 'phrase nominale pure,' very common in Indo-European, has a longer life. 'Dans les poèmes homériques l'absence du verbe est au moins aussi fréquente que sa présence à la 3^e personne; elle n'est pas rare aux deux premières. Il n'est pas un seul dialecte où elle ne se constate.' In Herodotus it has a more limited use than in Homer, but there are various types of sentence, carefully classified and very fully illustrated by M. Barbelenet, in which the verb was not usually introduced, and some of these types are familiar to us from Plato, Aristophanes, and other Attic writers. Thus Demosthenes says (*O.L.* I. 5) *καὶ ὅλως ἀπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς*, just as Croesus says (*Hdt.* iii. 36) *σοφὸν δὲ ἢ προμηθίη*.

More commonly Herodotus expresses the verb, and the greater part of the book is occupied with the study of the differences of meaning produced by varying the normal order shown in *ὁ θρόνος χρύσεός ἐστι*. 'Il en résulte que, réserve faite d'exceptions nombreuses dues en général à la forme d'un des éléments, chacune des six dispositions correspond à une différence d'idée ou de sentiment.' It would not be possible to give any satisfactory summary of this part of the book without going to great length and quoting many examples. But to show the skill with which M. Barbelenet distinguishes subtle differences of meaning I quote a few sentences from the excellent chapter on 'Le Verbe d'Existence':

"*Ἔστι* "il y a" précède le sujet quand la phrase introduit quelque chose de tout à fait nouveau: détail dans une description, affirmation dans une discussion, fait dans un récit. . . . L'ordre inverse sert ou bien à situer un objet dont il a déjà été question ou, plus rarement, à rattacher un nouvel objet à un autre dont il a été parlé antérieurement. . . . Quelques passages où les deux ordres sont juxtaposés permettent d'en distinguer la valeur respective. Hérodote décrit I. 183 un temple de

Babylone. Ce temple contient divers objets en or notamment *καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρυσεός ἐστι*, ordre banal. L'autel placé en dehors du temple est également en or. Il n'y a pas là de détail vraiment nouveau, tout temple impliquant l'existence d'un autel: ce qu'il y a d'insolite, c'est la magnificence de cet autel et l'adjectif qui l'exprime est mis en vedette par hyperbate, mais le verbe

suit encore le sujet: *ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος*. Plus loin Hérodote doit décrire un nouvel objet: il commence par en indiquer l'existence *ἦν δέ*, puis il le localise à la fois dans l'espace et dans le temps: *ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον* pour ne le nommer qu'ensuite, *καὶ ἀνδρίας δυνάδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός*.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

SHORT NOTICES

The House-Door on the Ancient Stage.

A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By W. W. MOONEY. Pp. 105. 25 × 17.5 cm. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1914.

IN this monograph Mr. Mooney has collected and brought up to date all available evidence bearing upon the door in the back-scene of the ancient theatre. The subject is, indeed, more important than might at first be supposed; for without an intelligent appreciation of the stage-action one cannot fully understand the situation in the ancient drama and more especially in the New Comedy and its vigorous Roman continuation.

By careful consideration of all the relevant passages the author shows conclusively (as we think) that the house-door inserted in the back of the stage was single; and that we cannot assume (with Lambinus and his modern following) an outer and an inner door at either end of a passage-way.¹ He argues with equal weight that this door was normally kept closed.

Mr. Mooney's second main point is to

¹ It is with diffidence that I disagree with Mr. Sargeant's contrary view stated on p. viii of the Introduction to his *Terence* (*Loeb Classical Library*).

dismiss the quaint notion that an actor knocked at the door before coming out. *ψοφεῖν*, *crepare* and *concrepare*, therefore, refer to the accidental sounds made in opening a door, as opposed to *κόπτειν*, *pultare*, *pulsare*, which are used for knocking to attract attention and gain admittance. A modern writer may be usefully cited in analogy. In *Kidnapped* (ch. xxix.) Stevenson writes:

'For some time Alan volleyed (= *pulsavit*, *percussit*) upon the door . . . At last, however, we heard the creak (= *ψόφος*, *crepitus*) of the hinges': similarly in ch. iii. we have—'Presently there came a great rattling of chains and bolts (giving another meaning of *ψόφος*, *crepitus*), and the door was cautiously opened.'

The author shows further by archaeological and literary evidence that the stage-door opened outwards, and not inwards as we might have expected from the arrangement of the real house-door. May this not have been due to lack of space behind the scenes?

The last section of this study is devoted to the use of the stage-door and of the *parodoi* in the plays; and two elaborate tables of the vocabulary showing its relative distribution amongst the Greek and Roman dramatists are appended.

It would be difficult to praise too highly the minute and laborious industry with which Mr. Mooney has treated his subject. An Index of the principal passages discussed is added.

HUGH G. EVELYN-WHITE.

'DIED OF WOUNDS.'

She hath fluttered away on her sable wing,
The pale, scared Angel of Pain;
For a greater than she hath looked on her,
And she never will vex thee again.'

Ἦλθ' ὡσαυτὰ θεὰ μελανόπτερος ἐκσεύβηται,
ἥ πασῶν ὀδυνῶν πότνι', ἀτυζομένη.
σεμνότερον γὰρ ἰπεῖδεν ἐπισκοποῦντά τιν' ἄλλον.
εὖδ', ὁ καμὼν, μαλακῶς. οὐ σε μέτεισι πάλιν.

W. G. W.

OBITUARY

HENRY MONTAGU BUTLER.

IN the Master of Trinity Cambridge has lost a scholar of a type once more common than it is at present. Dr. Henry Montagu Butler was a product of the palmy days of the Classical Tripos, and maintained throughout his long life the best traditions of that excellent course. To have a wide and thorough knowledge of the Greek and Latin authors of the 'best' periods of Greece and Rome—to understand their language, accept its rules or customs as the climax of excellence, and by close study of them to obtain some skill in imitating the diction of the great masterpieces—that was the ideal. It was an ideal congenial to the Master's own mind; and circumstance most happily placed him at the head of a great school which had for long preserved traditions of good classical teaching. Here he followed the practice, more common in the nineteenth century than to-day, of taking most of the work of his own sixth form. 'Dr. Butler,' one who knew him well writes in the *Journal of Education*, 'was emphatically a great teacher, one of the old order, now disappearing, of headmasters who looked on teaching, rather than the framing of syllabuses and time-tables and new curricula, as their prime business and duty.' He was not what is called an 'educationist,' but he was a much better teacher than many educationists. Naturally, his prime achievement as a form-master was instruction in 'pure scholarship.' Himself an artist in expression (whether in English, Greek, or Latin), all his life long aiming at perfection of language, an enthusiastic student of the most polished period of English oratory, he did his best to encourage something like his own artistry in his pupils. He was an unfailing judge of elegance and grace in composition, but it must always be founded on sound knowledge of grammar and idiom. He himself was devoted to the practice of verse composition in Latin and Greek. Whether in the intervals of his day's work at Harrow, or on a railway journey, or during a walk, he would have some passage in his mind for translation; and whether

the original was easy or difficult, the version was always a model of correctness and grace. Most of his compositions were collected and published in 1914 in *Some Leisure Hours of a Long Life*—a volume which contains some extraordinarily clever *tours de force*: for instance, the twenty-two alternative translations of Herrick's *What Needs Complaints?* or the twenty-one versions of *Crossing the Bar*—where each somehow seems to have caught, not only the style, but the mood which one associates with the metre in which it is composed.

Dr. Butler published nothing else relating to the Greek and Latin classics. But if style and finish be worthy objects of education, then he was undoubtedly a great educator. To speak of his striking and attractive personality, and of his varied activities, would be beyond the province of this Review.

WILLIAM WALTER MERRY.

ON March 5 of this year died Dr. William Walter Merry, Rector of Lincoln College, and for nearly thirty years Public Orator in the University of Oxford: a scholar whose name will always be honourably associated with the classical learning of his University. Few in our days have done so much to facilitate and in the best sense to popularise the study of Greek and Latin. He was an editor of unwearying activity. The large edition of the first half of the *Odyssey*, begun by James Riddell of Balliol, and continued by his friend Dr. Merry, is likely to remain for a long time the standard English commentary: the Rector was responsible for three quarters of this volume, and entirely for the shorter or school editions of the whole twenty-four books. Like all his work, these are models of lucid and careful exposition. His editions of Aristophanes (*Acharnians*, *Clouds*, *Frogs*, *Knights*, *Birds*, *Wasps*, *Peace*) have been familiar to many generations of students. Their learning is not, nor is it intended to be, that of an Ellis or a Munro. But they are quite erudite enough, full of sound scholarship, and spiced with congenial humour—'learning put lightly, like powder in jam': exactly

what most readers of Aristophanes want. Dr. Merry also published *Selected Fragments of Roman Poetry* in 1891.

He was a good editor; but he was an ideal Public Orator. No one could be better equipped for the position. He was an effective public speaker; he had a fine presence, a lively humour, and a rich vocabulary of Latin. At Oxford, the Creweian Oration—dealing with the events of the academic year—is delivered at alternate Encaenia by the Public Orator and the Professor of Poetry. The Rector's Creweian Orations were always popular. They managed to combine the dignity proper to an academic exercise, with direct and unfailingly successful appeals to the gallery. Dr. Merry could turn the diction of Cicero to the topics of the day in such a way as to make it somehow quite intelligible to undergraduates who had little Latin, and ladies who had none. These orations have been collected and published. They are always entertaining, and very useful contributions to the history of the University. Learning and the amenities of scholarship suffer by the Rector's death.

MRS. SELLAR.

THE death of Mrs. Sellar, in a great and beautiful old age, took place on February 9 last, at the house which had been her home for more than half a century, and had during all that time been a meeting-place for the many classical scholars who had the privilege of her friendship. It should not pass unnoticed in a journal dedicated to the

support and study of the classics. No scholar herself—her own incursions into the classical languages were chiefly in the direction of making Latin puns—she had lived among scholars from her youth, and gave more than she received in that intercourse. For the survivors of many generations of Sellar's pupils, first at St. Andrews and then at Edinburgh, her memory is an undimmed brightness. Nor is it less precious among the dwindling remnants of the Oxford friends of long ago. The brilliant group of her husband's contemporaries has ceased to exist; but from them onward, a perpetual succession of younger scholars found a welcome in her home and a place in her heart. Her death removes almost the last link between the present generation and that mid-Victorian age in which, with all its defects or limitations, humane letters were a potent influence, and simplicity and purity of living were combined with high ideals. The scholars of that age took their rank less from profound investigation or original research than from elevation of character and distinction of personality. She stands beside them, as she lived among them, in virtue of qualities of her own no less remarkable than, in their conjunction, they are rare: ceaseless kindness and pungent wit, tender sympathy and unconquerable gaiety. She seemed almost until the end, endowed with immortal youth.

Ὀκτῶν ἐπ' ὀγδῶκοντα βιώσας' ἐξετέλεσεν
 ὄλβια σὺν μουσαῖς καὶ χαρίτεσσιν ἔτη·
 τοὺς ποτ' ἔθελε νέους ἔτι γηράσκοντας ἔτερπε,
 νῦν δ' ἥβην αὐτῇ σῶζει ὑποχθόνιος.

J. W. MACKAIL.

QUERIES

DODWELL, in his *Tour through Greece*, i. 36, mentions a tradition that Colchians settled in Corcyra in 1349 B.C. He quotes no authority. Is there any?

Were the Colchians and Minoans kin? According to Herodotus the former were of Egyptian extraction, and it is said there was in the Egyptians, as in the Minoans, an Armenoid strain. The Colchians also were no doubt Armenoid.

The most likely settlers from the East in Corcyra in late Minoan days

would be Minoans. Could they have been converted into Colchians through the influence of the Argonaut saga?

Mure's view that the Phaeacians were a real people is correct. He believed they were a colony of Φοίνικες, and Φοίνικες are to modern archaeologists the Minoans. Phaeacia is not in fairyland, nor is it the lost Atlantis. It is Corcyra, and Scheria is a Minoan settlement there. The proof will be published in detail.

A. SHEWAN.

St. Andrews, March 13, 1918.

NOTES AND NEWS

NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE two Spring meetings of the Northumberland and Durham Classical Association were held alternately in Durham and Newcastle. At the former, Canon Cruickshank's paper on 'The Problem of Euripides' *Bacchae*' led to an interesting discussion, taken part in by Dr. Dawson Walker, who was in the chair, Miss E. F. Stevenson (Newcastle), Miss A. M. Ashley (Darlington), Mr. E. P. Pestle, Professor How, and Dr. J. Wight Duff. After the statutory business of the sixth general meeting of the branch, held on March 23 at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Mr. R. Bousfield

(Bishop Auckland) gave an account of excavations which had been conducted from time to time at the Roman station of Binchester (Vinovia), and exhibited an admirable set of large coloured plans in illustration of the site as a whole, as well as of the buildings, bathing-tanks, and hypocausts. Copies of the chief inscriptions recovered in the nineteenth century at Vinovia were also shown. Dr. J. Wight Duff, who presided, recalled details of the archaeological visit paid by the society to Binchester in 1914.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

I HAVE read with much interest the article by Mr. Shewan on Πολύχρυσος Μυκήνη in your last number, and will try to profit by his arguments. But unfortunately I must begin by knocking away the foundation on which they all rest, and thereby depriving him of his fancied triumph over me. Mr. Shewan seems to think that the new Mycenaean site found by the Americans is at Corinth. He is misinformed. It is not at Corinth.

I said in *Homer and History* (p. 217) that Ephyre—the name which we must give to the new site—was the nearest town in the Sikyonian territory, and a few miles away from Corinth. The new site is in fact a few miles from Corinth, in the direction of Sikyon. It lies on the coast of the Gulf, somewhere near Lechaion. No Mycenaean remains have been found at Corinth to confute me. Any 'value of my essay on Agamemnon's realm' is not greatly reduced, but greatly strengthened by this confirmation of my assertion that the Mycenaean Ephyre was not at Corinth, but a few miles away. My prophecy may have been a foolish gamble; but it has the merit of fulfilment.

The information about the site of the Mycenaean Ephyre I owe to Mr. Wace. I wish it were more detailed; but letters to Athens were very uncertain when I wrote on the subject three years ago, and either my enquiry for further particulars or his reply to it must have gone astray; and we are all too busy on more urgent matters to spend much time on such things. But it is possible that one part of what I have said may have to be modified. With all reserve, and even open scepticism, I thought that there might be something in what Strabo said about an 'Ephyre on the Selleis' in Sikyonian territory. Now I cannot ascertain that the new site is on a stream; if it is not,

then what Strabo says as to this particular Ephyre may have to go with the other fables he talks about the name of Ephyre (*Homer and History*, 178). This of course affects him, and not me. My argument is only based on the fact that there never was a Mycenaean settlement at Corinth; the negative evidence is now confirmed by our knowledge of the place where the settlement was. It was on the northern coast, and therefore unsuited to fulfil the conditions which placed an important town where Corinth stood. To all appearance it was dependent on Sikyon.

Yours faithfully,
WALTER LEAF.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

I CANNOT but be happy over the generous praise bestowed upon *Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises*, in *Class. Rev.* February-March, 1918.

I ask permission, however—for the few who may be interested in the interpretation of Plotinus—to touch very briefly on the friendly reviewer's animadversions. I take them seriatim:

1. 'Complement' is a misprint for 'couplement.'
2. The $\pi\alpha\nu$ in the context is not necessary, nor any English equivalent; but, with Mueller and Kieffer, I take it as strengthening $\sigma\tau\iota$.
3. The steps, I find, by which the form of my version developed were: (a) 'Anyone that allows the *soul* to be the user (of the body) separates it.' (b, etc.) 'If the *soul* is (allowed) to use the body, it is separate.' In the context I take that twist and condensation to be quite laudable.
4. It was only after long search that I discovered the reviewer's implication, if I grasp it yet. My first rough draft (to which the final adheres in entire content) was: 'We must

make over the common affections (or the affections of the couplement) to the body—that is, to the part appropriate to such affections—the material (“physical”) element.’ Mueller and Kiefer differ, but not on the point in question.

5. The omission of *οὐρανοῦ* was a pure oversight, induced, I imagine, by the fact that the context shows clearly the celestial nature of the ‘body’ concerned.

STEPHEN MACKENNA.

ERRATUM.—P. 47 (a) line 14: for ‘hopeful’ read ‘helpful.’

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

*** Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

- Agno* (F.) *Periculum criticum Ovidianum: Heroidum loci aliquot emendati, explanati, tentati.* 9½" × 6¾". Pp. 22. Pavia, Tipografia e legatoria co-operativa, 1918.
- Amatucci* (A. G.) *Storia della Letteratura Romana.* In two vols.: I. Dalle Origini all' Età Ciceroniana, pp. xii + 244. II. Da Augusto al Sec. V., pp. viii + 206. 8¼" × 5½". Napoli: Francesco Perrella, 1916. L. 2 per volume.
- Armstrong* (M. E.) *The Significance of Certain Colours in Roman Ritual (Dissertation for Doctorate).* 9¼" × 6½". Pp. 52. The Collegiate Press, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1917.
- Boëthius* (Axel). *Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi (Inaugural Dissertation).* 9½" × 6½". Pp. 172. Upsala: Almqvist und Wicksell, 1918.
- Box* (G. H.) *The Apocalypse of Abraham and the Ascension of Elijah (Translation of Early Documents).* 7½" × 5". Pp. xxiv + 65 and xxvi + 36. London: S.P.C.K., 1918. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Cambridge* (Historical Register of the University to the Year 1910). Edited by J. R. Tanner. 7¾" × 5". Pp. xii + 1186. Cambridge University Press, 1917. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Ciceronis Orationes* (Pro Milone, Caesarianae, Philippicae). *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.* By A. C. Clark. Second edition. 8" × 5½". Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. Paper, 3s.; cloth, 3s. 6d.
- Cudworth* (W. H.) *The Odes of Horace, Englished into Rimed Verse corresponding to the Original Meters.* 7¼" × 4¾". Pp. xv + 161. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1918. Cloth, \$1.50 net.
- De Sanctis* (G.) and *Pareti* (L.) *Contributi alla Scienza dell' Antichità: Vol. II., Storia di Sparta Arcaica. Parte I.* 10" × 7". Pp. iv + 276. Firenze, Libreria Internazionale, 1917. L. 10.
- Eitrem* (S.) *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte: II. Kathartisches und Rituellen.* 10¾" × 7". Pp. 50. Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad, 1917.
- Fitzhugh* (Thomas). *The Indo-European Superstress and the Evolution of Verse.* University of Virginia, Bulletin of the School of Latin, No. 9. 9" × 6¾". Pp. 114. Anderson Brothers, Charlottesville, Va. \$2.50.
- Gardner* (P.) *A History of Ancient Coinage, 700–300 B.C.* 9" × 6". Pp. xvi + 464, with 11 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. Cloth, 18s. net.
- James* (M. R.) *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo (Translations of Early Documents).* 7¼" × 5". Pp. vi + 280. London: S.P.C.K., 1917. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Jastrow* (M.) *The War and the Bagdad Railways.* 7¾" × 5¾". Pp. 160, with 14 illustrations and a map. London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1917. Cloth, 6s. net.
- McLemore* (J. S.) *The Tradition of the Latin Accent (a Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Virginia, 1917).* 10¼" × 7". Pp. 96. University of Virginia.
- Missions Scientifiques* (Nouvelles Archives). Tome XXII. Fasc. 1. 9¾" × 6¼". Pp. 131, with 6 plates. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1917.
- Modern Hebrew Literature.* 8½" × 5½". Pp. 20. London: Jewish Chronicle. 9d.
- More* (P. E.) *Platonism (Lectures delivered at Princeton University).* 8½" × 5½". Pp. xii + 308. Oxford University Press (for Princeton Press), 1918. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Plutarch's Select Essays* (Vol. II.) Translated by A. O. Prickard. 7" × 4¾". Pp. xix + 336. Oxford University Press, 1918. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Schütte* (G.) *Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe: A Reconstruction of the Prototypes.* 10½" × 7". Pp. xvi + 150, with 32 maps. Copenhagen: H. Hagerup, 1917.
- Starwell* (F. M.) *The Price of Freedom: An Anthology. Illustrated.* 6½" × 4¾". Pp. 168. London: Headley Brothers, 1918. Paper boards, 3s. 6d.
- Thackeray* (H. St. J.) *The Letters of Aristaeas (Translations of Early Documents).* 7½" × 5". Pp. xx + 116. London: S.P.C.K., 1917. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Value of the Classics: Addresses at Conference on Classical Studies at Princeton University, 1917.* 8½" × 5½". Pp. viii + 396. Oxford University Press (for Princeton Press), 1918. Half cloth, 6s. 6d. net.
- Wassilevsky* (J.) *Chassidism: A Résumé of Modern Hebrew Mysticism.* 8½" × 5½". Pp. 31. Blackburn: Toulmin and Sons. 1s.

The Classical Review

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1918

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

EURIPIDES THE IDEALIST.

DR. THOMSON in his *Euripides and the Attic Orators* takes up a position, as regards the religious views of Euripides, which may be described as lying somewhere between the positions maintained by Dr. Verrall and Professor Murray respectively. He sums it up in these words: 'There were thus three main periods in the development of Euripides' ideas relatively to religion—the first period, up to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, when he acquiesced in the generally accepted beliefs; the second period, beginning with the Peloponnesian War and lasting some twenty years, when he was at open enmity with these beliefs; and, finally, the period of his latest dramas, when, though he never returned to his original position, he came to look on his campaign as labour lost, and desisted from his attempt.'¹ It is the object of this paper to cast some light upon the subject of Euripides' religious views—and, incidentally, to explain how such entirely different ideas with regard to them can have been maintained as those which we associate with the names of Professor Murray and Dr. Verrall—by suggesting that it is wrong to attempt to define any such three clearly-marked periods in the development of the poet's thought, and that—even if there be any such periods—the first and the third of them are periods very different from those described by Dr. Thomson.

That there is development in the religious thought of Euripides, as, indeed, there is in that of every great religious thinker, none will deny; the very discrepancy of interpretation

which it has occasioned among different scholars is sufficient indication of the fact. But it is a development, and not a change amounting to a recantation at the end; it may be a development into something very different from what it began with—an *ἀλλοίωσις*, if you like—but it is not a *μεταβολή*. Rightly regarded the *Alcestis* and the *Medea*—the two earliest plays—show us Euripides as a critic of the received religion from the very start. In the first of them Apollo rescues Admetus from the death to which he was doomed by deceiving the Fates² and is expressly rebuked by Thanatos for this wrong done to the rights of the recognised powers that be,³ and in the second there is no lack of implied scepticism and doubt about the justice of the constituted order of things which finds explicit expression at least once:

ἀνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί,
καὶ δίκαι καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται.
ἀνδράσι μὲν δόλαι βουλαί, θεῶν δ'
οὐκέτι πίστις ἄραρε.⁴

This criticism is not, of course, so violent as it is later to become; but it is there from the very outset, although implicit more often than explicit. We must not forget that Euripides was writing for the contemporary stage—indeed, actually competing for prizes to be allotted by a popular vote—and that he would naturally, as a new writer, feel his way very carefully at first, and try not to alienate his audience by an overt attack upon what they held sacred,

² Μοίρας δολώσας, *Alcestis* 12.

³ οὐκ ἤρκεσέ σοι μόνον Ἀδμήτου | διακωλύσαι,
Μοίρας δολίφ | σφίλαντι τέχνῃ; *Alcestis* 33.

⁴ *Medea* 410-413.

¹ *Euripides and the Attic Orators*, p. 38.

but gradually to educate them up to views which he himself, quite possibly, only gradually came to realise as so completely inconsistent with the received religion. At any rate, it is rash to state that the *Alcestis* and *Medea* are the work of a poet who 'acquiesced in the generally accepted beliefs';¹ and a careful reader will find no greater difference between them and the *Iphigenia Taurica* or the *Bacchae* than he will find between the earlier and later work of a great modern artist—say between Thomas Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree* and his *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. As Euripides gradually 'gained a footing' on the Athenian stage, and as his own inner life developed, and he gained a clearer and clearer conception of religious truths, his criticism of received religion became more outspoken and more violent. This attack has gained him the name of 'rationalist'; and we are forced to conclude that such a 'rationalist' could never have written that glorification of Dionysus represented by the *Bacchae* except as a palinode, by way of recantation, that is to say. But there is no such difficulty if we recognise that the rationalism of Euripides is only that rationalism which is a *substratum*, as it were, of all idealism. All idealism is, of course, rationalistic in so far as it finds the sanctions for its morality internal, rather than based on external authority. Such rationalism—to those who cannot understand the personal idealism to which it leads—seems, in itself, akin to materialism. The attack upon received religion is regarded as purely destructive—as, indeed, an act of impiety; much in the same way as the tenets of a modern idealist, who does not believe in the account of the Creation given in Genesis, are regarded as impious by the conventional mind. It was just in this way that Aristophanes attacked Euripides; he found the conventional religion assailed, and either could not, or would not, follow Euripides to the higher ground of the personal religion which he wished to

substitute for it. Let us admit that rationalism is not *per se* impious; it may lead and, indeed, with smaller minds, generally does lead, to some sort of materialism; but it is also the only route to idealism through a popularly-received religion. Now, there are in Euripides plenty of expressions of what we may call 'personal idealism'—but can we take them as expressions of the poet's own views? What about the danger of taking any saying of any *dramatis persona* as voicing the poet's personal feeling? Decharme² has proposed the application of two principles—that if an idea occurs several times in plays of different periods, especially if it seems to be one of which the poet was peculiarly fond, and that if the idea seems brought in for its own sake, as it were, without any great relevancy either to the dramatic situation or to the character of the speaker, then we may conclude that such an idea is representative of the poet's personal views. I propose a simpler test than this thorough-going and scientific mode of procedure. We may take as the personal views of Euripides any remarks by a *dramatis persona* with whose attitude he has succeeded in making us sympathise. Indeed Decharme adds that another criterion is to be found in our knowledge of the character and situation of the *dramatis persona*. Every work of art is designed as a whole; any 'message' which it may contain, any doctrine which it may strive to inculcate, will not be confined to this or that verbal expression, but will be part and parcel of the whole effect which the artist attempts by his work to produce upon the reader. If this or that play of Euripides has any effect upon us when we read it, inclines our sympathies either to this side or that, then we may take it that Euripides was enough of an artist to have intended that effect; and sentiments which are conducive to that effect, *no matter by what 'dramatis persona' they may happen to be expressed*, may rightly be taken as sentiments expressing the personal views of Euripides. On this criterion we find a remarkable agreement—in views

¹ Dr. Verrall's treatment of the *Alcestis* in his *Euripides the Rationalist* is sufficient proof of this.

² *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théâtre*, p. 25 ff.

about the gods, etc.—in the remarks of all¹ those *dramatis personae* for whom Euripides succeeds in winning our sympathies. Such remarks all tend to the discrediting of received religious views, but at the same time to the establishing of a higher personal standard of morality, or of religion, than was exhibited by the received view; they exhibit that rationalism which is at the bottom, not of materialism, but of idealism; they will find the sanctions of right and wrong not in any external authority of a state-accepted religion, but in the *φύσις* of man himself, in his own inner light. If the gods act shamefully, they are not gods,² and so we cannot believe the disgraceful things which the legends attribute to them:

τὰ Ταντάλου θεοῖσιν ἐστιάματα
ἅπαστα κρίνω, παιδὸς ἡσθῆαι βροτῶ.
τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἀνθρωποκτόνους,
εἰς τὴν θεὸν τὸ φαῦλον ἀναφέρειν δοκῶ.
οὐδένα γὰρ οἶμαι δαιμόνων εἶναι κακόν,³

says Iphigenia. So Heracles, even in his agony, will not believe things unworthy of them:

ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτε λέκτρ' ἂ μὴ θέμις
στέργειν νομίζω, δεσμά τ' ἐξάπτειν χερσίν
οὐτ' ἤξιωσα πῶποτ' οὔτε πείσσομαι,
οὐδ' ἄλλου ἄλλου δεσπότην πεφευκέναι.
δεῖται γὰρ ὁ θεός, εἴπερ ἔστ' ὁρθῶς θεός,
οἷ δένος· αἰοιδῶν οὔδε δύστηνοι λόγοι.⁴

Euripides rejects these *δύστηνοι λόγοι αἰοιδῶν* for exactly the same reasons as Plato in the *Republic* rejects them. They are inconsistent with man's innate ideas of morality—with that 'god' within each of us,⁵ to which Theonoe appeals:

ἐγὼ πέφυκά τ' εὐσεβεῖν καὶ βούλομαι,
φιλῶ τ' ἐμαντήν, καὶ κλέος τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς
οὐκ ἂν μάναιμι, οὐδὲ συγγόνῳ χάριν
δοῖην ἂν ἐξ ἧς δυσκλεῆς φανήσεται.
ἔνεστι δ' ἱερὸν τῆς δίκης ἐμοὶ μέγα
ἐν τῇ φύσει.⁶

and which enables us to accuse the gods themselves of injustice, as Creusa does in the *Ion*:

ὦ Φοῖβε, κάκει κἀνθάδ' οὐ δίκαιος εἶ
ἐς τὴν ἀπούσαν, ἧς πάρεσιν οἱ λόγοι·
ὅς οὐτ' ἔσωσας τὸν σὸν δὲν σῶσαι σ' ἐχρῆν,
οὐθ' ἰστοροῦση μητρὶ μάντις ὦν ἔρεῖς.⁷

And the conclusion to be drawn from Ion's exclamation

οὐκέτ' ἀνθρώπους κακῶς
λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλὰ
μιμούμεθ', ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδάσκοντας τάδε⁸

is, of course, not that the gods are immoral, but that man has in his own *φύσις* a moral sense higher than that attributed to the gods by the *δύστηνοι λόγοι αἰοιδῶν*. Apart from such travesties, we see their true nature in their punishment of evil-doers,⁹ their hatred of violence,¹⁰ and the victory of justice over injustice.¹¹ From such passages we may conclude that Euripides himself, while disbelieving in the anthropomorphic religion of the popular imagination, yet believed in some divine power manifested in the universe. Whatever this power is, it is not anthropomorphic; and it is both just and righteous. Sometimes he speaks of it much as a Pantheist might do

ὅρας τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἀπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν περίεξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.¹²

though he is more often content to leave its nature quite undefined

ὅστις ποτ' εἴ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι,
Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν¹³

for it is difficult for man to attain certainty in such matters.¹⁴

Now idealism of this nature very easily passes—especially with a poetic temperament—into mysticism; and this is peculiarly likely to happen as a man approaches old age. Just as a base nature in the hey-day of youth, in all the glory of its arrogant strength, finds it easy to scoff at the gods, but—as Plato tells us—when the thought of death approaches, is tortured with fear lest there may be something after all in the stories about punishment in the next world, so a nobler nature will fearlessly follow the promptings of its ideal *φύσις*, even when those promptings lead to a rejection of commonly-received religious truth, so long as the confidence of strength is with it; but with advancing years it loses something of its confidence, and feels, more and more often, those doubts and questionings to which the

¹ For the moment I exclude the *Bacchæ*.

² εἰ θεοί τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρόν, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί. *Fr.* 294.

³ *Iph. T.* 387.

⁴ *Her. F.* 1341-6.

⁵ ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ θεός, *Fr.* 1007.

⁶ *Hel.* 998.

⁷ *Ion.* 384.

⁸ *Ibid.* 449.

⁹ *Troad* 885.

¹⁰ *Her. Fur.* 62.

¹¹ *Ion* 1117-18.

¹² *Fr.* 941.

¹³ *Suppl.* 504.⁷

¹⁴ *Hel.* 903.

well-known chorus in the *Hippolytus* gives expression

ξύνεσιν δέ τιν' ἐλπίδι κεύθων
λείπομαι ἐν τε τυχαῖς θνατῶν καὶ ἐν ἔργμασι λεύσσω·
ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ἀμείβεται,
μετὰ δ' ἴσταται ἀνδράσιν αἰῶν
πολυπλόκῃς αἰετ'.¹

At such times such a nature is likely to find a symbolical, or mystic, truth in doctrine which, upon a cruder and more literal interpretation, it rejected outright in the confidence of younger years.² Such is the spirit of the *Bacchae*

σοφὸν δ' ἀπέχειν πραιδίᾳ φρένα τε
περισσῶν παρὰ φωτῶν·
τὸ πλήθος ὅ τι τὸ φανυλότερον
ἐνόμισε χρήται τε, τὸ δ' ἂν δεχοίμαν·³

and it is best to see what is good in acknowledged doctrine and not try to set oneself up above it

οὐ
γὰρ κρείσσον ποτε τῶν νόμων
γινώσκειν χρή καὶ μελετᾶν.
κούφα γὰρ δαπάνη νομί-
ζειν ἰσχὺν τὸ δ' ἔχειν,
ὅ τι ποτ' ἄρα τὸ δαιμόνιον·
τό τ' ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ
νόμιμον αἰετὶ φύσει τε πεφυκός.⁴

Passages such as these lead Dr. Thomson to say that Euripides 'wearied with questionings and heart-searchings which led to no definite or satisfactory issue,

¹ *Hipp.* 1103.

² Cf. the rejection by thinking undergraduates of some Christian dogmas which a maturer judgment and riper reflection leads theologians of equal intellectual sincerity to retain.

³ *Bacchae* 417.

⁴ *Bacchae* 890.

seems to have come to the conclusion that his task was a bootless one and his labour lost, that his philosophic doubt was barren of benefit either to himself or to others, and that even an avowedly imperfect religion was perhaps better than none.⁵ But this, I submit, is to give a wrong emphasis to things, to imply that Euripides had no religion before he wrote the *Bacchae* (which is not true) and to take the religious fervour of that play as the abandonment of despair rather than the glorious outburst of fruition.

There is one more point that I should like to add. It seems to me that the moral and religious teaching of Euripides is in conformity with that of contemporary philosophical speculation as represented by Socrates and Plato. But he is said to be 'opposed to the dictum οὐδείς ἐκὼν κακός.'⁶ If we mean by this that man has no moral responsibility for his vice, but is helpless in the hands of ἀνάγκη, then, of course, Euripides is opposed to it; but if we mean by it what Socrates and Plato meant—that no man, who thoroughly understands what being κακός implies, would voluntarily choose to become such—then Euripides is by no means opposed to it.

R. B. APPLETON.

⁵ *Euripides and the Attic Orators*, p. 36.

⁶ W. H. S. Jones, *The Moral Standpoint of Euripides*, p. 31.

THE BIRDS OF DIOMEDE.

LET me add a note or two to Dr. Warde Fowler's article in the last number of the *Class. Rev.*, and let it be done in a spirit of penitence, for I dealt ill by the *Birds of Diomedé* when I wrote my *Glossary of Greek Birds* some five-and-twenty years ago. That Dr. Fowler is right in identifying these birds with Shearwaters I thoroughly believe; but after all, though various commentators have gone astray,¹ the roots of this identification are old.

¹ Otto Keller (*Antike Thierwelt*, ii. p. 235) identifies the bird with the Sheldrake (*Anas tadorna*, L.), his argument being (like that of

The Shearwaters of the Diomedean Islands, or Isole de' Tremiti, were well known to a society of Augustinian friars resident of old upon the islands, and it was they who sent the bird to Gesner, and again afterwards to Aldrovandi; we may take it that they were interested in and attached to their birds all the more that S. Augustine had more than once referred to them in the *De Civitate Dei*. Aldrovandi is not quite certain that these are the original Birds of Diomedé, for after refuting various other opinions

Dr. Warde Fowler) that the Sheldrake makes its nest in a burrow.

(such as Belon's that they were pelicans) he adds '*ea forte avis quam . . . Canonici regulares D. Augustini Laterani nonnullis abhinc annis mihi transmiserunt Diomedea fuerit*'; and then he goes on to describe and to figure the Shearwater in unmistakable fashion (*Ornith.* iii. p. 58, 1637); Gesner had likewise described it as the Bird of Diomede, in the *Paralipomena* to his *Ornithology* (iii. p. 771, 1555). Beckmann, in his edition of the *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* (clxxx), was well aware of this identification, and Heyne also was inclined to accept it, though he desired more information and evidence. Linnaeus was not far off the mark when he gave the name *Diomedea* to an Albatross; and lastly Mr. A. H. Evans, in his edition of Turner (1903), says of Pliny's story of the Birds of Diomede, that 'apparently Shearwaters of some species are meant.'

We may perhaps go a little further than Dr. Fowler has done in the way of bringing the ancient accounts of the Birds of Diomede into relation with the known habits of the Shearwater: and firstly, as to Pliny's account, given on the authority of Juba. The passage is a much better description of the Shearwater's nest than appears from the version quoted by Dr. Fowler; and, by the way, Dr. Fowler has made a curious slip in ascribing this to 'our oldest English ornithologist,' instead of to his recent editor and translator. The bird does not 'dig furrows with his beak, and cover them with wattle-work;' for *scrobes* are (of course) holes, such as one plants trees in, just as *scrobiculi* are little holes to dibble bulbs in; and these holes were not roofed in, but bestrewn, or lined, or floored with some sort of loose twiggy stuff, *crate constrati*. 'They make a slight nest,' says Hewitson, 'of dry plants, usually about the depth of a man's arm from the entrance of the hole, although sometimes a good deal beyond his reach.' The laborious construction or excavation of this bird-city of subterranean dwellings is aptly likened by Lycophron (v. 601) to the fabled building of Thebes, ἀγιοπλαστήσαντες ἐμπεδοῖς τομαῖς, πικνὰς καλιάς, Ζηθὸν ἐκμιμούμεναι. As to Pliny's (or Juba's) statement that the birds have teeth (*eis*

esse dentes, oculosque igneo colore), it is a hard saying, and devoid of all corroboration; the sense is bad, and the Latin of the sentence is not very good. I am inclined to question the text, and I think we might consider some such a reading as <can>*dentes oculos*; this would agree with Aldrovandi's statement, '*oculi autem Antennae nostrae mirum quantum ad instar flammae splendeant*.' Their lamentable cry, the fact that '*scopulos lacrymosis vocibus implent*,' is abundantly confirmed. To Colonel Fielden at Malta it sounded like *ōwyah, ōwyah*.¹ Lord Lilford mistook it for the howling of a pack of seals; it is the same wailing nocturnal cry that makes the Turks at Constantinople call them 'damned souls' (as Dr. Stanley, the bird-loving Bishop of Norwich and many others have told us); and Bernadetto Cocharella, in his description of the *Isole de' Tremiti* (quoted by Beckmann), uses almost the very Virgilian words, '*sub primum noctis crepusculum, scopulos aestate clamoribus implent: earum garritus veluti vox vaginantis infantuli*,' etc. Gesner tells us how a certain Duke of Urbino, visiting the monastery, '*cum noctu harum avium vocem audivisset, infantium esse vagitus putavisse*:' so that the good friars fell under his displeasure, '*donec ave ab illis illato, et praesentis audito clamore, se deceptum intellexisse*.'

The gracious welcome which the birds extended to Greek visitors, stripped of fable, means no more than that they were tame and fearless. They sit so close on their one egg that they may be lifted off by the hand. And Professor Angelini, describing the great flocks fishing in the Straits of Messina ('una scena ed uno brulichio indescrivibile') goes on to say 'Colla mia barca mi spinsi in mezzo a loro, e non si mostravano per nulla timorosi.' Only after many had been shot did the rest move slowly away. 'At night they circled round the yacht like great bats,' says Colonel Fielden; and we are reminded (without pressing the parallel too far) of Ovid's '*numerisque et agmine*

¹ Hence the name of 'Cahow-bird,' applied to a species of Shearwater once immensely abundant, now extinct or nearly so, in the Bermudas.

maior | Subvolat et remos plausis circumsonat alis (Met. xiv. 506).

Lastly, it is a very curious and exceptional habit of the Shearwaters to dive with outspread wings and to rise again with wings still fully extended, and so to repeat the manoeuvre again and again.¹ This is a pretty point for us: for it is nothing less than the origin and explanation of the legend that they asperge or besprinkle with water the temple and the tomb of Diomede, *'acdemque eam quotidie . . . madentibus pennis perlununt et purificant'* (Pliny).

In my Glossary, I took the Birds of Diomede to be herons, i.e. *έρωδιοί* (*sensu stricto*), influenced, however wrongly, by various considerations: by the definite statement of Aelian (*H.A.* i. 1) *καλεῖται τις Διομήδεια νήσος, καὶ έρωδιούς έχει πολλούς*: by the similar statement of Antigonus; by the authority of S. Augustine, of Isidore, of Servius and of Tzetzes; and also by certain apparent coincidences in the mythology of *έρωδιός*. But *έρωδιός*, and *ardea* also, are very difficult words, much more so than we are apt to think them—as difficult indeed as *fulica*, or as *mergus*; and it is more than probable that in classical times, as well as later, they were applied to various birds, in various places, times, or circumstances. Aldrovandi is within the mark in saying (*op. cit.* p. 365) *'Eandem tamen dictionem alii aliter vertunt. Etenim Erodium aliqui putarunt esse avem ex iis quas Romani Diomedeeas vocant; et Ornithologus [i.e. Gesner] Diomedeeas . . . ex Ardearum genere esse contendit, etc.'* That the Diomedean Birds, or Shearwaters, were actually called *ardeae*, and perhaps also *έρωδιοί*, is in part indicated by the survival of the name *Artenae*—*'tanquam ardeae'* as Gesner says. And if *Artena* seem somewhat remote from *ardea*, we find the nearer form *Ardenna* still in use in the neighbourhood of Ancona, as Giglioli tells us.²

¹ Cf. (e.g.) E. A. Wilson, Report of National Antarctic Expedition, *Aves*, iv., p. 80, 1907.

² Giglioli (*Inchiesta ornit. in Italia; parte seconda, Avifauna Italiana*, p. 527) gives *Artera* as the vernacular name at present in Southern Italy (Puglio, Bari): may one not suspect here a misprint for *Artena*? Reichenbach, in his *Systema Avium* (1850-52, p. iv; cf. also his

But Giglioli also gives us, as the common popular name of this sea-bird at Naples and at Lucca, the word *Pallante*, or *Fallante* in the island of Giglio in S. Italy. There is no end to the interest which lies, as it seems to me, in the rich vocabulary of Italian bird and beast names, and the surviving links in Southern Italy with the old language of Magna Graecia are innumerable. *Pallante* can scarcely be other than the 'Bird of Pallas,' or Pallas herself; and so, coming back to *ardea* and to *έρωδιός*, we are led to think of that *έρωδιός* in the *Iliad*, which Pallas Athene sent as her messenger to Odysseus and to Diomede: *τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἤκεν έρωδιὸν έγγὺς ὁδοῖο | Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη*. The heroes only knew it by its harsh cry, *τοὶ δ' οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι | Νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ἀλλὰ κλάγξαντος ἄκουσαν*: and so commentators, determined to make it out a Heron, have suggested the Night-heron (*Ardea Nycticorax*, L.). But now it seems to me likely, perhaps even plain, that it was after all the self-same Shearwater, at once a bird of Athene, and a bird of Diomede.

We may go, though it may seem venturesome, farther yet. What was that mysterious *ὄρνις ἀνοπαῖα* in the *Odyssey*, in whose likeness Athene flew away? I think it may very well have been the same *Pallante*, or Shearwater; and if so there may be more than we thought for in the old Grammarian's explanation of the word, *παρὰ τὸ διατρίβειν ἐν ταῖς ὀπαῖς*—which brings back Pliny's description of the subterranean dwelling once more to our minds.

Though Virgil describes so aptly the lamentable crying, the *vox lacrymosa* of the bird, it by no means follows that he was well and fully acquainted with it; it is possible enough that he borrowed this as so many other similes: as he took, for instance, from Theocritus his *ἔστεινε τρυγῶν*, and drew from Aratus his weather-prophecies of the birds. His phrase *'fluminibusque vagantur aves'* suggests to Dr. Fowler's mind

Synopsis Avium, pl. ix. figs. 768-770), mentions '*Ardena*, Aldrovandi,' as a name of the Shearwater.

that 'the birds did not confine themselves to islands, but might stray up rivers, e.g. the Aufidus.' For my own part I am rather inclined to suspect that Virgil was just a little confused as to his bird; and that here he was mixing it up with the real Heron, or ἐρωδιός, which, in Aristotle's words, παρὰ τὰς λίμνας καὶ τοὺς ποταμούς βιοτεύει, and whose *notas paludes* Virgil knew very well.

The identification of the Birds of Diomedes is tantamount to an identification, so far as Juba and Pliny are concerned, of the καταράκτης. This is a most perplexing bird-name, and has been ascribed by commentators to all sorts of birds, to the Cormorant, the Solan Goose, the Eared Grebe, etc. The accounts are largely intermixed with fable, and are otherwise obviously inaccurate, but I fancy that the Shearwater was at the bottom of most of them.

Another of the curious modern Italian bird-names is *Aipu*, applied (according to Giglioli) to the Shearwater and also to a certain kind of Gull. I think it just possible that an echo of αἶθνια lingers in the word. Αἶθνια is a very hard word, and (like *Catarrhactes*) its meaning has all along perplexed and puzzled the commentators. We have very little evidence to go upon, for the many references to Αἶθνια are almost all poetical and vague, and however accurate we may find the poets now and then, I fancy that often enough they cared little, and possibly knew less, of the bird to which this or that name belonged; one bird was well-nigh as good as another, and you need not ask too many questions: *si volucrum quae sit subitarum forma requiris Ut non cynorum sic albis proxima cygnis*, etc. But we are told by Pausanias (i, 5, 3; i, 41, 6) that αἶθνια was a title or epithet of Athene—a close parallel to 'Pallante.' Again, the αἶθνια was, as we all know, the bird into which Ino turned, ἥ πρὶν μὲν ἦν βοτὸς αὐδήσσσα. And lastly, the flesh of αἶθνια, as Galen tells us (*De fac. simpl. med.*, xi) and also Philostratus (*Icon.* 2, 17), was peculiarly unsavoury or nauseous, as we have been assured, ever since Gesner's time, that that of the Shearwater (save only as a nestling)

is. The reputation of αἶθνια in this respect was precisely that of *mergus*—'si quis nunc mergos suaves edixerit assos,' etc.; and Giglioli tells us (*op. cit.*, p. 316) that *margin* is nowadays the local name for the Shearwater at Spezzia. We may take it that in all probability the Shearwater was at least one of the birds which went by the name of *Mergus* in antiquity,¹ as it is one, and only one, of the birds which do so to-day. And the more we think of the references to *mergus*, the more we shall find among them allusions and phrases which suit the Shearwater very well: even such as the familiar lines 'Cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi, Clamoremque ferunt ad littora.'

And so it seems that we have easily brought together, by various criss-cross threads of evidence (to which I might add a few more, if space permitted), a whole string or group of bird-names, one more puzzling to scholars than another, and not one of which admits of safe and simple definition by direct evidence. But every one of them points, whether clearly or obscurely, somehow to the Shearwater, either as a specific meaning or as part of a looser and more general signification. For my own part the simple fact is that, when I wrote my Glossary, I was little aware of the important rôle which the Shearwaters play in the Mediterranean, and little acquainted with their many striking peculiarities. They passed in all probability under various names, some local some poetical, in ancient times as they still do in modern Italy; and some of these names, apparently specific, were undoubtedly applied to more birds than one, as we again find to be the case (for instance in the various derivatives of *mergus*) in vernacular Italian. Our little group of bird-names includes, among the rest, ἐρωδιός and αἶθνια, *ardea* and *mergus*. Precisely these names (together with the more or less generic *λάρος*) are constantly mixed up by the glossographers. Thus we have in Philoxenus (Goetz, ii. 24, etc.), '*ardea* : ἐρωδιός, *λάρος*; again

¹ *Mergus*, in Plin. x. 65 (47), is a Skua Gull: 'inter aquaticas mergi soliti sunt devorare quae cetera reddunt.' In Plin. x. 48 (33) it is a Cormorant: 'mergi et in arboribus nidificant,' etc.

'*fulica* glossed by *λάρος, ἐρωδιός, αἰθυία*,' etc.; again '*mergus: αἰθυία, αὐτῆς ὄρνις*,' and so forth. At first sight there seems to be almost indiscriminate ascription and a very tangle of error; but in reality there is a genuine thread of interconnection, of which we can now, in part at least, discern the clue.

A singularly interesting case is the Abstrusa gloss '*mergi: corvi marini*' (Goetz, iv. 538, 1). Up to now we have talked of the Shearwaters in a general way, without attempting to discriminate between their species, of which the chief (for our purposes) are the large *Puffinus kuhli*, and the little *P. anglorum*, our Manx Shearwater.¹ Both are abundant in the Mediterranean, and pass, for the most part, under identical vernacular names. But Giglioli tells us that in Genoa the Little (or Manx) Shearwater, much darker in colour than the other, is called, precisely, *crovo di mǎ* (*corvo di mare*) *negro*; and there can be little doubt that it is to this bird that the Abstrusa gloss applies: with which gloss we may also compare the Hesychian *κορώναι <εἶν>άλιαι· αἰθυιαί, κολυμβίδες*. In like manner, Canon Tristram suggested (*Cambridge Comp. to Greek Studies*, 1904, p. 32) that *κορώνη ἢ θαλάσσιος* was the Little Shearwater, as against my hesitating suggestion that it might be the Little Cormorant, *Phalacrocorax pygmaeus*. A flood of new light is immediately thrown on a number of passages, hitherto obscure, by this evidence of a connexion between the

Birds of Diomedea and the Sea-crow, and by the implied suggestion of a discrimination between names (such as *αἰθυία*) for the Large, and others (such as *κορώνη ἢ θαλάσσιος* and its equivalents) for the Little Shearwater. We can now understand the association of *mergus* and *cornix* in such passages as Claudian's 'Heu nimium segnes, cauta qui mente notatis, Si revolant mergi, graditur si littore cornix' (*De B.G.* 492). We understand also the *κορώναι εἰνάλιναι* of the *Odyssey* (v. 66), *τανύγλωσσοι . . . τῆσιν τε θαλάσσια ἔργα μέμηλεν*; and the simile of the *Iliad* (xii. 418, etc.) *οἱ δὲ κορώνησιν ἔκελοι περὶ νῆα μέλαιναν | κύμασιν ἐμφορέοντο*. We are confirmed in our suspicion that it is no common crow or jackdaw, but is this seabird of ours that '*plena pluvium vocat improba voce, Et sola in sicca secum spatiat in arena*'; and we follow the same clue still more confidently among the weather-prophecies of Theophrastus, Aratus, and others; for instance in the *Geoponica* (i. 3, 7), where we also note the nocturnal habit of the bird: *καὶ κορώνη ἐπ' αἰγιάλου τὴν κεφαλὴν διαβρέχουσα, ἢ πᾶσα νηχομένη, καὶ νυκτὸς σφοδρότερον κρώζουσα, ὄμβρους προμηνύει*.

Lastly we rediscover, in Arrian's *Periplus*, a manifest allusion to the Shearwaters—the two Shearwaters—under the names *αἰθυιαί* and *κορώναι*, for their peculiar habit is recalled of dropping water from their outspread wings, under the guise of a legend precisely similar to that of the Temple of Diomedea: *οὗτοι οἱ ὄρνιθες θεραπεύουσιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τὸν νεῶν. ἔωθεν ὅσημέραι καταπέτονται ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἔπειτα ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης βεβρεγμένοι τὰ πτερὰ σπουδῇ αὐτὰ ἐσπέτονται ἐς τὸν νεῶν, καὶ ραίνουσι τὸν νεῶν*.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

St. Andrews.

¹ No group of birds is more puzzling to the systematist than the Shearwaters, and ornithologists are not agreed as to the specific distinctions. *P. kuhli* is the representative in the Mediterranean of our great Shearwater, a large light-coloured bird. The small Shearwater of the Mediterranean, black upon the back, is usually distinguished as *P. yelkouan*; but Giglioli and others consider it identical with our Manx Shearwater.

NOTE ON THE *PERVIGILIUM VENERIS*.

THOSE who wish to enjoy this splendid poem must read it in one of Professor Mackail's Versions (the last one is to be found in Mr. S. G. Owen's Catullus, Loeb Classics) and study it in Mr. Clementi's edition (Blackwell, Oxford). It is presumptuous for a casual reader to try even to supplement their labours; and yet, though we have now a better text of the poem than the world has seen for 1,200 years at least, the reading of the facsimiles of the two existing MSS., which are given in Mr. Clementi's volume, makes it clear that we still have not secured our final version of this charming composition. Both of these MSS. were copied from a faulty original, the same or of the same type for both copyists as Mr. Clementi shows, and both contain also many errors for which the writers are themselves responsible. Examples of the former class of error are 'Pervigilium' (for 'Pervigilium') in both superscriptions, 'gazas' or 'gaza' (for 'casas' in v. 5), 'floribus' (for 'floridis' in v. 13), 'vernīs' (for 'veris' in v. 60), 'fletus' or 'flaetus' (for 'foetus' in v. 62), almost the whole of v. 50, 'Romuli matrem' (in v. 74), above all 'aonii' (for 'tauri' in v. 81); in all of these places the readings found in both MSS. are clearly impossible, and in all of them the right readings can be recovered with almost complete certainty. As examples of the second class of error, it is sufficient to point out that neither clerk succeeded in reproducing the refrain correctly throughout the poem, the writer of S failing in this respect twice and the writer of T four times in a total of eleven lines. The general result is that the two clerks, copying from the same or nearly the same MS. and sometimes agreeing in copying errors, yet differ from each other in the case of at least 150 words though the composition contains only 93 lines.

And yet it is clear that each clerk tried honestly to copy the MS. before him, for it is impossible to explain otherwise the occurrence in both MSS. of such phrases as 'et micanat' (or 'mecanat') for 'en (or 'et') micant,' 'facta (or 'fusta') prius de' for (I

think) 'facta de ipsius,' and 'explicat aonii' for 'explicant tauri.' No one can read the facsimiles and the collation of the two MSS. given by Mr. Clementi without realising the necessity for drastic emendation of both texts, and yet I believe that such emendation should be attempted within certain limits only; I believe that the MSS. retain always some shadowy form or ghost of the right reading, and especially that they preserve, except in the case of one or more probably of two lines, the original order of the composition.

Inconsistently, then, I suggest two amendments of the text; there is no doubt about the meaning of v. 23 which begins in both MSS. 'facta (or 'fusta') prius de cruore,' and which is amended by reading for 'prius,' 'Cypridis' (Buechner) 'Veneris' (Mackail) or 'Paphies' (Clementi); but surely the 'prius' conceals 'ipsius' (since 'Venus' is 'Dione' or 'ipsa' throughout the poem), and, if so, the author wrote 'facta de ipsius cruore,' which, in order to avoid the elision of a monosyllable (cf. v. 91), was changed to 'ipsius de' and then corrupted. My other suggestion is in regard to a more difficult passage, 'Romuli matrem' of v. 74. Transposition has been freely attempted in order to amend the paragraph vv. 69-74.

'ipsa Trojanos nepotes in Latinos transtulit;
ipsa Laurentem puellam conjugem nato dedit;
moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam virginem;
Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias;
unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
Romuli matrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem?'

Professor Mackail amends to 'Romulum patrem' in the last line, and both he and Mr. Clementi re-arrange the lines in various ways. But all the transpositions fail to remove the difficulties of the passage; for the 'Ramnes' and 'Quirites' were descendants of Romulus' soldiers and the Sabine women more properly than they were descendants of any other personages mentioned in the paragraph, and in the MSS. version the events are stated according to the strict chronological order; the author in vv. 69-72 mentions

four historical (or legendary) events in their proper sequence, then in vv. 73, 74 he seems to be summing up the whole course of Roman history. The original phrase, of which 'Romuli matrem' is a corruption must have applied to some person or persons who was or were representative of the period of the Roman Republic. 'Romulum patrem (Mackail) does not seem to clear up the difficulties of the paragraph, wherever lines 73, 74 are placed, and I suggest that the author wrote 'Romuli Patres' or, with less probability, 'Romulam gentem.' In the former case the translation is 'that she might bring into existence the Ramnes and Quirites, and as descendants of Romulus afterwards the Senators and Caesar, his latest descendant'; in the latter case the author (whose familiarity with classical writers is pointed out by Mr. Clementi) is recalling Horace C. IV. 5, 1, C.S. 47, and a very easy translation results: 'Romulus' would be the proper adjective with 'gens' as 'Romuleus' would be with 'nuptiae.' 'Romulo Patres (for rhythm) and 'posteram Romuli gentem' (for lucidity) are very attractive alternatives for these two suggestions.

Yet I plead for accepting the form of the composition as given by the MSS. with a minimum of rearrangement. There is one undoubted case where a line must be transposed, viz. v. 58 ('et recentibus,' etc.), an error whose source is explained by Mr. Clementi, and the line is undoubtedly restored to its right place when it is inserted between vv. 39 and 40. The succeeding

line of the MSS. v. 59 ('cras erit quum primus Aether,' etc.) should probably be transposed also, and, if so, it should stand, as most editors place it, between vv. 8 and 9; but I cannot see that any further transpositions improve the text in any way; I do not trust the writers at all in such a matter, but I do not find that any of the suggested transpositions improve the logical sequence of the thoughts expressed, while all of them seem to me to impair the poetical representation of them. In especial I believe that the two clerks placed, though they could not copy, the refrain correctly; in Virgil, Catullus, and Theocritus a refrain regularly occurs at unequal intervals, marking (except in its last occurrence at the end of the poem) the beginning of a new paragraph in the composition; and this seems to be the method used in the *Pervigilium*.

The poem clearly had a great vogue for several centuries; it will be read again largely whenever it becomes known, as it has become accessible, and when its text again assumes a settled form.

P.S.—The possibility of retaining the MS. reading with the substitution only of 'prosperam' for 'posterum' in v. 73 should also be considered. A better scholar than myself doubts whether the Latin can be translated as I translate it, but the result, if it is possible, is attractive "that she might bring to life the R. and Q., and make fortunate in their offspring both the mother of Romulus and his descendant Caesar."

J. A. FORT.

TERENTIANA.

I.

THE QUESTION OF PLAGIARISM IN THE PROLOGUE TO THE *EUNUCHUS*.

AFTER the aediles had bought the rights of Terence's play, Luscius managed to be present at the rehearsal and interrupted the performance with a loud protest:

23. Exclamat furem, non poetam, fabulam
dedisse et nil dedisse uerborum tamen :

Colacem esse Naeui, et Plauti ueterem
fabulam ;

Parasiti personam inde ablatam et militis.

Ver. 25 has long been matter of dispute. Some have held that the *Colax* was produced in collaboration between Naevius and Plautus; others, that

Plautus modernised Naevius' version. The former view seems unlikely, because the fact is unexampled (Fabia); the latter because Plautus only outlived Naevius by fifteen years: a play would hardly go out of date so soon. The punctuation which I have given above represents Vissering's explanation: viz., 'the *Colax* is by Naevius, and there is an old play by Plautus: it is from these that Terence has stolen the characters of the Parasite and the Soldier.' This accounts for the plural *eas fabulas* in ver. 33.

But Fabia objects that it would be odd of Luscius to name Naevius' play and only vaguely to designate that of Plautus. The objection is not insoluble, for it would be evident enough what play of Plautus' was intended, and Terence actually uses the words *miles gloriosus* in ver. 31. It seems to me more credible that Luscius' protest, or Terence's report of that protest, was as Vissering took it, than that Plautus should have modernised one of Naevius' pieces, and the piece be described as belonging to them both.

Such then was the charge; what is Terence's reply? 'If there is a fault, it is a fault of inadvertence.' And he proceeds to justify this defence:

30. *Colax Menandri est; in east parasitus colax et miles gloriosus. Eas se non negat personas transtulisse in Eunuchum suam ex Graeca; sed eas fabulas factas prius Latinas scisse sese, id uero pernegat.*
 35. *quod si personis eisdem huic uti non licet, quid magis licet currentem seruom scribere, bonas matronas facere, meretrices malas [parasitum edacem, gloriosum militem], etc.*

(The last verse is bracketed by Loman, Dziatzko, and other modern editors.) That is to say:

"The *Colax* belongs to Menander—not to Naevius. From the original Greek, and not from Naevius' *Colax*, I borrowed not only the character of Gnatho but also that of Thraso, my *miles gloriosus*, who does not derive from Plautus' *uetus fabula*. The borrowing from Menander I do not deny: it is a case of *contaminatio*, which is allowed: what I do most stoutly deny (*pernego*) is . . . what?"

Our text makes Terence deny that he knew of the existence of Naevius' version of *Colax* and Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*. This is so absurd that Fabia (Introd.

pp. 65-6) roundly accuses Terence of a clumsy lie. Is such enormous clumsiness credible, even if Terence's veracity were no higher than Fabia rates it? For mark how he continues: 'if stock characters may not lawfully be used, then what becomes of your *seruos currens*, etc.?' And in fact the New Comedy is all made of stock characters. Whether or no he knew of Naevius' and Plautus' plays, his line of defence is unimpaired: then why go out of his way to deny? Is it not inconceivable that a man of letters could tell his audience that he had never heard of Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*? And what about his noble collaborators?

The real suspicion then falls not on the word *fabulas* in ver. 33, which Fabia, following Ritschl, alters to *ab aliis*, but on *scisse* in 34. And just here it jumps with a palaeographical suspicion, for (taking Umpfenbach's apparatus) we find:

A. SCISSE SESE prius SE induxit
 corr. rec.

D. scisse se^{sc}.

B(C ?)EP. scissé se.

G. scisse se.

The reading of G (*Decurtatus*) indicates an archetypal SCISSE: first SE, then SESE was thrown in to fill up a hole in the metre. The hole was caused by the shrinking of

LATINAS ASCIVISSE or LATINAS SE ASCIVISSE into LATINAS SCIVISSE.

If Terence wrote this, his argument is at least consistent, and he cannot be accused of lying: 'he has borrowed *personae* from Menander's *Colax*, but he has not appropriated the pre-existing Latin versions (*eas fabulas factas prius Latinas*) of *Colax* by Naevius or of *Alazon* by Plautus.

For the offending *scisse sese* one might also suggest *astulisse*, which would agree well with *ablatum* in ver. 26; but the corruption does not thus explain itself so readily.

On the other hand, no other instance of *ascisco* is found in Terence or in Plautus; if the tragic poet quoted by Cicero, *Tusc.* II. 10. 23,

louisque numen Mulcibri adsciuit manus

be Accius, he is the earliest author who can be cited for the word; otherwise the record goes no higher than Cicero himself. He has it often, and the archaising school (Sallust, Fronto, Apuleius) affect it. *Rescisco* is of course common in Terence.

II.

Heautontimorumenos 600-607 (and *Ad.* 216:

- SYR. . . . Fuit quaedam anus Corinthia
Hic: huic drachumarum haec argenti
mille dederat mutuum.
CHR. Quid tum?
SYR. Ea mortuast:
reliquit filiam adulescentulam.
Ea relicta huic arraboni est pro illo
argento.
CHR. Intellego.
SYR. Hanc secum huc adduxit, ea quae est
nunc apud uxorem tuam.
CHR. Quid tum?
SYR. Cliniam orat sibi ut id nunc det: illam
illi tamen
606. Post daturam: mille nummum poscit.
Et prosit quidem.
CHR. Hui!
SYR. Dubium id est? ego sic putavi.

In 606 the MSS. read:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{et poscit} \\ \text{et poscet} \\ \text{et posciet} \\ \text{ex poscit} \end{array} \right\} \text{quidem.}$

and assign the words to Chremes; Dziatzko read *et possit*, which he construed as an impersonal, on the analogy of four passages, viz.:

- Haut.* 677 At sic, opinor. Non potest.
Phorm. 303 Non, non sic futurumst. Non
potest.
Ad. 568 Non potuit melius.
Phorm. 818 Quo pacto id potuit?

But even if these examples (all negative or interrogative, and all present or perfect indicative) could support the inference, *et possit* has no aptitude here.

Syrus' cue is to recommend the proposed arrangement to Chremes as good business. This he does by saying *et prosit quidem* ('and it really would pay'). To this Chremes answers with a *Hui* of utter incredulity, which Syrus meets with a remonstrance, *Dubium id est?* (for which cf. *Haut.* 911).

The use of *hui!* is just like *Ad.* 216:

- SYR. Age, scis quid loquar?
pecuniam in loco neglegere maximum
interdumst lucrum.
SAN. Hui!

where the editors make nonsense by giving the word to Syrus. *Hui* is Sannio's expression of astonishment at this incredible new doctrine of Syrus': 'Come now, I'm telling ye. Sometimes nothing pays better than to let money take care of itself.' 'Whew!' says Sannio.

III.

Phormio 368.

Phormio has been letting his imagination run free on the merits of the departed Stilpo.

367.

- PHOR. At quem uirum! quem ego uiderim in
uita optimum.
GETA. †uideas te atque illum† ut narras!
PHOR. I'n malam crucem!
nam ni ita eum existimassem, num-
quam tam grauis
ob hanc inimicitias caperem in uostram
familiam,
quam is aspernatur nunc tam inlibera-
liter.
GETA. Pergin ero absenti male loqui, im-
purissime?
PHOR. Dignum autem hoc illost.
GETA. Ain tamen, carcer? . . .
. . . bonorum extortor, legum con-
tortor! . . .

For Geta's words in ver. 368, the MSS. offer no variant. The commentators invite us to believe that they have a meaning. 'Just look at yourself and him, as you describe him' (Ashmore, p. 211). It is a meaning of a sort, but quite at odds with the tenor of the dialogue; neither is Phormio's retort relevant, nor Geta's rejoinders pitched in the same key. Phormio's retort *nam ni* implies that Geta has doubted his word; and Geta's rejoinders are a series of bad names, *impurissime*, *carcer*, etc. The sense will be restored by reading for

VIDEASTEATQVEILLVMVTNARRAS
QVID, STERQVILINVM, narras?

Geta applies the same term to Dorio in ver. 526. *Quid narras?* is too common a formula of incredulity to need illustration. Phormio answers the bad name with an oath, and the disbelief with an asseveration *nam*.

IV.

Eum. 317.

Haud similis uirgost uirginum nostrarum quas matres student demissis ueris esse, uincto pectore, ut gracilae sient.

Siquae est habitior paulo, pugilem esse aiunt, deducunt cibum; tametsi bonast natura, reddunt curatura iuncea: *itaque ergo amantur*.

Donatus read this line as we read it, and laboured to explain it: either *itaque*, *inquit*, *nemo illas amat*, i.e. ironically, or *atque ita fit ut amentur non naturae merito sed industria*, i.e. ἔργῳ.

Fabia notes that *itaque ergo* occurs in Livy I. xxv. 2, III. xxxi. 5, etc. It does, as a resumptive formula of narrative in certain (archaistic) passages, with the sense, 'Well, so . . . I invite anybody who in his secret heart sees in the would-be irony of *itaque ergo amantur* nothing but a flat piece of stupidity, to consider whether Terence did not probably write:

ITA QVERCORANTVR (*quercer—querquerantur*),

meaning, 'Any girl that is naturally a jolly creature they reduce by treatment till they're only the thickness of a rush—so aguish do the girls become.'

The existence of an adjective *querquerus* is attested by the grammarians with quotations from Lucilius:

<febris> *querquera consequitur capitisque dolores*

and

iactans me ut febris querquera . . .

and Plautus frag. *Friulariae*,

is mihi erat bilis, aqua intercus, querqueratus, where the editors read

querquera tussis.

Out of the ruins of a page of Festus (ed. Lindsay, p. 308) glimmers the fact that Santra derived the word from a Greek κάρκαρον. Hesychius has the glosses

κάρκαροι . τραχεῖς
καρκαίρει . ψοφεῖ
κάρκαϊρε . ἰδιώμα ἤχου
ἐκάρκαρον . ψόφον τινα ἀπετέλουν.

The last three refer to the Homeric verb=to rattle, to clatter, to crack. There seems to be no attestation of such a verb in Latin, but one may venture to say that, considering *καρκαίρειν*, its existence is theoretically

probable. The onomatopoeic origin indeed seems to require a verb.

For its deponent form cf. *conscreor*, *murmuror*, *musso*, *ructor*; for the fashion in meagre anaemic beauty cf. the use of *febriculosus* in Catull. VI. 4 and Lucr. IV. 1155 *ischnon eromenion tum fit cum uiuere non quit prae macie*; *rhadinē uerost iam mortua tussi*. And add Martial I. x. 4 for the cough as a synonym for phthisis.

V.

Eum. 1011:

nunquam pol hominem stultiorem uidi nec uidebo. Ah, non possum satis narrare quos ludos praeberis intus.

At *etiam primo* callidum et disertum credidi hominem.

Thus Pythias, making merry at Parmeno's expense. Unfortunately the current of her wit is interrupted by a block of gibberish, for *etiam primo* has no sense. The commentators furnish a delicious example of exegesis in agonies for want of the simplest emendatory operation. Mons. Fabia, whose book is in general a model of a Terentian play well edited, here notes that '*etiam porte sur credidi* "je suis allée jusqu'à croire." If *etiam* bore on *credidi*, why should not the line have run

At *etiam credidi hominem primo callidum et disertum*.

No: *etiam* must bear upon *primo*, and *etiam primo* can only mean 'even at first,' which here is nonsense. Mr. Ashmore remarked that 'the additory force is weakened to the point of being untranslatable, except by a vocal stress upon the modified word (*primo*); "and yet I formerly took you, etc." But, to begin with, *primo* does not mean 'formerly'; and, once the 'mind is degermanised, it sees that when the force of a word, whose function is to give emphasis, is weakened to the point of being untranslatable, then the sense of a phrase is weakened to the point of being nonsense. Sense and Nonsense doubtless meet in a higher Stoj. It is not impossible that Terence wrote nonsense, but very improbable; much more improbable that he wrote nonsense than that his words have been misreported.

Read :

At *Parmenonem* callidum et disertum credidi hominem.

Parmenonem was misread into *primo* a compendium of *etiam*. The resulting *primo etiam* would not scan : remedy—transpose the words ; read rapidly, without close attention, *etiam primo* will keep for a long time.

VI.

Eun. 326.

The vulgate text violates a law of Terentian scansion in each of these places.

324. CHAEREA.

nec quemquam ego esse hominem arbitror cui magis bonae felicitates omnes auorsae sient.

326. Quid hōc est sceleris? Perii. PA. Quid factumst? CH. Rogas?

So the editors give it, lengthening *hōc* ; but it can be shown by the following collection of instances that *the intensity of the interrogative always abbreviates any following case of 'hic.'* Such of course is usually the effect of interrogative intensity on a following *iste*, *istic*, and *ille* ; whether without exception is a point which I pass by for the present : but it may be hoped that the twenty-two examples here produced will be sufficient to prove that the unique exception to the rule of *quis hīc* is corruptly reported :

quid hīc uolt? *And.* 184.

quis hīc loquitur? *ib.* 267 (and 783, also H. 517, E. 86, P. 739).

quid hīc respondent, *ib.* 419.

quid hīc uolt uetator sibi? *ib.* 457.

quid hīc sensisse ait? *ib.* 470.

quid hōc morbist? *Eun.* 225.

sed quis hīc est qui huc pergit? *ib.* 228.

quid? hūnc non uides? *ib.* 463.

¹ This is exceptional, since *Quid?* is here an interjection. I suspect *hūnc* is interpolated, as a word sometimes has been, to explain what, on the stage, a gesture made plain enough without. It is hard to believe that *hūnc* could be shortened after the intervening pause.

quid hōc hominis? quid hīc ornatist? *ib.* 546.
sed quid hōc quod timida, *ib.* 642.
quis hīc est homo? *ib.* 677.
quid hīc conterimus operam? P. 209 (*ib.* 215 doubtful).

quid hīc coēptat? *ib.* 626.

quid hīc narret, *ib.* 846.

sed quid hōc negotist, *Hec.* 97.

quid hōc est? tace, *ib.* 314.

quem ego hīc audiui loqui? *ib.* 453.

quid hūc hīc est rei? *ib.* 807.

quid hōc reist? *Ad.* 175.

quid hōc malum infelicitatis? nequeo satis decernere, *ib.* 544.

quid hūc hīc negotist? *ib.* 638.

quid hīc negoti, *ib.* 642.

For *hōc* to be lengthened, a word must come between it and *quid* : e.g.

quidnam hōc est rei? *And.* 457.

quisnam hīc adulescens, *Haut.* 403.

Ver. 326 should accordingly be read
quidnam hōc est sceleris? etc.

VII.

Eun. 978. Here we are concerned with another instance of the shortening effect that interrogative intensity exercises on the next word, viz. the phrase *quid est quod*. Our texts give
quid est quod trepidas? satine salve? dic mihi?
which is impossible, for *quid est quod* is always an anapaest or a tribrach, e.g.

māne mane quid est quod tam a nobis grauitur crepuerunt fores? *Haut.* 613.

Chaerea, quid est quod sic gestis? *Eun.* 558.

quid est quod laetus es? *ib.* 559.

quid est mihi quod malim quam quod huic intellego euenire? *Hec.* 794.

For *est* to be lengthened after *quid*, a fullstop is necessary, e.g.

Quid est? te mi ipsum iam dudum optabam dari, *Haut.* 758.

Or, a passage which certifies the obvious correction of 978 :

Era quid est? Quid trepidas? *Ad.* 323.

Read then here :

Quid est? Quid trepidas?

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

The University, Glasgow.

NOTES ON AENEID VIII.

MR. WARDE FOWLER's last contribution to Virgilian studies, like its predecessors, not only throws new light on the poet's exquisite art and on the wealth of learning and thought behind it, but quickens our intelligence, and makes us read Virgil for the hundredth time with closer attention and keener appreciation. Some notes are here offered on points which seem, on reading *Aeneid* VIII. once more in the light of his commentary, to invite remark.

1. The voyage of Aeneas up the Tiber, ll. 26-101.

This episode is thought out in all its details with extraordinary accuracy; and there is no word in the description which is not significant. We can follow it closely from hour to hour.

Aeneas had fallen asleep on the river-bank late at night (30) in the hastily fortified camp by the water's edge, the position of which is fully described in VII. 29-36, 157-9, and 201. It was a little way up the river (*fluvio succedit opaco, fluminis intrastis ripas*) but in the natural harbour formed by its mouth (*portuque sedetis*). From this point up to the site of Rome, the time required to row the two biremes would depend on the state of the river. I have myself rowed over the course in the reverse direction, with the help of a fairly strong current, and would judge from my rather imperfect recollection—for it was thirty years ago—that in quiet water the journey up would take about five hours (or more if there were a rest half-way). Against a normal current it would of course be a good deal longer, and if the river were in flood might take any time, or even be impossible. For Aeneas' sake the supernatural stilling of the stream had been going on all that night, *ea quam longa est nocte* (86); and by the time he started, the river lay as smooth as a standing pool or a marsh lagoon (88). Consequently, not only were the crews in the position *remo ut luctamen abesset* (89), but the channel was brimful by the banking up of the water (*refluens substitit*, 87), so that they could

straighten out and shorten the course by slanting across the reaches, instead of having to follow the bends of the main channel in order to avoid grounding. This is the force of *ripis et recto flumine* (57): and in particular view of this point, I think the case is very strong for the Servian interpretation of *viridis secant placido aequore silvas* (96). As they cut the corners, the ships would have the overhanging boughs actually overhead (95), and the prows would cleave their reflections in the still water below. No difficulty need be raised by *viridis*; for in glassy water the reflections of trees keep their full colour, and it is difficult if not impossible to trace by eye alone the dividing line between the real and the reflected foliage. In further support of this, note should be taken of Virgil's distinctive use of the ablative. *Placido aequore silvas* in his language is practically equivalent to *placidas aequoreas silvas*, just as *pictas abiete puppes* is to *pictas abiernas puppes*, or *vasta voragine gurges* to *vastus voraginosus gurges*. As to the alleged 'modernity' of the thought, what was not too modern for Servius was certainly not too modern for Virgil.

Aeneas' vision was in the small hours of the night. When does he start on the voyage? The River-God tells him to make his supplication to Juno *primis cadentibus astris* (59). He wakes and rises forthwith (67) and at once proceeds to give orders for the ships and crews to be made ready, and simultaneously (for this is implied by the abrupt insertion of 81-85) to make the sacrifice to Juno. This done, they start without delay (*iter inceptum celerant*, 90), and *remigio noctemque diemque fatigant* (94), arriving towards midday (97) in sight of Evander's town, with its walled fort on the Palatine and its scattered out-dwellings on the low wooded ground later occupied by the Velabrum; the landing-place for the settlement would be the natural creek formed by the little stream that came down the marshy valley and was afterwards covered over and became the Cloaca Maxima, just as was done to the Fleet River in London,

the lower part of which was the original port of London. The settlement would come in sight as soon as the ships opened it round the corner of the Aventine, *procul* (98), from between half and three-quarters of a mile off.

The only point here which is not at once clear is the *noctemque diemque* of 94. It is generally assumed that the start was not made until after sunrise: then what is the relevance of *noctem*? But this assumption is based on a hasty misunderstanding; and Virgil's actual words demand careful study.

The sacrifice was to be made, and was made, *primis cadentibus astris*, 'when the stars begin to fade,' say from two to three hours before sunrise. Much confusion would have been saved, here and elsewhere, by realising that *surgere* and *cadere* as used of the stars by Virgil have not only their astronomical meaning of rising and setting, but that of appearance and disappearance with the end and beginning of daylight. *Cadere* may in such passages be translated 'to pale,' and *surgere* 'to shine out.' Thus the *cadentia sidera* of *Aen.* II. 9 and IV. 81 are the paling stars. Thus too the *quotiens astra ignea surgunt* of IV. 352 is a reinforcement of the words that precede, *quotiens umentibus umbris nox operit terras*, and does not refer to a different time of night; and those perturbed dreams of Aeneas are, in accordance with the orthodox doctrine, placed before midnight, while the serene vision of the passage we are considering is before dawn.¹ The start then might

be made say an hour before sunrise; and the *noctemque diemque* of the voyage, closely coupled as the nouns are by the duplicated *que*, might almost be rendered 'while night passes into day.'

It may be objected that *spectans orientia solis lumina* (68) indicates the hour of actual sunrise, and that Virgil is inconsistent. But this is a mistake. The phrase is simply an enriched and pictorial way of saying 'facing East,' like the simpler *contra orientem* in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*. So in the Servian note on *Aen.* II. 693, *ad orientem*, 'facing the rising sun,' and *ad ortum*, 'facing the risen sun,' are used indifferently and in exactly the same sense. For ritual purposes, it did not matter whether a sacrifice was performed before or after sunrise: Censorinus, 23. 4, says of the *sacra publica*, '*si quid post mediam noctem et ante lucem factum est, eo die gestum dicitur qui eam sequitur noctem*': the 'day,' that is, like our own civil day, ran from midnight to midnight.

With the whole passage should be read the dialogue in *Julius Caesar*, Act II. sc. i, beginning 'Here lies the East: doth not the day break here?' and with *cadentibus astris* it is interesting to compare Milton's

The stars grow high,

But night sits monarch yet in the mid sky;

where there is a different image for the same phenomenon, the fading or paling of the stars before dawn being pictured—which is what in fact it looks like—as their retreat to a greater distance.

¹ Had attention been paid to this Virgilian meaning of *surgere*, we should have been spared the criticism of the famous *primo qui surgere mense Aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam*, that it represents the new moon as rising. Virgil, even if his astronomy be not, like Milton's, impeccable, was a keen and accurate observer of Nature; and here not only the truth, but the beauty and imaginative value of the simile lie in the picture of the pale crescent 'emerging,' becoming visible though yet faintly and uncertainly, in the lingering daylight through a gap in the cloud-drift. So likewise the beautiful *tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam* of *Ecl.* VIII. 30 has been made into nonsense by translators ('Hesper from Oeta's summit for three sails into the night' is Lord Bowen's rendering), though Keightley long ago had indicated the true sense in a brief note—'*deserit*, leaves, i.e., sinks behind it after the sun.' Lovers of English poetry will remember

2. The genealogical passage in Aeneas' speech to Evander, ll. 134-142.

Mr. Warde Fowler mentions, and seems partly to admit, the charge made against the passage of being 'cheap mythology and genealogical nonsense.' He points out indeed, and convincingly, the stress which Virgil lays, on larger grounds than those of mythology, upon

Wordsworth's *When down behind the cottage roof At once the bright moon dropped*, and his sonnet beginning, *I watch and long have watched with calm regret*. I am not here concerned to explain or defend Horace's *nec vespero surgente nec fugiente Solem*; but the whole matter is lucidly put in Heyne's excellent note on *Ecl.* viii. 30.

the doctrine of a common origin for Greeks and Trojans such as is now substantiated by archaeology. But the passage contains another element of the highest importance to which he does not expressly call attention. The allegorical or ethical content of mythology was to Virgil, as to that whole age, something real and vital. The conception of type and antitype, though not obtruded, is inherent in the whole structure of the *Aeneid*. Atlas is, in this allegorical (or we might rather say, mystical) conception, the common parent, the ancestral genius, of both the Greek and the Trojano-Italian stock, that is to say, when translated into actual terms, of the Graeco-Latin Empire and civilisation. Now notice the enormous emphasis thrown on the function of Atlas as the world-bearer by the doubled reference in the two key-lines of this passage: *Atlas aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis* (137); *Atlas, caeli qui sidera tollit* (141): and then turn to the last line of the book (that 'glorious line' as Mr. Warde Fowler well calls it), *attollens umero famamque et facta nepotum*. Do not the two passages flash a wonderful light on each other? Aeneas, the antitype of Atlas, is also the type of Augustus; not the 'weary Titan,' so much as the unwearied strength of a divine Power incarnate: and all three are successive links in a continuous chain of fame and fate binding and sustaining the world. And so of all three it may be said, in Mr. Housman's no less noble words:

Their shoulders held the sky suspended;
They stood, and earth's foundations stay.

3. The scene of the departure of Hercules, ll. 213 ff.

There is only one point in this brilliant bit of narrative which seems to cause any trouble, but it is worth while to follow the topography rather closely in order to appreciate the vividness of the way in which Virgil realises the scene.

As far as I can ascertain, there is no detailed tradition extant of the route followed by Hercules on his return from Spain with the oxen of Geryon. But it must have been in any event down the Italian peninsula from north

to south, winding up either at Lacinium or at Tarentum, at both of which places there was a local tradition of his arrival.

We must suppose, then, that Hercules had crossed the Tiber somewhere higher up at a ford, and approached the site of Rome across the Campus Martius. Skirting the Capitoline on the low ground between hill and river, he stopped for the night and laagered the oxen (*stabulis*, 213) on the spot where Evander is speaking, the site of the Ara Maxima, near the river, and between the mouths of the two converging valleys of the Velabrum and the Circus (*vallemque annemque tenebant*, 204). The cave of Cacus is thought of as at or close to the north-west corner of the Aventine, just above the Porta Trigemina, where the cliff closely overhung the river. Its mouth is at the base of the cliff and at the top of the short grass-grown slope of detritus between the cliff and the water's edge. Within, it expands and heightens so much that when the projecting rock on the cliff-edge is torn away by Hercules, it leaves a hole in the cave-roof, down which Hercules first (250) hurls boughs and heavy stones, and then (256) leaps himself. When Cacus is killed, Hercules is able to pull back from the inside the rock-portcullis which blocks the mouth of the cave, and to reopen the entrance.

The cave then is within a very few hundred yards of the cattle-laager, and the lowing of the oxen as they are being collected for their journey can easily be heard and replied to by their fellows in the cave. But what is the exact meaning of *colles clamore relinqui*? how can the oxen be said at this point to be 'leaving the hills'? The suggestion has been made that the words must be taken in a sense different from this natural and obvious meaning—for instance, that the lowing 'died away beyond the hills.' But there seems no real difficulty if we look at the words more carefully.

In resuming his journey from the neighbourhood of the Forum Boarium, Hercules would naturally (indeed, as a matter of course) proceed up the valley of the Circus Maximus, and then, continuing almost straight forward as he

emerged from between the Palatine and the Aventine, follow the line of the great trunk road of later times which left the city through the Porta Capena, and a little way on branched into the Appian and Latin Ways. The present infinitive *relinqui* has here, as often, a sort of inceptive force; what Roby in his Latin Grammar calls 'the present of an action extending over some time including the time of speaking,' or more particularly, 'the present of an action about to be commenced' (cf. *abitumque pararet*, 214). When the oxen were collected and ready to move, this is the exact description of the state of things. The oxen were lowing while 'on their way to leave,' 'about to commence leaving,' the group of hills at the foot of which they had passed the night; but were still opposite Cacus' cave, or just beginning to move away and leave it behind them.

Two more notes may be added on phrases the exact meaning of which is discussed, but left undetermined, by Mr. Warde Fowler.

Stricturae chalybum, l. 421. *Strictura* means, I think, not the actual ingot or 'pig' of metal, but the mould of sand into which the molten metal is run, and in which it is squeezed together, *stringitur*, i.e. is confined while it solidifies. This satisfies both sense and etymology. Any one who has seen iron-founding knows both the hiss or scream (*stridunt*) of the liquid metal as it runs into the moulds, and the shower of sparks, Lucilius' *crebrae scintillae in stricturis*, with which its flow into them is accompanied.

Mediis aedibus, l. 467. There is

nothing in these words inconsistent with the meeting and conversation being, as the whole run of the passage implies it is, in the open air. It is not necessary to suppose Aeneas and Evander 'meeting in the open air and then returning to the house of Evander and sitting just within the doorway;' nor was there any reason why they should do so in the freshness of an early hour on a fine summer morning. *Mediis aedibus* simply means amid the cluster of buildings—the thatched huts and sheds grouped round a courtyard. In one of these huts (which probably contained only a single room each) Evander had put Aeneas to sleep (366): himself he slept in another. Both are early astir independently (455, 465): they meet in the courtyard, sit down on a seat or bench there, and rise from it (541) when their talk is over. The thunder-shower and the vision of armour, 524-9, come from a sky which is elsewhere clear (528), and need not have driven them indoors; indeed, from within a hut such as is described they could not have looked up into the sky as they do in 527. With the whole setting of the scene it is useful to compare the description of the farm-buildings—for it is these and not a city mansion that are described—in the swallow-simile of *Aen.* XII. 473-7, where the *domini divitis aedes* are similarly the huts, sheds, and barns grouped, together with the well-to-do farmer's own house, round a courtyard and a pond. In both passages, it is pleasant to believe that Virgil had in mind the home of his own boyhood.

J. W. MACKAIL.

PLAUTUS *STICH.* 1 sqq.

THE opening Canticum of the *Stichus*, a duet of the sisters Panegyris and Pamphila, is worth a close study, although it has been already handled in excellent style by Leo (*Rhein. Mus.* 40, 200; *Plaut. Cantica*, p. 55), for it can throw welcome light on Plautine Metre.

The keynote of the first part is given by the first line:

PAN. Crēd(o) ēgō mīser̄ām.

This is the metre so often³ found in Glyconic choruses of the Greek Drama (—υ | —υυ | —), e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 990 παῖδες ἐν θανάτῳ. This line of the *Alcestis* appears in this context:

κλαίων τοὺς φθιμένους ἄνω,
καὶ θεῶν σκότιοι φθίνουσι
παῖδες ἐν θανάτῳ.

where the first of the trio is the ordin-

ary¹ Glyconic verse (— | — — — | — — —), the second is the full acatalectic form of the Glyconic (— | — — — | — — —). In the antistrophe the line opens with a spondee (v. 1001 ἐκβαλὼν τόδ' ἐπεῖ), the variety approved by Horace, e.g. *Maecenas atavis*.

The next four lines offer the same metre, but with Anacrusis

(— | — — | — — — | —),

the Anacrusis being a short syllable in three of the lines, a long in one :

fū-issē Pēnēlōpām,
sō-rōr sū(o) ēx ānimō,
quae tām diū viduā
vī-rō sūō cārūt.

The *a* of *vidua* was pronounced short in Plautus' time, as later, so that Synaphea is out of the question. In the Oxford text—alas!—and in my large edition of the *Captivi* (Methuen, 1900) all these five lines are labelled 'Dochmiacs.'

The sixth line does not announce itself so unmistakably :

nām nōs eī(u)s² ānimūm.

At first we think of the *Maecenas atavis* type. It certainly seems natural to find in the line the same variety of v. 1 (credo ego miseram) as v. 4 (quae tam diu vidua) is of vv. 2, 3 and 5 (fuisse Penelopam, etc.). But the three following lines are undoubtedly Versus Reiziani; so that, on second thoughts, we declare for a Colon Reizianum,³ that favourite colon of Plautus which displays as bewildering a variety of form as the Dochmiac in Greek Tragedy. It here marks the transition from 'Glyconic' to the new metre.

¹ No one, surely, in the land of Bentley and Porson has been perverted by that horrid heresy, the scansion *cui flūvām rē|līgās cōmūn*. See *Amer. Journ. Phil.* 37, 37.

² The colloquial form of the Gen. Sing. of *is* and *qui* was a monosyllable (at any rate, of two 'morae') in Plautus' time as in Cicero's (cf. Munro on *Lucr.* 1, 149) and Virgil's (to judge from *Catal.* 9, 35 non cuius ob raptum pulsi liquere penates).

³ Editors of Euripides seem to call such a line as *Bacch.* 863 a Colon Reizianum. But surely it is a syncopated Pherecratean (θήρσσω ποτε λευκόν) in this context, just as in 868-9 :

ἦν' ἰκ' ἂν φοβερὰν φυγῇ
θήραν ἔξω φυλακᾶς,

the second line is syncopated 'Glyconic.'

The three Versus Reiziani (in which an Iambic Dimeter is followed by this colon) are :

dē nōstrīs fāc|tīs nōscīmūs, :: quārūm | vīr(i)
hīnc āb|sūnt,
quārūmqūē nōs | nēgōtīis :: ābsēnt(um), | īt(a)
ūt ē|quōmst,
sōllicitaē nōc|tēs ēt dīēs, :: sōrōr, | sūmū'
sēm|pēr.

In the first of the trio *hīnc*, an unaccented long syllable, is shortened under the Breves Breviantes Law (what the Germans call the 'Jambenkürzungsgesetz'), owing to the precedence of the short syllable *vi*. (*Viri hīnc absunt* is a pronunciation like *calēfactus*.) In the second the minuscule MSS., whose archetype had a habit of muddling such combinations as *aequomst*, *factumst*, *bonumst* (see the Oxford Plautus, vol. I. Preface, p. viii), offer *ut est aequom* for *ita ut aequomst*. It is a mere accident that this miswriting too would suit the metre, *ābsēnt(um)*, | *ūt ēst aē|quōm*.

Now come two short lines :

PAM. Nōstr(um) ōff|iciūm
nōs fācēr(e) aēquōmst.

If there were not two, but the first stood alone, we might perhaps think of making it a syncopated variety of the *cred(o) ego miseram* type, the opening⁴ long syllable *nōst* being prolonged to the time of three 'morae' (*nō-st*). As it is, we must make them Anapaestic Monometers. The greater part of this Canticum (from v. 24 to the end) consists of Anapaestic Dimeters (see below); so that Plautus seems here to be giving a preliminary signal.

Then another pair which I would class with vv. 2-5 and write thus :

nēq(ue) | īd mā|gīs fācī|mūs
quām | nōs mō|nēt pīē|tās,

(for *magis*, instead of *magi*, is not unlikely in a Canticum of this sort), although in the Oxford text they appear as Cola Reiziana :

nēq(ue) īd | māgī' fācī|mūs
quām nōs | mōnēt pīē|tās

(with the final syllable of *monet* shortened under the Breves Breviantes Law).

⁴ Of course the final *m* must be elided in Plautus as in Virgil.

An unmistakable Versus Reizianus comes next (with the long final *or* of Plautus' time):

sĕd hīc, sōrōr, | ādsīdē dūm; :: mūltā vō||ō
tē|cūm.

The archetype of the minuscule MSS. had *mea soror* for *soror*, a reading which can also suit the metre. The first foot would then be a proceleusmatic (υυυυ), *sĕd hīc, mĕā sōrōr*, the long syllable *hīc* being shortened after the short syllable *sĕd*, under the Breves Breviantes Law; or rather (since *hīc* was probably accented in this sentence) the second foot would be the proceleusmatic, *sĕd hīc, mĕā sōrōr*, the long unaccented syllable *ror* being shortened after the short syllable *so*. However *soror*, *pater*, etc., in this idiomatic form of address or reference, are liable to be altered to *mea soror*, *meus pater*, etc., in MSS. of Plautus.

The next batch of lines offers the chief difficulty of the Canticum. Their second half is clearly the Colon Reizianum. And yet they are not Versus Reiziani, for their first half is not an Iambic Dimeter. In the rough-and-ready¹ phraseology of Priscian or other Grammarians of the Empire it would indeed be styled an 'Iambic Dimeter Brachycatalectic.' But there is no such thing. It is not without design that the first line was broken up into its two parts and written as two lines by the ancient editors:

loqui de re viri.

PAN. Salven', amabo?

A hint was thereby given to the reader that a novel type confronted him. What type is it? Not a mere synco-pated variety of the Iambic Dimeter, *loqui-de-re viri*, like Eur. *Orest.* 1463 *κασιγνήτου προδούς* in this context:

κακός σ' ἀποκτείνει πύσις
κασιγνήτου προδούς
ἐν Ἀργεὶ θανεῖν γόνου

(where the first of the three is un-synco-pated, the second line has double

¹ When Nonius labels *virum*, *nummum* (in such phrases as *trium virum*, *trium nummum*) as 'Acc. Sing. for Gen. Plur.' it is unfair to say with Lucian Mueller, 'nugatur Nonius.' That is merely a rough-and-ready teaching-formula like our 'At a place is expressed by the Gen. Sing.'

syncope *κασι-γνή-*, the third has single Ἄρ-). For the other lines would not all admit this treatment. Rather should we compare the metre of Eur. *Hipp.* 532, *ἴησιν ἐκ χειρῶν*, appearing in that chorus whose first strophe begins with (v. 525) Ἐρως, Ἐρως, ὁ κατ' ὀμμάτων (Glyconic with Anacrusis), and whose second strophe with (v. 545) τὰν μὲν Οἰχαλία (the *credo ego miseram* type). In this context:

οἶ-ον τὸ τὰς Ἀφροδίτας
ἴησιν ἐκ χειρῶν
Ἐρως, ὁ Διὸς παῖς,

where (if the line-division is right) the first of the trio would seem a Pherecratean (—υ | —υυ | —) with Anacrusis, and the third a Colon Reizianum. In the antistrophe the second and third are (542-3):

ἰόντα συμφορὰς
θνατοῖς, ὅταν ἔλθῃ.

If *loqui de re viri* is rightly regarded as a variation of the *fuisse Penelopam* type, the batch of lines should be presented so:

lō|quī dē | rē vī|rī.

:: PAN. Sālven', | āmā[bō?

PAM. Spē|rō quī|d(em) ēt vō||ō; :: sĕd hōc|
sōrōr, crŭcī|ōr
pā|trēm tū|ōm mē|ūmq(ue) :: ādĕ(o), ū|nicē
q(ui) ū|nūs
cī|vībūs ēx | ōmnī|būs :: prōbūs | pērhibē|tūr,
ē|ūm nūnc | īmprō|bī :: vīr(i) ōf|fici(o) ū|tī.

The shortenings *sorōr* and *unicē* are like the *modō* and *nesciō(quis)* of classical Latin, the *cavē* and *commoḍā* of Catullus. The *equidem* of the Palimpsest, for *quidem*, is a common mistake.

Not merely the dactyl, but also the trochee, is effaced in the first half of the next line (whose second half is a Colon Reizianum), *vīrīs quī tāntās*. Presumably it too is a Colon Reizianum. And yet this Canticum, like so many Greek Choruses, seems to accumulate variations of the *cui flavam religas comam*, the *Maecenas atavis*, the *edite regibus* types, etc. An Ephymnium in Eur. *Ion* offers (v. 501) a parallel (but with the first syllable long), *συρίζεις, ὦ Πάν*, in this context:

ὕπ' αἰόλας λαχᾶς
ὑμνων, ὅτ' ἀναλίσκεις
συρίζεις, ὦ Πάν,
τοῖς σοῖσιν ἐν ἄντροις,

where the first pair show the *fuisse Penelopam* type, the last pair provide

together a parallel to the single line in question (for the ancient editors seem to have made a single line of it):

viris qui tantas : : ābsēn|tībū' nōst|rīs.

A more familiar variation appears in the next pair:

fācīt īn|iūrīās | īmmēri|tō
nōsq(ue) āb ē|īs āb|dūcērē | vōlt.

(*Iniuriās* like *unicē*. The second line begins with a trochee if we substitute *īs* for *eis*.) In other contexts they would be labelled 'Dactylic Tetrameters Catalectic.' Here they should rather be regarded as dactylic variations of the Glyconic type, set here by Plautus as a stepping-stone to the second part, the Anapaestic part, of the Canticum. We may compare lines like:

(Eur. *El.* 125):

ἴθι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐγείρει γόνον,

(Eur. *El.* 439):

κοῦφον ἄλμα ποδῶν Ἀχιλλή,

(Eur. *Ion.* 117):

ἵνα ὁρόσοι τέγγονα' ἱερὰι (with οὐ θνατοῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανά-
τοis in the antistrophe),

(Eur. *Orest.* 831-2):

τίς νόσος ἢ τίνα δάκρυα καί
τίς ἔλεος μείζων κατὰ γῆν;

Plautus now abandons lyrics and writes the rest of the Canticum in his favourite Anapaests. But in two lines, one near the beginning, the other near the end of this second part, he recalls an echo of the 'Glyconic' portion. We may scan the first halves as trochaic or thus:

(V. 27):

fāc quōd | tībī tū[ōs pā]tēr :: fācērē mīnātūr,

(V. 50):

nē quidī | māg' sīt, | ōmnī|būs :: ōbnīx(e)
ōptbūs.

(*Sīt* was a long syllable in Plautus' time.) These two (whose second halves are Anapaestic Monometers) support and defend each other against all the critics.

This article, though it adds little that is really new, may serve to remind us that Plautus was a far more artistic metrist than is often supposed, and that a Canticum is to be edited correctly neither by capricious alteration of the traditional text, nor yet by imputing to the 'pura oratio' of the old comedian

impossible pronunciations (cf. *Burs. Jahresh.* 167, 24) like *amābo*, *opōrtet*, *verberārī* (nor even *verb'rari*), *mar't'mis* (for *maritumīs*!), *amīsha* (for *amicitia*!); but rather by recognition of the fact that some of Plautus' types of metre have not yet been discovered. The discovery of the *Maiden's Lament* (cf. Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment*, 1896), a character-song in Dochmiacs, suggested to Wilamowitz (who first recognised its metre) that Plautus modelled his *Cantica* after 'Variety Theatre' songs of this kind. It was taken for granted that the New Comedy could not furnish him with models. But Marx, who calls attention (in the Teubner Stobaeus) to the complicated metre of some Diphilus fragments, may possibly in his forthcoming edition of the *Rudens* modify our notions of the metrical scope of the Greek Comedians whose plays Plautus adapted for the Roman stage. (See also *Class. Quart.* VII. 1.)

The exaggerated views of the irregularity of Plautine prosody I ascribe in great part to perverted editing of *Cantica*. Even Leo, the 'sospitator canticorum,' scans *fac quod tibi* (*Stich.* 27) as four short syllables! He and others forget that the Breves Breviantes Law postulates the precedence of a short syllable. And, I repeat and insist, this law is a law of Latin Phonetics, not a mere curious convention of Early Latin Poetry. It is responsible for the uncertainty in the scansion of a list of words in Augustan Epic verse, etc. (e.g., *citō*, *modō*), and naturally of a much larger list in Republican Dramatic verse, where imitation of every-day (refined) pronunciation was aimed at. Thus *cavē*, as opposed to *cavē*, and *volūptatem*, as opposed to *volūptatem*, resemble our 'I'll,' as opposed to 'I will.' While Virgil recognises *vidēn ut*, a Dramatist naturally extends recognition to *vidēs*, etc. When Terence writes *ex Graecis bonīs Latinas fecit non bonas*, it is not because he could not think of any other more accurate setting of the line, nor because his imperfectly trained ear could not detect the difference between a Cretic and a Dactyl. He deliberately selects this scansion *bonīs* as the closest echo

of the actual pronunciation of the word in this sentence, just as a writer of a poem in *Punch* deliberately uses such a form as 'I'll,' although, if he were writing an Epic, he would limit himself to 'I will.'

In all the discussion of Dr. Bridges' interesting attempt to determine the quantity of English syllables and to write English quantitative (I dislike

'quantitative') verse I miss a reference to the uncertainty of Roman poets (especially the pioneers in this Greek form of verse-writing) regarding the quantity of some Latin syllables. For example, Ennius ends a Dactylic Hexameter (in a homely poem) with *glau-cumque apud Cumas* (*apud Cumas* like *calēfactus*).

W. M. LINDSAY.

NOTES

EURIPIDES, *TROADES* 226 FF.

ἀν ὑγριαίνει καλλιστεῖων
ὁ ξανθὰν χαίταν πυρσαίνων
Κρᾶθις θαθείαις πηγαῖσι τρέφων
εὐανδρόν τ' ὀλβίζων γᾶν.

ὁ ξανθὰν χαίταν πυρσαίνων is generally taken, after the scholiast, as a purely literary description 'which dyes the hair auburn.' Could Euripides have meant 'which brings the crops to a golden ripeness'? Like *coma* in Latin, *χαίτη* is, of course, used for the foliage of trees: e.g. Strabo speaks of βύβλος . . . ἐπ' ἄκρῳ χαίτην ἔχουσα (c. 799), and Theocritus (vi. 16) uses it of the ἀκάνθη with the epithet *καπυρός*, which is not far from what ξανθὰν might mean here. It is, no doubt, difficult to understand *χαίταν* of crops without any such addition as *γῆς*, but in its context, where Euripides is speaking of the irrigation of fertile land, it might stand even by itself, especially when we notice how awkward such an addition would be in view of the fact that *γᾶν* occurs twice already, once three lines before, and again two lines after, this particular expression. If it had not been for the scholiast, should we not have interpreted it so?

R. B. APPLETON.

CALLIMACHUS, *EPIGR.* 5.

Κόγχος ἐγὼ, Ζεφυρίτι, παλαιότερος· ἀλλὰ σὺ νῦν με,
Κύπρι, Σεληνᾶϊς ἀνθεμα πρῶτον ἔχεις
ναντίλον, δὲ πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεον, εἰ μὲν αἰῆται
τεῖνας οἰκεῖον λαῖφος ἀπὸ προτόνων,
εἰ δὲ Γαληναῖη, λιπαρὴ θεός, οὖλος ἐρέσσω
6 ποσσίν, ὥστ' ἐργῶι τοῦνομα συμφέρεται
κ.τ.λ.

VARIOUS alterations have been suggested in lines 1 to 5 without any obvious necessity.

Need οὖλος be altered? It will stand well enough either in sense of 'vigorous,' cf. οὖλος ἔρως Apoll. Rhod., or 'curly,' 'twisted,' cf. οὖλα σκέλη, οὖλόπους, and οὖλας. In line 6 read ποσσίν, ἐνῶ τ' ἐργῶ τοῦνομα συμφέρεται. 'And my name corresponds to my bygone occupation': I am called *nautilus* because in old days I was a sailor.

ἔνος 'old,' 'bygone,' *sen(ex)*.

εἶναι ἀρχαί 'last year's magistrates,' *Dem.* 775. 25.

E. J. BROOKS.

THUCYDIDES VII. 21. 3.

ξυνανέπειθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης οὐχ ἦκιστα, τοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαι, πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγων οὐδὲ ἐκείνους πάτριον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν . . . ἔχειν.

The MSS. read ἐπιχειρήσειν. Dobree ἐπιχειρήσαι.

The present writer suggests ἐπιχειρήσιν, which is nearer the MSS. reading than ἐπιχειρήσαι. If ἐπιχειρήσιν is taken, it should go with πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

For the accusative case after ἀθυμεῖν, cf. Thucydides V. 91. 1 οὐκ ἀθυμοῦμεν τὴν τελευτήν.

M. KEAN.

'ΑΚΑΛΑΝΘΙΣ ἈΡΤΕΜΙΣ.

Aesch. Ag. 140:

τόσον περ εὐφρων, ἂ καλὰ.

Aristoph. Av. 874:

οὐκέτι κολαινὶς ἀλλ' Ἀκαλανθὶς Ἀρτεμῖς.

POSSIBLY a clue to the *soubriquet* applied by Aristophanes to Artemis

might be found in the line from the *Agamemnon*.

If so, the conjectural reading ἀκαλά, which is in harmony with the spirit of the invocation, would seem to be appropriate and worthy of support; or, at any rate, of favourable consideration.

ARTHUR SYKES.

AUSONIANA.

[NOTE.—The references are to Peiper's (Teubner) edition of 1886.]

1. *Ephemeris* VIII. *ad init.*

The beginning of this poem on dreams is lost. The following lines may be suggested to complete the fragmentary sense of ll. 1-2 :

- a [Discutiunt nobis placidos portenta sopores,
- b Qualia miramur cum saepius aethere in alto
- c Conciliant vario coetu vaga nubila formas]
- i Quadrupedum et volucrum, vel cum terrena
marinis
- 2 Monstra admiscentur, etc.

2. *Profess.* XIX. 15 f.

Vossianus (as reported by the Lyons edd.) gives the two final verses in telescoped form: 'Sed velit nolit famae Burdigalam referet.' The couplet may perhaps be restored:

Sed [quid conquerimur? Longum post tempus
et illos]

Fama, velit, nolit,¹ Burdigalam referet.

¹ Query: 'velint, nolint.'

3. *Ecl.* VIII. 21.

Vossianus reads 'fulgor tetrigono aspectus,' altered by Vinet to 'fulgor tetragono adpectu (?).' This reading is adopted by Peiper.

But the sun is at this point in the fifth sign, and regards the 'momentum conceptionis' with a triangular, not a quadrilateral, aspect. Read, therefore,

Fulgor et trigono aspectu vitale coruscat.

For 'trīgōnō' cf. l. 40.

4. *Ecl.* XXVI. 14.

Tanta supra circaque vigent umi flamina mundi is the reading of Vossianus. Peiper follows Reise in correcting the corrupt 'umi' to 'vi.' But what are these 'flamina mundi'? The resumptive 'tanta' shows they can only be the

signs named above. It is needless to dwell upon the inappropriateness of so designating the stars. No violent alteration is required if we read:

Tanta supra circaque viget vis flamma mundi.
Cf. Lucretius II. 215 ('vis flamma'), I. 1089 ('totum circum tremere aethera signis'), I. 1102 ('flammarum moenia mundi').

5. *Bissula* III. 5 f.

Of the MSS. Tilianus has 'nescitere i(m)p(er)ium' (abbreviated), Magliabecchianus, 'nescit ere imperium.' The ed. pr. has 'nescivit herae imperium.' It is clear that 'imperium' is a fragment of the lost pentameter. The Lyons edd. restore l. 6:

Imperium, domina vult domina esse manu.

Scaliger suggests,

Imperium domina libera facta manu.

The meaning appears rather to be that Bissula, though she herself is free from the domination of anyone of her own sex, tyrannises over the poet's household, which had no mistress to overlook it. We might read then:

Matre carens nutricis egens [quae] nescit erāi
Imperium, [domini nunc regit ipsa domum.]

6. *Epist.* XIII. 25.

The missing hexameter might be replaced by something like

[Ursule Caesareos pro strenis accipe nummos],
the omission being due to the recurrence of 'Ursule' at the beginning of both 25 and 26.

7. *Epist.* XXVII. 69 ff.

Peiper follows Schenkl in marking lacunae before and after l. 70. The following may restore the general trend of the passage:

[Me nivibus fluvisque suis Hispania tellus.
Laedis et ipse tuos qui deseris, ultro relictis]
Moenibus et patrio forsan quoque vestis et oris
[More, interque novos qui nunc versaris amicos,
Quemque, etc.]

If 'me nivibus (laedit)' is right, it is easy to see how the first lacuna occurred. 'More' too is sufficiently like the first syllable of 'moenibus' to account for the second.

HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE.

REVIEWS

R. ACCADEMIA SCIENTIFICO-LETTERARIA IN MILANO.

R. Accademia scientifico-letteraria in Milano: Studi della Scuola Papirologica I., II. Milano: U. Hoepli. 1915, 1917.

A WELCOME sign of the marked progress in the study of Greek papyri in Italy is the establishment of a school of papyrology at Milan, under the energetic leadership of Professor A. Calderini, assisted by Professor P. de Francisci and Dr. G. Castelli. The first-fruits of the new school, which, like the Florentine *Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri*, numbers several ladies among its members, are two handsome volumes, each divided into four sections, of which the first consists of unpublished texts. The times are of course unpropitious for obtaining papyri from Egypt, and at present Professor Calderini and his helpers are dependent for new material upon the generosity of the Florentines, who fortunately have a large collection, or upon papyri passed over by previous editors. Thus *P. Fay.* 204, a briefly described fragment of a collection of maxims, was cleverly identified by Calderini as belonging to the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, and is published in full (No. 1). A third-century letter (No. 2), for which the same editor is responsible, clearly requires considerable revision, the text being untranslatable as printed. In l. 4 *καὶ ἔστι δ' ἐν ποσίν, πραχθήτω* should probably be *καὶ εἴ τι δέον ἐστίν, πρ.* The following sentence (ll. 5-6) *μάθε Διονυσίου τ[ὰς] βουλευτὰς (πρ.) περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτόν* can hardly be right: *τ[ὴ] βούλῃται πρᾶξ(αι)* is expected. In l. 7 *ἀ[σκ]ῶν* is an unlikely restoration: the context suggests *ἀ[ντ]ῶν* or a proper name in the dative. *καὶ ἅπαντος ἐγράφησ[α] φροντιστ[ῆ] ἡμῶν* in ll. 9-10 is unsatisfactory, especially since *ἐγραψα* occurs in l. 13, and the divisions of words between two lines are elsewhere correct. If the initial *α* in l. 10 is right, *ἀφροντίστ[ως]* suggests itself, and some-

thing like *καὶ ἅπαντα δὲ γράψον ἀφ. ἡμεῖν* would be appropriate. *προσαγόρενε τῷ παιδί τὰ ἡμῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἡμετέρους* is an impossible construction, and *τὰ παιδία ἡμῶν* must have been meant, whatever was written. *αριστους* in l. 13, *ὥστε τοῖς περὶ αρ.*, is probably a proper name, *Ἀριστοῦς*, not *ἀρίστους*. The next sentence (ll. 14-6) is unintelligible, but apart from the original can hardly be restored. In l. 19 *Πάσις εὔχομαι*, which follows *ἔτους* after the conventional salutation *ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι πανοικησία*, is presumably a misreading of *Παῦνι* (or *Παχῶν*) *ἐβδόμη*. The other texts in Part I. are Byzantine, the most interesting being No. 5, edited by Francisci, of which a facsimile is given. This is a badly spelled petition to a *comes* from the inhabitants of the Arsinoïte village of *Δίννεως* (cf. *P. Tebt.* ii. p. 375), as appears from ll. 4-5, where l. *πα[ρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ (κώμης ?) | Δίννεως* for *πα[ρὰ] | δυνάμεως*. The preceding clause belongs to the titles of the *comes*, and after *κώμ[ε]τι* a word like *βοηθῶ* is to be restored before *τῶν σου δουλων* (sic: the *υ* of *δουλων* was written above the line, not omitted). The loss of the right-hand half of most of the lines obscures the sense throughout; but apparently the villagers were in difficulties as regards both food and water (*χρεία* is to be supplied at the end of l. 25), and wanted the *comes* to appoint a person called Solomon (ll. 7, 10) to look after them, and to come himself (*περπατησεν* and *φρωντισεν* in ll. 17 and 19 seem to represent *περιπάτησον* and *φρόντισον*). *θαυμάζ[ο]μεν τὴν σὴν | μεγαλωπρέπῃαν* is a probable restoration of ll. 5-6, and the following word was most likely *φρω[ν]τισεν* as in l. 19. *των* in l. 7 is for *τόν*. In l. 11 *πάλιν* *τὰς* for *παψίας*, and similarly *πάλιν* for *παψίας* ? in l. 10. The restoration *κυρι[α]κοῦ* in l. 13 is unsatisfactory, for a letter visible after *ι* seems to be *ζ*. In l. 18 *ειδηνατε προτενσε* means *εἰ δύναται πρωτεύσαι* (sc. Solomon). The papyrus has *ἐξῶς* not

ἐξῆς in l. 20, where μνή[σεω]ς is a possible reading (traces of several letters at the end of this line are ignored); but the supposed references in this letter to Christian religious ceremonies are all very uncertain. In the curious sentence (ll. 22-3) θέλομεν αὐτὸν (sc. Solomon) ἕως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν, the δεσπότης is more likely to be the *comes* himself than the Deity; cf. l. 29, where l. δέσποτα ἡμῶν followed by a cross, marking the conclusion of the petition. Line 25 is to be read -αν (the α was a later insertion) εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰ (=ῆ) δύλωσον (=δήλωσον) α[ὐτῷ]. That the corrupt μωσησα at the beginning of l. 27 contains a reference to the Jewish law-giver is improbable: Moses and Solomon were common Byzantine names in Egypt. In l. 28 l. καὶ τὸν θεόν σου, χαρίσεν (i.e. χάρισον) ἡμῖν τὰ φο[—]. In No. 4, an account of barley, in which several passages have still to be deciphered, μεσορῆς in ll. 9 and 12 should be divided Μεσορῆ ε, as is shown by l. 13, where Μεσορῆ ιδ occurs. The members of the school would do well to revise each other's copies to a greater extent than they seem to have done. Few cursively written papyri can be deciphered quite accurately by a single pair of eyes until much experience has been obtained.

The second section consists of articles by various members of the school, chiefly commenting upon literary fragments published in *P. Soc. Ital.* I.-II. (17 epigrams, 55 index of the *Digest*, 120 collection of aphorisms, 131 epic, 136 comedy), a few dealing with juristic points (βιβλίον and βιβλίδιον, συνεστώς and συμπαρών). The third section, which is much the longest, is a *lexicon supplementum* to the papyrus fragments of Sophocles (soon to be increased by the fragments of the *Inachus* in *P. Tebt.* iii.), with a collection of the various restorations which have been proposed—a very useful piece of work, which reflects great credit on the industry of the new school. Reviews of recent papyrological publications conclude the volume.

Part II. is mainly concerned with private letters, elaborate classifications and indices of the existing material being provided by Professor Calderini

and Signora M. Mondini; while three interesting articles deal with some more general aspects—Calderini on 'Thought and Sentiment,' Signora Mondini on 'Women's Letters,' and G. Ghedini on 'Pagan Religious Elements.' The new texts are also letters, being three British Museum papyri published by Calderini from photographs. Having revised the originals of these, I append my copies of two of them, which differ somewhat widely from the editor's readings (e.g. in No. 6. 3-4 he has ἔχει Ἰλαρίων σου ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ὑπαινείς καὶ Ἡλιοδώρος Σύμωνος ? . . .). 6 (*P. Lond.* 852), as he rightly points out, belongs to the same series as *P. Amh.* 88 and 131-5, and was written about 130. 7 (*P. Lond.* 853a) is contemporary with 6, and, though the hand is apparently different, very likely refers to the same two individuals. Another papyrus belonging to this group is *P. Lond.* 840 (Kenyon-Bell, *Catal.* iii. 169).

6. ¹Εὐτυχίδης Ἡλιοδώρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ²χαίρειν. ³ἐχάρη(ν) λαβὼν σου ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ὑγιαίνεις ⁴καὶ ἀπρόσκοπος γέγονας (or -νός). παρακα- ⁵λῶ οὖν σε συνεχῶς ἡμεῖν ὄν (?) διεσ- ⁶τειλά-
μη(ν ?) σω . η (). ⁷ἔρρωσο. On the verso ⁸Ἡλιοδώρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. For ἀπρόσκοπος in the sense of 'unharméd' cf. *P. Giessen* 17. 7, etc. The reading of the four words before ἔρρωσο is uncertain; but ἡμεῖν is preferable to ἡμέραν, and though διε|τει is possible, the preceding word is not ἐν. One of the last two words must be an infinitive, but σῶσαι is not satisfactory, and in both words the final letter seems to be a large η above the line, like that of ἐχάρη(ν).

7. ¹[Εὐτυχίδης(?)]ς Ἡλιοδώρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ²χαίρειν. ³[8 l.] λεις (?) ἐπιλε-
λησμένος ἡμῶν ⁴[8 l.]ς οὐδὲν ἡπτόν σε [νὺν] ἀσπά- ⁵ζομαι. σ]υνεχέστερον δ' ἂν ἦν τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ ⁶[11 l. π]ερὶ τὸ σῶμα συμβέβηκε. ⁷[12 l.]νι οὐδεν[ός]ς (?) ὀλιγώρησα, ⁸[12 l.]μανικὰ (?) ἀπὸ μέρους, καθὼς ⁹[12 l.]ς προσαντι-
βέβληκα ¹⁰[9 l.]ρα πλοίων περὶ τῶν η- ¹¹[6 l.]ερ[.]ν μόγις αἶρω (?) σοι τὴν τετάρ- ¹²[τῇ]ν (?), καὶ ἦδη ἡ <ἀ>γορὰ ἦν καὶ ἀπαστάλκειν ¹³[ἀν] εἰ (?) μὴ ἐμελλεν διορθοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν ¹⁴[5 l.]εἰαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐμάντωι κατασκεν- ¹⁵[8 l.]ε εμ μέχρη τοῦ ¹⁶[13 l.]μενου[.]ς ἔχω σπου- ¹⁷[8 12 l.]ς ὑπερ

(?) [. . .] *τικώτερον* ¹⁶ [13 l.]. *προε*[.] *ν* (*= εἰ*?) [*ς*] *παρὰ* ¹⁹ [14 l.]. [*... .*] [*... .*] *ατα*, with traces of another line before the papyrus breaks off. The length of the lines is fixed by the tolerably certain restorations at the beginnings of ll. 5 and 12. For *προσαντιβάλλειν* ('compare'; l. 9) cf. *B.G.U.* 970. 4. The second *α* and the *ν* of *κατασκευ-* have been corrected, the former from *ε* (unless *κατεσ-* corrected from *κατασ-* be read). While both Nos. 6 and 7 are rather difficult, No. 8 (*P. Lond.* 963) is clear. In l. 11 *Δημήτριος*, not *Δημητρίω*. *Πλουτίων Βάκχω* is for *Πλουτίωνι Βάκχου*, as appears from the address on the verso, which seems not to have been supplied to Calderini. This runs *ἀπόδος ἰς (= εἰς)* Ἀπο() *Πλουτίωνι Βάκχου*, but the place-name is uncertain, *π* having been corrected, and there being perhaps another letter after *ο*. Possibly (*εἰς*

πόλ(ιν) was intended. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown. In l. 3 l. *ῖ (= εἰ)* *δὲ μή, πέμψον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (= ἡμᾶς)* for *ἰδῶ(ν) ἢ πεμ. ἐφ' ὑμ.* The letter is doubtfully assigned in Kenyon-Bell's *Catalogue* to the third century, but more probably belongs to the Domitian-Trajan period.

A valuable juristic article by G. Castelli is the re-edition with a full commentary of the Latin will of A.D. 131 published in 1914 by de Ricci, and there is an excellently arranged bibliography of recent papyrological publications, which is very complete for 1915, but necessarily less so for 1916. The volume concludes with obituary notices, among which we regret to see recorded the death of one of the most promising members of the school, Attilio Cosattini, who fell at Cima Lana in December, 1915.

B. P. GRENFELL.

A GRAMMAR OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research. By Professor A. T. ROBERTSON. One vol. 10" x 8". Pp. xl + 1360. London: Hodder and Stoughton. No date. 20s. net.

THIS massive and monumental volume should have received earlier notice, had not imperious duties caused by the present war made it impossible to give to the work the consideration it demanded. The delay has not been unproductive of good: it has allowed many readers to test by experience what its worth is. Interchange of opinions has served to confirm the reviewer's single judgment.

It is something to have at hand a work which has taken account of modern grammatical researches and of the material hurled upon us from the Press since Egypt began to yield up her buried treasures. But when this has been said, it has first to be deplored that the work should have been produced as a ponderous single tome instead of as two handy volumes. The

large print is welcome and the ample margins, but it remains that the book is not a delight to the user. This regret is accentuated by two defects in the Index. There the columns of references do not have at the top of every page the name of the particular book in the New Testament which is in question. As a result the reader turns over *e.g.* the ten pages of references from the *Acts* uncertain what book it is that the figures concern, and time and patience are lost. More than that, when a passage is run to earth there is nothing to distinguish a page of the text which deals casually with a problem from those pages which fully discuss it. Further there is considerable repetition, and even discrepancy, in different parts of the book—a natural failing in so large a work, but none the less irritating. Some who have used the book have summed up these criticisms by saying frankly that they can never find what they want.

So much for complaint, or rather for deploring that the author has not given us more than he has. But in the other

scale must be set that the author has produced something promptly, while others have only been accumulating stores in preparation, and what he has produced shows a stupendous industry, a facility of assimilation, amazing erudition, and a generally sound judgment. Only one misses the gift Dr. Rutherford had for lucid simplification and for the reduction of much learning to the terms of humble students. Sometimes indeed one is tempted to doubt whether the author himself has an absolute mastery of his material, whether he has not compiled a thesaurus of the views of others instead of composing a work of independent authority.

In so vast a field human nature may perhaps justifiably claim indulgence if details escape full attention, if inconsistencies creep in, or if the different parts of the work are not brought into entire accord. The range of study and reference is so enormous, the multiplicity of facts to be considered and correlated so great. It must be said however that practical acquaintance with the work has shown that the interlocking of the different parts might have been made more complete, and the index does not make good this deficiency. Complaint indeed has been made that it is difficult to get quickly at the author's view on a particular point, the index giving many references which touch only incidentally on the desired topic, while there is nothing to indicate where the heart of the matter appears. Obviously we can here merely mention one or two details in the grammar which have caught the reviewer's attention.

On p. 348 we have the easy dictum 'Ἡξα occurs a few times instead of the common ἡγαγον, as ἐπάξας (2 Pet. 2. 5), ἐπισυνάξαι (Luke 13. 34).' One would like to know if any other instances can be adduced, and to have some fresh consideration of the evidence. As to the 2 Peter passage J. B. Mayor in his edition, p. 123, gives no parallel but (by mistake) Acts 14. 27, and refers to Veitch. Veitch's texts however were before Rutherford and others had worked on the Greek dialects, and Dr. Robertson's footnote stating that Mayser finds the sigmatic aorist in the

papyri hardly grapples with the difficulty. Why should St. Luke give us ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξαι and St. Matthew ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν? The late Professor Moulton used to argue that the sigmatic form was in Q, and, because the words were utterances of our Lord, St. Luke kept the unclassical form, and he inferred from this the superior fidelity of St. Luke, at least in such utterances, where the First and Third Gospels were drawn from the non-Marcian common source. This view however encounters many difficulties, and an alternative suggestion may be made, regard being had to the numerous symptoms of Ionic infiltration into St. Luke's language. The one passage quoted from Herodotus, vii. 60, § 2, for the sigmatic aorist runs as follows: συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων καὶ συνάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον. Reiske has been followed by modern scholars in here reading συννάξαντες, and it may be suggested that this is the word intended by St. Luke. It would then be a matter for further investigation whether the corrupt spelling was posterior to his penning his Gospel, or due to him, whether he took it from Q or himself used it in translating an Aramaic original, and whether in the latter case the First Gospel has used St. Luke's Greek translation. On the other hand the use of the form in 2 Peter, the style of which, Professor J. B. Mayor (*ibid.* p. lix) says, in some respects is 'more classical than that of most of the books of the New Testament,' challenges further investigation as to why St. Matthew should have substituted the other form.

On p. 779 we have statements and quotations as to the position of the article or rather of pronouns inside or outside the article which are vitiated by an appearance of inacquaintance with the Attic practice. The author writes: 'The personal pronouns illustrate either order, except that μου is nearly always outside (but see τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων Gal. 1. 14, and ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου ἀπολογία 2 Tim. 4. 16).' He does not apparently recognise in these two instances the accord with the ordinary Attic usage. This

leads to his not sufficiently bringing into prominence the peculiarity of *e.g.* Rom. 3. 24 ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ, δικαιούμενοι δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, Col. 1. 8, τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην τὴν σάρκα ἐαυτοῦ Gal. 6. 8. In fact he nowhere, as it would appear, distinguishes between μου, ἡμῶν, κ.τ.λ. and ἐαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ. in this matter of Attic practice, so that it is impossible to tell instantly what New Testament passages show a different use.

Another question is the rule for the tense used in indirect discourse. The author begins (p. 887) correctly enough with the statement that 'the imperfect in indirect discourse represents an imperfect of the direct discourse,' but he moderates the stringency of the rule by prefixing the words 'In general.' As is well known, there is some divergence of opinion on the universality of the rule in Attic of the maturest, but I will confess to my own adhesion to 'the straiter sect.' In Arist. *Wasps* 283 ἡμᾶς διεδύετ' ἐξαπατῶν λέγων ὡς καὶ φιλαθῆναιος ἦν καὶ τὰν Σάμφω πρῶτος κατείποι, I have for many years taught that the sense is 'that he *had been* a pro-Athenian.' This would be a better plea than any protestations as to his sympathies at the time of his trial. Thus I regard Mr. Graves' note on the passage ('the man said φιλαθῆναιός εἰμι') as an ill-advised acceptance of Goodwin's verdict. It is perfectly true, as Mr. E. C. Marchant has shown, that Thucydides occasionally after verbs of perception continues the old construction plentifully preserved in Homer (as on p. 1029 the author notes), but Dr. Robertson—if I rightly understand a somewhat perplexed paragraph—has certainly extended the purview of this exception beyond what is legitimate when after writing 'sometimes with verbs of perception it is relative time, and refers to a time previous to the perception'—which seems to agree with his previous statement, though he connects the two with a 'But'—he goes on to quote instances which suggest that he interprets the past tenses as not referring to a time previous to the perception. Some of these quotations are interesting enough to receive discussion. In St. John 6. 22, 23, we

have τῇ ἐπαύριον ὁ ὄχλος ὁ ἐστηκὼς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἶδον ὅτι πλοῖάριον ἄλλο οὐκ ἦν ('had not been' the day before, as I understand it) ἐκεῖ εἰ μὴ ἐν (in which the disciples had put off), καὶ ὅτι οὐ συνεισῆλθεν ('had not entered' the evening before) τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθον ('had gone away')—ἀλλὰ ἦλθεν πλοῖάρια κ.τ.λ.—ὅτε οὖν εἶδεν ὁ ὄχλος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ('was not' on the morrow, when they reached this conviction) ἐκεῖ κ.τ.λ. Again in St. Mark 11. 32 εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὄντως ὅτι προφήτης ἦν, the tense, there can be no doubt, indicates that John was dead and 'had been a prophet.' Similarly in St. John 8. 27 quoted on p. 1029 οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι . . . ἔλεγεν, the sense is 'he had been speaking.' There is however a well-known Attic use of the imperfect which seems to have seduced the author into relaxing the rule. This is the use exemplified in the familiar ὅδ' ἦν ἄρα ὁ ξυλλαβὼν με of Soph. *Philoct.* and of constant occurrence in Plato. It is possible that we should understand in this way St. Luke's ἐπεγίνωσκον αὐτόν, ὅτι οὗτος ἦν ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην καθήμενος (*Acts of Apost.* 3. 11), though it seems better (in contrast to the *ἔστιν* in 9. 8) to take it that the meaning is 'he had been the beggar.' In other words the people said, 'This was the beggar.' Dr. Robertson apparently thinks that ἦν might here have been *ἔστιν*, since after quoting the passage he adds 'while in 4. 13 ἦσαν is rightly antecedent to ἐπεγίνωσκον.' This reference is particularly interesting, since we have both tenses side by side and distinguished as in Attic καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται, ἐθαύμαζον ἐπεγίνωσκόν τε αὐτοὺς ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν. In Acts 16. 3 ᾗδειςαν γὰρ ἅπαντες ὅτι Ἕλλην ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρχεν, the interpretation 'had been' harmonises best with the general tone of the passage, which suggests that the father was dead. If οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπὼν be the right reading in St. John, *Gospel* 1. 15, it is hard to see how anything else could stand for 'this—John—was the man who said it,' though the author writes 'Our idiom more naturally calls for *ἔστιν* here.' Without an

exhaustive examination of all the relevant passages, it seems that we are justified in saying that the syntactical rule of mature Attic prose is the rule in the New Testament, the grammarian needing however to keep in mind the idiom just mentioned as common in Plato. One passage indeed might excite suspicion as to the validity of the statement just made. St. John 9. 8 has *οἱ γείτονες καὶ οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν τὸ πρότερον ὅτι προσαίτης ἦν*, but Bishop Westcott writes 'here, however, "because" suits the context better: *because he was a beggar* in a public spot, they were familiar with his appearance.'

Connected with this question of the tense-use in indirect discourse in the New Testament authors is another. Dr. Robertson (p. 1043) tells us that 'occasionally one does see' change in tense in indirect questions when the principal verb is secondary. The contention may be hazarded that in one passage at least the true solution is rather this, that the interfusion of use between the

interrogative *τίς* and the relative *ὅς* is responsible for an exception to the rule about the retention in indirect questions of the tense proper in the direct. Might we not thus explain St. John 6. 6 *αὐτὸς γὰρ ᾗδει τί ἔμελλεν ποιεῖν*, and in that case 12. 33 and 18. 32 *σημαίνων ποῖω θανάτῳ ἥμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν*, when compared with 21. 19 *σημαίνων ποῖω θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν Θεόν*, may be thought to carry us back to the Divine intention in the Incarnation rather than be taken as precisely equivalent to *μέλλει*. Dr. Robertson quotes also St. John 2. 25 *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγίνωσκεν τί ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ*, and says 'the direct form would have *ἔστιν*,' but it appears to give a fuller sense if we understand the *ἦν* as meaning rather 'was all along and was now revealed as being' in men's hearts—the use mentioned above.

Misprints are happily to seek. I have noted only p. 885, note 2: for the reference to Abbott, p. 338, read 339.

T. NICKLIN.

THEOPHRASTUS AND THE GREEK PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY BEFORE ARISTOTLE.

Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle. By GEORGE MALCOLM STRATTON, Professor of Psychology in the University of California. London and New York, 1917.

IN the *Classical Review* of February-March, 1918, we welcomed the scholarly and very useful edition and translation by Sir Arthur Hort of the *Plants of Theophrastus*; it is a happy chance which about the same time has given us Professor Stratton's edition and translation of the Essay on the Senses, also a very scholarly and thorough edition, if of a less interesting and useful treatise. The treatise on Plants is a work rich in contents and scientific in tenor; in the *π. αἰσθήσεων* Theophrastus undertook to deal with an impossible subject.

The great Italo-Ionian thinkers, in giving wing to their superb imaginations, had before and around them the glory of immeasurable space, and the outward compass of the human eye was

in some correspondence with the reach of the mind; for them the infinity of extension was not inaccessible; but of the infinity of the little they could not in the nature of things form any notion. For such penetration they were not armed, and could not be armed. But the restless Ionian mind was untameable, and sprang at every apprehensible problem. And what lay nearer to its threshold than the nature of the very faculties by which man was hearing, seeing, touching, tasting, and smelling! The results were pathetic: a shore strewn with the wreckage of thought. All speculation on the five senses, without the means of penetrating into the secrets of the infinitely little, were doomed to failure. Yet even on this bootless errand the mighty minds of those sages have left a few high-water marks; as for example in the broad conception of Empedocles, and afterwards of Aristotle, that all the special senses must be a modifications of that of

touch;¹ a conception lost again until our own times. However, on the whole, the results of these wrestlings with what were then vain endeavours were as worthless as the researches in natural history and descriptive anatomy were solid gain. Not even indirectly did those efforts serve to develop the human faculties, but rather to dissipate them; the prophets beat their wings in the void. By all the speculations of Alcmaeon, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Heraclitus, Plato, Anaxagoras, and even of Aristotle, on the special senses, scarcely a handbreath of territory was won.

It will be urged, and rightly, that this treatise—fragment as it is—is valuable and almost unique as history, whether of the author's own opinions or those of others. No doubt; yet, even in our dearth of controls, we cannot but perceive that the tone of it is not such as to command the historian's ready assent. Skilful as the summary is, it is often perverse, onesided, or, where we have any controls, even astray.² For instance, Theophrastus surely misreads the *Timaeus*, wherein Plato's notion of vision is evidently not of transmitted substances—the *ἀπορροαί* of Empedocles, etc.—but of transmitted motions (Stratton). Moreover his treatise is written in a polemical spirit, and with a determined aim to establish the author's own opinions against the rest; opinions however not a whit more valid. Thus the modern historian does not know what to accept and what to reject. We must remember of course that canons of criticism were then unrecognised, as we see only too clearly in Pliny and Galen—Galen, who in talents and attainments was rich enough to have been more evenhanded. Perhaps the Prooemium of Celsus is the only critically balanced summary of scientific history we possess by an ancient author; but Theophrastus

himself shows more of the critical faculty in *The Plants*, where he worked under the dominion of facts, than he does in skirmishing with questions to which at that time no answers were possible.

But these preliminary reflections may seem ungracious to Professor Stratton, by whose labours indeed we are better enabled to make them. On this philosophical and quasi-scientific side the work is well and most conscientiously done; the text is taken with little alteration from that of Diels in the *Doxigraphi Graeci*. The fair and open mind of the editor is seen on every page; especially in the use he has made throughout of the generous annotations of Professor Taylor of Aberdeen, of whom Professor Stratton speaks quite as a collaborator in the work. No less frankly he acknowledges his debt to the great industry and acumen of Professor Beare.³ And of course the standard *Vorsokratiker* of Diels had not been forgotten. The translation itself seems to me, as a general reader, to be excellent; both readable and faithful. As to scholarship we are supplied with sixty-six pages of very careful notes, I had almost said by both the editor and Professor Taylor; so carefully have these two scholars discussed together, and often elucidated, obscure phrases and textual puzzles. Where, as occasionally, these able commentators differ the reader has an opportunity of using his own discretion.

The history of the science of the Senses began with that venerable shade Alcmaeon, of the great school of Croton. He, with the earliest Hippocratic authors, has the honour of being the first to regard the brain—that cold, still and bloodless mass of later physiologists, not only as the centre of the special senses but also as the seat of the mind. Aristotle of course dethroned the brain, to be a mere cooler of the

¹ Arist. *De Sens.* IV. 443a. And touch he regarded as a complex of sensations, the sense of temperatures, for example, being rightly separated.

² This I say with great respect, and indeed with diffidence, as Professor Stratton, with whose researches herein mine cannot be compared, takes an opposite view.

³ *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition*, by John J. Beare, Oxford, 1906. Cordially I concur with Professor Stratton's criticism, that 'no one who has not gone over this book almost line by line . . . can sufficiently appreciate the scholarly care and expository judgment' (of it). And, I may add, the more thankfully to be received, as much of it, though a necessary, was rather a dull job.

innate heat, and put the heart to reign in its stead. The heart, he said, was especially cognitive of touch. Alcmaeon initiated those physical hypotheses of sensation which, although at that era indeterminable, were notwithstanding on the true way of interpretation.

Among the physical ideas which held the attention of the ancients none was more prevalent than that of 'pores,' minute passages between the finest particles of the bodily tissues, or indeed of matter generally.¹ A salient example of this idea was the common belief of the time in cutaneous respiration. Thus Empedocles eminently, but also more or less in agreement with him Democritus, supposed that particles (*ἀπόρροιαί*) flew from the perceptible object to penetrate the pores—of the eye, for example; the results varying as the pores were straight or contorted, etc. The *εὐθύτροπα* were *διανγῇ* (see Plato, *Menon*). It was also an ancient Italo-Ionian and Platonic belief—an impression founded on the occurrence of flashes in the eye—that the eye contained fire, whereby it saw; the *ὠγύγιον πῦρ* which issuing forth illumined the object; but how the ingoing and the outgoing particles met and combined we are not told. Pythagoras and Empedocles thought that something issued from the eye as well as entered it, but Alcmaeon, Diogenes, and Anaxagoras seemed to hold only action from the object to the eye: no reverse current. Other physiologists, such as Diogenes of Apollonia and Democritus, laid more stress on the water in the eye, water which served as a mirror wherein objects were reflected; though of course the principles of reflection were not known. *Κόρη*, for these physiologists, was not the pupil but the lens; the retina was unknown.

Democritus was the first to discuss colour vision,² but his conjectures thereon, into which he wove the four elements, are far too intricate even for allusion. But, like all these sages, he based his interpretations upon physics. He thought colour to be a purely sub-

jective percept; Aristotle thought it depended in part on the qualities of the object. In his acceptance of black and white as the two primaries, by the blends of which the other colours were derived, Theophrastus reminds us of Goethe. In the main of course the views of Theophrastus, independent thinker as he was, were Aristotelean. A curious phase of the theory of vision was the *ἀποτύπωσις* of Democritus and others, the object being by them supposed to stamp itself on the air, the air being 'stamped and compressed' so as to form a mould which floated up to the eye. Theophrastus mocks at this notion, replying that such models would enter the eye backwardwise. However hypotheses of this kind, vision by means of *εἶδωλα*, differing only in detail, long held the assent of the thinkers of the age. Yet other counter arguments were many and obvious—that the air would be a wilderness of jostling *εἶδωλα*, that they would be unable to go round corners, would damage each other in passing, would evanesce, and so on.

The sense of hearing lent itself somewhat better than vision to this kind of guessing. Alcmaeon tried sagaciously to explain this sense by regarding the structures of the ear as responding to external motion as a resonator to sound waves; and him in the main Empedocles followed. Philolaus tells us that Pythagoras had determined the principal harmonic ratios,³ but had not realised the functions of frequency and amplitude of the vibrations. Plato and Aristotle supposed that flights of air fell on the ear like missiles. If Plato and Aristotle, like Pythagoras, regarded sound as incorporeal it was only in this sense, that they regarded surfaces—*e.g.*, as of the air—as incorporeal. Professors Stratton and Taylor translate *κώδων* not as 'gong' (Beare) but as the bell of a trumpet. There was no definite idea of vibrating air as a medium of sound before Heracleides or Strato (Beare). Indeed after these earlier philosophers the ear fell to the place of a mere conduit. Democritus, as we might guess, supposed the movements of the atoms in sound to vibrate all through

¹ The postulate of pores was not earlier than Empedocles (Stratton).

² Theoph. *De Sens.* 72-8; and Diels, *Vorsok.*

³ See Arist. *De Sens.* iii. 439b, 31.

the body; but probably he did not mean that we heard with the whole body, a notion which Theophrastus promptly rejects as nonsense. He is right however in saying that this would be equally true in their degrees of all the senses, a universal motion which probably Democritus would have been quite ready to accept. The postulate of certain special parcels of air about the ear and brain (ὁ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀήρ—the 'air of hearing' in the head), and the seat of memory and reminiscence as the media of apprehension of sounds were obscure, and rather incidental notions of little historical interest.

A curious controversy, one rather of logic than of physics, ran through some centuries; namely, whether impressions, such as the ἀπόρροιαι should effect, acted upon perceptive surfaces like themselves or unlike themselves? The 'likeness' party, such as Alcmaeon, Empedocles, Diogenes (doubtfully), and others, held that if particulate structures are to act one upon another they must be of corresponding quality—of like nature; on the other hand, the 'unlikeness' party, of whom Heraclitus and Anaxgoras were the chief, argued that if like engaged with like there would be no grip—no 'engrenage,' but slip. How, then, would come the ἀλλοίωσις? Plato wisely looked rather to the relative mobilities of particles, the mere arrivals of differential movements in consciousness (Stratton). Aristotle and Theophrastus sat on the fence. The alternative is of course assimilation.

It is true that Theophrastus taught the relativity of sense perceptions (p. 49); but so had many of the older

sages—e.g., Empedocles, Diocles, Parmenides.

Finally how these several adits of impressions from without are harmonised in the body—where the clearing-house may be, the seat of the 'Sensus communis,' Theophrastus does not formally discuss; so that we are deprived of an elucidation of the history of this synthesis by Professor Stratton. We see with, but also through, the five senses. The elder sages, unless it were Alcmaeon, seem scarcely to have perceived the need of this development of αἰσθησις into νοῦς. Plato, one may guess, was perhaps the first to grapple with this deeper problem in the *Theaetetus*? And then followed Anaxagoras, who made the brain the marketplace of all the senses, and νοῦς to contain psyche, i.e. cognition and synthesis. Then the dispersion of the three souls diverted philosophers from concentrating on the 'Sensus communis,' and the unfortunate usurpation of central government by the heart under the captaincy of Aristotle, which ruled all through the Middle Ages down to Harvey, and then by him was only transferred to the blood, still more perplexed and scattered psychological speculation. Even to-day we stand upon the confines of a scientific psychology.

Of this large fragment of Theophrastus on the Senses Professor Stratton has probably presented to us the final edition; it was worth doing, and if we take it with Professor Beare's work we may suppose that herein there is nothing more to be said.

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
Vol. XXVII. Pp. 183. Harvard
University Press (London: Oxford
University Press), 1916. 6s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR C. P. PARKER contributes to this volume a short paper on 'The historical Socrates in the Light of Professor Burnet's Hypothesis.' It is an interesting reminder that the views of

Burnet and Taylor are gaining ground. Professor Parker accepts Burnet's position in a general way, but differs from him in some details. The chief of these is concerned with the age at which Socrates came to hold the doctrine of *ideas*. Professor Parker thinks that the doctrine was suggested by Anaxagoras' theory of Mind; Socrates, in fact, was trying to discover how Mind (or

Thought, as Professor Parker calls it) acted as the cause of things. But Socrates could not have read Anaxagoras' book before 435, since the influence of Diogenes of Apollonia (which must precede that of Anaxagoras) can hardly be placed more than twelve years before 423, when the air-theory of Diogenes was burlesqued in the *Clouds*. Professor Parker concludes that Socrates was at the very least thirty-five years old before he began to develop the *ideas*. According to this, the *Parmenides* is unhistorical; for Socrates in extreme youth (*σφόδρα νέος*) could not possibly have discussed the *ideas* with Zeno and Parmenides. This is a serious difficulty, for Burnet has shown how naturally the *Parmenides* fits in with his hypothesis. And if Plato could depict a purely fanciful and impossible situation in one dialogue, how can we be certain that he is not doing the same in all? This is quite different from a development of Socrates' teaching.

Mr. R. K. Hack discusses 'The Doctrine of Literary Forms.' He maintains that literary criticism has taken the *genre* theory far too seriously, forgetting that poetry cannot be confined within rules or explained by them. The doctrine of *genres* can be traced back through Horace and Cicero to its real author Plato, for it is nothing more than an illegitimate application of the *ideas* to literature. Plato so applied them because he disliked poetry; and Aristotle, while trying to save poetry, treated it with scientific precision as a purely external product, rather than a free and spontaneous creation. From Aristotle's time onward criticism has too often busied itself about the classification and dissection of literary works, rather than an understanding of their authors' meaning. Mr. Hack instances the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, and shows into what absurdities critics may be led if they insist on classing the poem as, e.g. an Introduction, or an Epistle, and interpreting or altering, praising or blaming it accordingly. Much of Mr. Hack's criticism is refreshing and quite necessary. The great

classical writings would have been far better known and valued to-day if scholars had interpreted them with more sympathy and insight, and less scientific analysis. Whether the fault is really Plato's is open to doubt. Mr. Hack calls Plato a thorough logician with an antipathy to all emotion. But he was also an ethical teacher, and some, at least, of his objections to poetry are ethical in origin. 'Imitation' is a bad enough term, and Aristotle has done harm by perpetuating it; but even Aristotle speaks of imitating men 'as they ought to be,' which should warn us that his meaning is wider than we might think.

The remaining paper is on 'The Chorus of Euripides,' by Mr. A. E. Phoutrides. Mr. Phoutrides sets out to prove, in a careful and sympathetic study, that Euripides cannot be charged with reducing the rôle of the chorus or diminishing its importance. An enumeration of the choral parts in all extant plays shows that Sophocles and Euripides are about equal in the average proportion of lines assigned to the chorus; Aeschylus, of course, has a far higher proportion than either. A too confident reliance on the dictum of Aristotle, that the chorus ought to share in the action *μη ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ* (if that is really what Aristotle wrote), has undoubtedly led critics to neglect to examine the Euripidean choruses for themselves. Mr. Phoutrides brings ample evidence, as Decharme has already done, that the choruses make their appropriate contribution of sympathy or reflection, and even of discussion and action. Nor can a theory of gradual decline be substantiated; for what is its value if the *Bacchae* and the *Suppliants*, to name no others, must be admitted as brilliant exceptions? An interesting section on the Hyporcheme is added. Most critics can find none of these elusive 'dance-songs' in Euripides; Decharme saw three or four, but Mr. Phoutrides detects a considerable number.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

DEMOSTHENES AS A SCHOOL AUTHOR.

The Olynthiac Speeches of Demosthenes.
 Edited by J. M. MACGREGOR. Pp.
 lli + 101. Cambridge University Press.
 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is an excellent school edition. 'I have aimed,' says the editor, 'at showing these speeches in their due relation to Demosthenes' whole career, and at providing the student with the means for an effective understanding of them.' He gives accordingly the story of Demosthenes (thirty-six pages), with, at the foot of the page, abundant quotations from the original authorities; an Analysis of the Speeches; a carefully prepared and well-printed text, based on that of Blass, but adhering more closely to the MSS.; fifty-eight pages of Notes; Appendices on the Order of the Olynthiac Speeches, and on the Theoric Fund; and Indices. He is really interested in Demosthenes and his time, and makes him interesting to his readers. The Notes are careful and clear. They are evidently intended for those who have not read much Greek, and they pass over nothing which is likely to puzzle such a student. It seems to us that they err just a little in the other direction: the same note is too often repeated; attention is drawn to points which anyone who has sufficient knowledge of Greek and energy of mind to read Demosthenes should notice for himself: e.g. I. 8 ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. 'Observe the emphasis of the repeated pronoun "on behalf of ourselves."' II. 15 δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖ. 'Verbs signifying desire (with the exception of ποθεῖν) are followed [? preceded] by the genitive case.' But these are not very important points. It is worth mentioning that anything notable in the language is illustrated as far as possible by quotation from the *Olynthiacs*.

As one reads these speeches one cannot but feel that they are peculiarly suitable for study in our schools just now. 'Turn to a later page,' says Professor Conway in his lecture 'Education and Freedom'—'turn to a later page of the story of Athens, her struggle with

Philip of Macedon; that is, against a military monarchy, competent, centralised, half-barbarian, aiming at a domination over civilised communities. In this struggle Athens fell, no longer the Athens of the fifth century; too civilised, too fond of pleasures, though pleasures of a not ignoble type, to set freedom above comfort. But the decay of the old spirit was not universal—one man, at least, was still in love with freedom, and he held back the coming humiliation for thirty years. Let us note two brief passages from the appeals of Demosthenes to his countrymen, and consider if any part of them seems out of date to-day.' And he quotes *Ol.* I. 4-5, and part of the First Philippic.

In Germany a different view of Demosthenes, an opinion of him which is partly new, has been put forward by Professor E. Drerup, who has a special knowledge of that period of Greek history. In the advertisement in which his book *Aus einer alten Advokatenrepublik (Demosthenes und seine Zeit)* is partly summarised it is maintained that the speeches of Demosthenes should be banished from the Gymnasium. The traditional view of the orator as the champion of freedom, as the patriot whose words inspire love of country, the view of Spengel, for instance, can no longer be held. The battle of Sedan and the policy of Bismarck have changed all that. It is worth while to quote the following passage:

Doch erst der gewaltige Krieg, in den die halbe Welt durch die Ränke und Lügen von Pariser und Londoner Advokatenpolitikern hineingehetzt worden ist, hat vollends die Maske von dem Gesichte jenes chauvinistischen Demagogen herabgerissen, der nun als ein würdiger Vorgänger und Gesinnungsgenosse der Asquith und Lloyd George, Poincaré und Briand, Veniselos und Jonescu sich zeigt, von dem klassischen Lande des Treubruchs ganz zu schweigen.

Wer im Lichte des Weltkriegs die Reden des Demosthenes, unbeirrt durch ihre pathetische Geste, als zeitgeschichtliche Dokumente prüft und den Demosthenes selbst als Politiker und Führer der Advokatenpartei nicht nach seinen eigenen selbstgefälligen Urteilen, sondern nach den harten Tatsachen der geschichtlichen Entwicklung wertet, wird in ihm gar bald den Meister der klingenden Phrase erkennen, der durch seine ausserordentliche

¹ Published in the *Contemporary Review*, June, 1916.

rednerische Kunst—einem Asquith ähnlich—den Mangel fruchtbarer politischer Ideen und die Skrupellosigkeit seiner politischen Methoden zu verdecken versteht. Gar häufig auch wird er überrascht sein durch die auffallenden Parallelen, die der Kampf der radikalen Advokatenrepublik Athen gegen König Philipp von Makedonien, das Balkan-Preußen jener Zeit, mit den weltgeschichtlichen Ereignissen unserer

Tage bietet. Wer würde es z. B. vermuten, dass die phrasenhafte Begründung der Kriegserklärung Italiens an Österreich durch Demosthenes und seinen Parteifreund Hegesipp fast wörtlich vorweggenommen ist? Nicht minder interessant ist der Vergleich, den die Rolle des gewaltigen Perserreichs in jener, des russischen Kolosses in unserer Zeit hervorruft.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

THE PARAVIA CORPUS SCRIPTORUM LATINORUM.

I.

Vergilii Bucolicon liber; accedunt Moretum, Copa. Recensuit CAROLUS PASCAL. Torino: I. B. Paravia. Lire 1.25.

Plauti Stichus. C. O. ZURETTI. Ditto. Lire 1.50.

Plauti Captivi. C. PASCAL. Ditto. Lire 1.50.

[*Vergilii*] *Catalepton, Maecenas, Priapeum* 'Quid hoc novi est.' REMIGIUS SABBADINI. Ditto. Lire 1.25.

THANKS to the enterprise of an Italian publisher, Italy has begun a series of clearly printed, cheap texts of the Latin classics, each provided with a very brief apparatus criticus and preface on the MSS. and the bibliography, not to mention occasional notes and (in the case of the last of the above quartette) an Index of Words. A series like this is welcome, for it proves that Latin has not lost its hold of readers; and it has an educative influence on the younger editors as well. There is of course a danger. A young scholar may fancy a new reading, a decidedly poor thing but his own; his mention of it to a friend may, through friendship or ignorance, meet with no rebuff. Possibly he may gather a number of friends round the festive board and broach it, with the wine, to this 'copia narium emunctarum.' No great harm is done. But once let him become an editor, and then—

Professor C. Pascal is editor-in-chief and will guard the Paravia series from this danger. A glance at his edition of the *Eclogues* shows that he has not moved Camarina. And that is something to be thankful for in these days, when the never-ending stream of emendation (the unmethodical or 'feet-on-the-hob' variety of emendation) in our classical reviews and quarterlies and

journals carries too often a line of Virgil with it. Do these 'emenders' of Virgil really believe that his text is as precarious as the text of the *Appendix Vergiliana*? Or do they avow with the editor of Juvenal 'for a warning to editors' that they have 'no inkling of Ueberlieferungsgeschichte'? (*Quid pote simplicius*?)

The text of the plays of T. Maccius Plautus is up to date, and rightly discards the Scene-divisions (at least does not number them) and those accent-marks which suggest that ictus and accent-stress are the same thing. If one must find a fault, one may say that Dr. Zuretti's zeal for Leo has outrun discretion in the scansion (with Leo) of *fac quod tibi* (*Stich.* 21) as a proceleusmatic. *Fac* a short syllable when followed by *quod*! *Quod* a short syllable when followed by *tibi*! If the line is to be made an Anapaestic Dimeter *tuus* must be dropped.

The best thing about a series like this is that it may attract some scholar who has made a special study of an author and has treasures to reveal. Do not we think with complacency of the Oxford text of Cicero, of Plato, of Homer? Professor Pascal has been lucky enough to get Sabbadini (with a name so far-famed the title may be dropped) to edit Virgil's youthful 'vers d'occasion,' the *Catalepta*. Now the discovery of the Corsini MS. showed us the true reading of *Culex* 366 ('cui cessit Lydi timefacta potentia regis'), where our MSS. have this: 'legitime cessit cui facta potentia regis.' And the Gyraldus fragment showed us the true reading of *Aetna* 191 ('mille sub exiguum venient tibi pignora tempus'), where our MSS. have this: 'mille sub exiguo ponent tibi tempore vera.' It is clear that much of the *Appendix Vergiliana* text is in a parlous state, past

hope from conjectural emendation. A new MS. is needed or a collation of a lost MS. When it appears it may indeed show that this or that guess has been a lucky guess. And in our joy over the one that has hit the mark we may forget the ninety-nine that did not, and exclaim: 'Really there is something after all in conjectural emendation at haphazard.' Failing a new MS., the elucidation of the Ueberlieferungs-geschichte may bring some sound footing or some guide-post for future progress. The great merit of the re-edition of Baehrens' Teubner text is that the classification and description of the MSS. are at last presented adequately. The new editor, Vollmer, had for colleague Traube, whose genius made a science of Ueberlieferungs-geschichte. But since most of these MSS. are Renaissance recastings, Sabbadini is the one man who can help us. In this small volume we have his last word on the subject he had treated in *Scoperte dei Codici*, 1914.

W. M. LINDSAY.

II.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Artis Amatoriae. Libretres. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam addidit C. MARCHESI. L. 5.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristia. Recensuit, praefatus est, brevi appendice critica instruxit CAROLUS LANDI.

ITALIANS are determined not to depend on foreign publishers for their texts of Latin authors, and Messrs. Paravia have made arrangements with Professor Pascal to superintend the issue of an extensive *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum*. To judge by these two volumes the enterprise is likely to be successful. The scheme seems sound. The books are handy in size and pleasant to read. The critical appendices are concise, and, speaking generally, adequate.

For a recension of the *4rs*, R is of supreme importance. Unfortunately M. Marchesi has not been able to collate this MS. His knowledge is derived 'ex N. Heinsii et praecipue R. Merkelii, R. Ehwaldii, et N. Housmanni (sic) adnotationibus.' He has examined twenty inferior MSS. in Italian libraries, but, as he admits,

without any result. For O, which he rather unduly depreciates, he has used Ellis' excellent collation, and he quotes the readings of Merkel and Ehwald for the Guelferbytanus and the Bernensis respectively. But R is sacred, almost a fetish, for M. Marchesi, and his loyalty to that manuscript has, I fear, clouded his judgment. However there is much good work in the notes, which are on the whole sound. I have noticed at times a certain carelessness in ascriptions. Burman, for instance, gets the credit of several of Heinsius' conjectures.

The *Tristia* has been carefully edited. As regards manuscripts, Mr. Owen has left little to be done by subsequent editors, and Mr. Landi has drawn upon Mr. Owen's data and accepted his conclusions regarding the tradition. Mr. Landi has made some researches in Italian libraries. He cites readings from a number of secondhand MSS.; the following list is nearly exhaustive: *Marcian.* XII. 55, IV. 1, 85 *lateo* = L., V. 7, 29 *nomen et umbra*; *Marcian.* XII. 56, V. 12, 28 *vacavit*; *Laur.* Stroz. 124, III. 4, 73 *longe*, IV. 1, 10 *laxat*, IV. 3, 19 *praesentis inhaeret*, V. 12, 28 *vacavit*; *Laur.* 36, 2, IV. 3, 23 *num*; *Laur.* 36, 33 (=Owen's β), IV. 3, 83 *functa est*; *Ambros.* F 87 Sup., V. 12, 28 *vacavit*; *Ambros.* I. 8 Inf., III. 8. 36 *luenda*, III. 10, 47 *in litore*. This last manuscript has a flagrant interpolation of four lines in place of III. 3, 39, 40.

The text adopted and the critical notes approximate very closely to Mr. Owen's recent edition. In most cases where Mr. Landi adopts a different reading he makes a return to the text of Mr. Owen's larger edition (1889).

E. H. ALTON.

Trinity College, Dublin.

III.

Cicero : de Re Publica. Ed. C. PASCAL, 1916. L. 2.75.

Cicero : pro Milone, pro Archia. Ed. S. COLOMBO, 1917. L. 2.

THE materials for the criticism of these works vary a good deal in character. For the greater part of the *de Re Publica* we have nothing except the palimpsest discovered by Cardinal Mai, and re-

examined by a number of collators. For the *pro Archia* we have two moderately good MSS. and a number of *deteriores*, which add little to our knowledge. The criticism of the *pro Milone* has entered upon a new phase in recent years owing to the emergence of the Harleian MS. 2682, and the evidence concerning the readings of the lost *Cluniacensis* supplied by the marginalia in Par. 14749 (Σ).

Professor Pascal, the general editor of the series, is responsible for the text of the *de Re Publica*, while Dr. Galbiati has composed the Preface and a collection of *testimonia*. The Preface is a careful piece of work, in which a very full account of the bibliography is to be found. One omission of some importance is to be noticed, viz. the valuable transcript of the palimpsest published by Van Buren in the Supplementary Papers of the American School in Rome, vol. ii. (1908). Pascal's revision of the text is thoroughly scientific. His treatment of passages omitted by the first hand in the palimpsest is especially satisfactory. In opposition to Halm and some other editors, who supposed that supplements of the second hand were due to conjecture, he holds that they were added by a corrector who had before him the model from which the palimpsest was copied. He has also made several interesting suggestions. The edition, therefore, can be warmly recommended.

Dr. Colombo has made ample use of the material furnished by Harl. 2682 and the Oxford editions founded upon it. His own method is eclectic, and generally conforms with that followed by Klotz in the new Teubner edition (1915). It is somewhat singular that he makes no reference to the new light furnished by the *Cluniacensis*, especially as its readings are fully quoted in recent German editions, including that of Klotz, which he has used. His Preface to the *pro Archia* contains a reference to a new edition of the speech (1915) by Professor Émile Thomas of Lille, the *doyen* of Ciceronian scholars. Professor Thomas, according to information received by the reviewer, was in Lille at the time of the German occupation, and presumably is still there. It is pleasant to think that the veteran

scholar has found solace in literature during so dark a period.

A. C. CLARK.

*Corpus Christi College,
Oxford.*

IV.

C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Civili. Recensuit, praefatus est, brevi appendice critica instruxit DOMINICUS BASSI.

THIS is a neat well-printed edition, forming a volume of a new *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum*, published by I. B. Paravia of Turin, under the general editorship of C. Pascal. It contains a short critical appendix and an index of proper names. The text suffers from the limitations that Signor Bassi imposes on himself: '*in hac editione curanda codicum lectionem quantum potui secutus sum, hominum doctorum coniecturis quam minime indulgens.*' A few instances may be given. In I. 3¹ he reads *laudat Pompeius atque*, etc., with no mention in the appendix of *promptos*, which most, if not all, recent editors place before, after, or for, *Pompeius*. 3³ *completur et[ius] comitium*, no mention of Madvig's *et ipsum* or of the ingenious *clivus* of Linker, Menge, and du Pontet. 4³ *adulatio atque ostentatio sui et potentium*, which seems senseless. My edition records Dr. Reid's plausible emendation *potentia eorum* for *potentium*. II. 35⁴ nothing to show that *prohibebat* is not in the MSS. III. 37¹ Signor Bassi, though attaching considerable value to E, notwithstanding the judgment of Heinsius on that MS. confirmed by Mr. du Pontet, rejects its probably correct reading *biduo* (or *biduum*) *in castris stativis moratus* for *biduum castris*, yet oddly enough in 76¹, where DET have *veteribus suis castris consedit*, he prefers the *in castris* of LUVF. 42⁵ he reads *frumentumque omne . . . per equites comportavit*, disregarding all the MS. readings, though E has rightly *in Petra* (= *Petram*) *comportavit* and others *in porta*. In III. 54⁵ he retains in the text apparently without a qualm of conscience the unknown word *vespeciariis*. Enough has been said to show that the text is often unsatisfactory, and the critical appendix too brief to be of much value to the serious student.

A. G. PESKETT.

STAMPINI: *STUDI DI LETTERATURA E FILOLOGIA LATINA*.

Ettore Stampini: Studi di Letteratura e Filologia Latina. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xii + 448. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1917. 6 lire.

THE collected studies of a veteran scholar have a particular interest for the historian of classical studies: it is possible to trace not only the development of the writer's individual opinions, but something of the course that scholarship has pursued in his country and time. In the present volume an unusual consistency of standard may be observed: and this does not mean that Professor Stampini did not grow in knowledge and power as years passed, but that he began to write with a remarkable store of learning and grip of the language he was studying, which only needed still wider reading and finer polish, no radical change of method, in approaching his subjects. The first article in this volume, on the metrical consciousness of the great Roman poets, is a remarkable achievement for a young man of twenty-five, and as readable to-day as on its appearance at Turin in 1880.

The earliest of four Virgil studies is a sensible little treatise on the orthography of the poet's name. The subject is fresh in the mind of English readers, for it was very fully ventilated of late in the *Literary Supplement to The Times*: and Professor Stampini comes to the conclusion which, as it seemed to the present writer, won the day in the late newspaper debate—that the name was quite certainly Vergilius, but that this affords no reason for abandoning the form fixed in national literatures, *Virgilio* or *Virgil*. The next is an elaborate study of the story of Dido and Aeneas in Latin literature, and the other two deal with the *Eclogues*—a general introduction, and some notes on the first five of term.

Lucretius shares with Virgil the honour of space. Two studies, written in 1902 and 1915 respectively, bring together a series of notes, mostly on the text; but the interest of these, though they contain some valuable discussions

(e.g. on the lengthening of a final short vowel before a word beginning with two consonants), is surpassed by the treatise on the traditional account of the madness and death of Lucretius, which dates from 1896. This is perhaps the most careful examination in existence of the slender and puzzling evidence, and no Lucretian scholar can afford to neglect it: Prof. Stampini lays rather more stress than others on the internal evidence of Lucretius' state of mind which may be adduced from the poem—traces of opinions that he may have held on suicide and possible allusions to his married state.

There are two more shorter essays in the volume—one on the scurrilous and often obscene verses recited at a Triumph to turn away supernatural envy, like the *Fescennina locutio* at a marriage, and the other, dating from only two years ago, on the painter Marcus Plautius, who executed the frescoes in the Temple of Juno at Ardea, involving exegesis of a difficult epigram quoted by the elder Pliny.

The last ninety pages of the volume are occupied by Prof. Stampini's Latin writings. Two of his opinions as adjudicator for the Vallauri prize show a workmanlike use of the language for a practical end: the inscriptions and addresses are in a lapidary style rather less concise than the models which are followed in England, but none the less neat and clear. The bibliographer may be recommended to note the eulogy of Bodoni—much ingenuity was needed to put with detail into anything approaching good Latin the excellencies of his typography.

The book is well and accurately printed. Some of the references might have been revised, in view of the fact that the articles are reprints from a periodical, and no longer a part of it, so that 'in questa Rivista' might have been changed to 'nella Rivista di Filologia. . .'. It is a collection with which the student of Latin poetry cannot easily dispense.

S. GASELEE.

TERTULLIAN'S APOLOGY.

Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus. The Text of Oehler Annotated, with an Introduction, by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge, with a Translation by Alex. Souter, B.A., Regius Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen. Pp. xx + 496. Cambridge: University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

BISHOP KAYE characterises the writer of the *Apology* as 'the harsh, the fiery, the unpolished Tertullian.' That those aspects of his disposition are by no means lacking there can be little doubt, but the portrayal is assuredly overdrawn. Tertullian's writings show such an honesty and strength of purpose as greatly to modify any such impression. In the *Apology* he is seen contending with an intolerant magistracy, moved by blind prejudice to exterminate Christianity by the vilest forms of attack. So determined a force called for stern resistance, and Tertullian did not hesitate to use every available weapon in his armoury in order to counteract the untoward influence. Under all the trying circumstances it does not appear that Tertullian ever stooped to any device unbecoming a zealous Christian advocate. The *Apology* is a remarkable survey of the conditions under which paganism was practised, while as a body of Christian evidence it is of considerable value, and stands out in sharp contrast with the then prevailing heathen customs. Tertullian's allusions to pagan rites and myths are intensely vivid, and reveal the faith of a man of deep conviction. With much fiery invective and bitter sarcasm Tertullian was withal susceptible of real tenderness.

The *Apology* is addressed to the Governors of Proconsular Africa, and was, in all probability, written and presented at Carthage somewhere about A.D. 200. In it Tertullian refutes the charges brought against the Christians with an eloquence and fervour that distinguish him as the foremost among the Apologists. It would appear that the *Apology* was in the main directed to counteract the many influences that were at work for the repression of

Christianity, especially the charge of disloyalty towards the Roman Empire. This was the more necessary owing to the arbitrary sway exercised by those who governed the subject dependencies. On the ground that they owed primary allegiance to God in Christ, the Christians set at nought the social and religious institutions of the State as inconsistent with their Christian profession; hence they were regarded with the utmost suspicion as enemies of the State. Tertullian meets this in his masterly appeal, adducing the orderly life and unselfish aims of the Christians, which he contrasts with the corrupt institutions and degenerate condition of the existing order.

When Rome imposed her language on the conquered province she thereby endowed Carthage with an imperishable possession in the form of those Christian classics associated with the names of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, which throughout the ages have redounded to the glory of the Church universal.

The *Apology* does not lend itself readily to the skill of the translator, who has to deal with provincialisms that involve a rudeness of language and style often difficult to master. It is not without reason that Tertullian has come to be regarded as 'the most obscure of writers, and the least capable of being accurately represented in translation.'

It is impossible in a short review to give anything like adequate treatment to the well-nigh exhaustive edition of Tertullian's greatest achievement which we owe to the learning and skill of such scholars as the late Professor Mayor and Professor Souter. It is in every way a highly satisfactory work. The late Cambridge Professor of Latin is known to have made a very close study of the *Apologeticus*, upon which he frequently lectured; the outcome of his researches is embodied in the volume before us. To the annotated text of Oehler there is added an Introduction (from the *Journal of Philology*) which might have been advantageously extended. Professor Mayor touches very slightly the subject of patristic Latin: a fitting opportunity of dealing with the Latinity

of the African Fathers has been missed. Professor Souter's translation is admirable. The frequent tendency to paraphrase is an indication of the difficulty of translation, but easy flowing English is not sacrificed. Professor Mayor's voluminous notes are largely supplemental to those of Havercamp, Oehler, and others; they are rich in critical and illustrative matter and merit the eulogy of Professor Souter when he says that they form 'by far the best commentary on the *Apology* ever published.' The several emendations are judicious and valuable.

A few points of some interest in the translation remain to be noticed. Tertullian mentions (*cap* 39) *pro mora finis* as a petition in the Christian liturgy, translated by Professor Souter 'for the postponement of the end.' Bingham (*Christian Antiquities*) renders it 'for the continuance of the Empire'; Chevallier reads 'for the delay of final judgment'; Dodgson (*Library of the Fathers*) translates more correctly 'for the delaying of the end.' It was a time of crisis; Tertullian, in common with the faithful, saw the passing away of the world and the approach of the Antichrist; it is to this outlook undoubtedly that reference is made. Elsewhere Tertullian calls the future day of judgment (which he regarded as imminent) *dies expeditionis*. Amidst the calamities that had befallen the world, it would appear that the final overthrow which awaited the Roman Empire was but veiled in the request for delay in the infliction of the chastisement. The particular judgment was held to be coincident with the destruction of the Roman power, kept back by the respite granted at the instance of Christian prayers.

Tertullian introduces the subject of the relation of the Christian man to military service, concerning which he makes a fine distinction that seems to express *mihī non licet militare quia Christianus sum*. The military service involved subscription to idolatrous oaths and created a situation of some difficulty. It would also appear that Tertullian's views underwent some modification especially upon his becoming a Montanist.

What seems a somewhat strained rendering of the passage (*cap*. 3) *Quae mulier! quam lasciva, quam festiva! Quis iuuenis! quam lascivus, quam amarius!* is, 'What a fine woman! How merry, how debonair! What a fine fellow, what a sport, what a gallant!' As examples of paraphrasing *debito poenae nocens expungendus est, non eximendus* (*cap*. 2) is rendered: 'The guilty man must be struck off the roll of the accused by the punishment which is his due, and not saved from punishment.' Again, *In metalla damnatur* is translated, 'We are condemned to the mines and quarries.' An interesting note is given by Professor Mayor in explanation of what he terms 'the art of the tripod and divination as practised by magicians,' *cap*. 23 *mensae diuinare consueverunt*). He refers to the table-lifting practised by the Jews in the seventeenth century; this is followed by some illuminating notes on the power of exorcism, and demonology generally.

In referring to Tertullian's Latinity, Bishop Kaye remarks that only one critic known to him had ventured to speak of it with commendation. He himself characterised it as *deficient* in taste, discrimination and judgment, and as containing words marked in dictionaries as inelegant and of suspicious authority, when they really were the most genuine remains of the most pure Roman composition. African Latin abounds in these strange forms of diction, which are not without interest. The unusual phraseology of many passages in the *Apology*, the *copia verborum*, and their distribution, are remarkable. Technical expressions are frequent, old legal and military terms and phrases are often used, while the use of metaphor, partiality for antithesis, and a play upon words, abound. Often expressions can only be interpreted from the context or by reference to parallel passages. In point of grammatical construction of sentences no serious ground of complaint need be raised. There is some reason to suppose that a double edition or version of the *Apology* existed, and it has even been surmised that Tertullian's two books, *ad Nationes*, formed an early basis for the work. This may to some extent account

for varied readings of doubtful signification.

The oldest MS. of the *Apology* (ninth

century) is in the Imperial Library at Petrograd.

C. H. EVELYN-WHITE.

AENEAS AT THE SITE OF ROME.

Aeneas at the Site of Rome. Observations on the Eighth Book of the *Aeneid*, by W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A., LL.D. (Edin.). Crown 8vo. Pp. 129. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street. 4s. 6d.

LOVERS of Virgil will welcome gladly a volume to follow *The Gathering of the Clans*, and in *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* they will find no disappointment. Dr. Warde Fowler has made it clear here to any who still needed such teaching what prompted him once to confess: 'The study of Virgil is for me one of the things that make life worth living.' His clearness of vision seizes and interprets the elements in Virgil's work that are of permanent value to humanity, the catholicity of appeal which entitles Virgil to be ranked with Homer, with Shakespeare, and with the great religious teachers of mankind.

'Those who are members of a great Empire,' he writes, 'now struggling for the principle of liberty and civilisation, conscious of a great mission in the world, and of an overwhelming claim upon them to blot out the shortcomings of the past by a sense of duty even more enlightened, will recognise that the philosophy of the *Aeneid* and its religion are not things peculiar to Hellenistic Greece or Imperial Rome, but represent the finest instincts of human nature striving to realise the will of God by faith and obedience. They are not merely matters of curiosity and research, but stand for an abiding principle of human life.'

It is always a delight to read Dr. Warde Fowler's works. His profound learning is guided by delicate and imaginative insight, which is perhaps the highest of all gifts for interpreting a poet so subtle as Virgil; and his wide knowledge of all things Roman enables him to judge the Roman world from something like a contemporary's point of view. By his original yet always judicial exposition we learn, for instance, to realise the importance of the Greek element in the Empire of Augustus, and how the conviction of this influenced Virgil himself in the *Aeneid* (p. 5, 51-6). It is this same 'inside-

knowledge' which makes Dr. Fowler a guide like no other in this 'the most Roman' of its Books, because he can interpret the appeal that the poem would make to Romans of Virgil's own day (p. 2, etc.).

In the *Gathering of the Clans* Dr. Warde Fowler dwelt on the Italian policy of Augustus. In his new essay he depicts Augustus as the restorer of order and morality, and traces the subtle relation between the mission of Aeneas and the chosen task of Augustus: Aeneas, the divinely appointed stranger bringing with him the gods of his fathers 'by the will of Iuppiter and the decrees of Fate to rescue Italy from chaos and barbarism,' and Augustus, who made it his task to restore order and the worship of the gods after the chaos of the civil wars, and whose victory at Actium was a 'triumph over barbarians who were menacing the Roman system—the new Augustan system—of peace and morality.'

The analysis of the Shield at the conclusion of the book can only be called masterly. Attention may be drawn to the fact that in the very first line of the description there is the same identification of Italy with Rome as Dr. Fowler marks elsewhere (*cf.* footnote p. 102):

Illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
Fecerat Ignipotens (l. 606).

So in VII. 643 ff., the opening lines of the *Catalogue*, the same note is struck:

Quibus Itala iam tum
Floruerit terra alma uiris.

Dr. Warde Fowler emphatically denies the reality of the frame-work of the Shield. It is indeed futile to endeavour to divide its surface into separate compartments. But, on the other hand, it seems fairly obvious that Virgil had the events he records crystallised in his mind as pictures actually on the Shield. There are many indications of this [l. 643 'distulerant' (Tense); 655 'auratis, argenteus'; 697 'geminos

angues.' These last are only in place on the Shield—not in a narrative. Cf. too 711 'Corpore Nilum,' 728 'Rhenus bicornis,' etc.]. Dr. Warde Fowler, however, would seem to imply that Virgil meant us to see not a mere representation on metal, but the events of Roman history 'actually going on, as it were, under our eyes.' If the spirited¹ description of the shock of battle in ll. 688-96 seems to suggest reality rather than pictorial representation, this would merely be an additional argument in support of the view, so convincingly set forth in this book, that this passage is part of an adaptation of an earlier poem in celebration of the victory at Actium.

In more than one place Dr. Warde Fowler shows the vanity of imagining one has fathomed Virgil's meaning by complacently quoting the Greek or Latin 'original' of an expression or simile of Virgil's without further examination. On p. 35 he marks some of the points of contrast between Virgil's simile in ll. 22 ff. and that of Apollonius Rhodius (III. 756). One might add that in both similes an alternative description is put forward, but with what different results. In Apollonius the alternatives are a λέβης and a γανλός, where the second part adds little or nothing to the picture. But Virgil is not interested in the nature of the vessel. Such common-places merely clog the imagination. With a most characteristic touch Virgil contrasts the reflections of moonlight and sunlight, and suggests a picture of the moonlight streaming through a window or perhaps the compluvium of a house, as he must often have seen it, and glancing on the water beneath whence 'Summi ferit laquearia tecti,' another happy touch. The rich ceiling is lit up as one may see to-day a fragment of panelled roof in a cathedral brilliantly lit up from a single upper window by a burst of fitful sunshine.²

¹ Cf. however I. 475 ff., where there is the same graphic change of tense as here from the pictorial imperfect to the historic present.

² It is perhaps not irrelevant here to add a note that has occurred to me in connexion with an observation of Dr. Fowler's in the *Gathering of the Clans*, and Professor Conway's comment upon it in the *Classical Review* (February, 1917). In VII. ll. 699-705 Dr. Fowler

Dr. Warde Fowler's comment on ll. 621 ff. is a typical case of the way in which his close observation of natural beauties has been applied to interpreting Virgil. He is contrasting the simile with the original in Apollonius (IV. 125), and I cannot refrain from quoting the whole observation:

Apollonius likens the fleece to a cloud 'that blushes red with the fiery beams of the rising sun.' Virgil is not thinking of a fleece, but of a supernatural breastplate of bronze; and bronze is a material that (even without being supernatural) can take a variety of tints according to the light in which it is seen. Thus Servius thought of the rainbow in the cloud, and the idea is worth consideration. But, on the whole, I think that what the poet's mind saw was a grey-blue ground colour shot through with blood-red light. Apollonius thought of a red cloud at sunrise; Virgil thinks of a dark cloud with ruddy light flashing through it.

The notes on the naming of Aeneas by patronymic terms (Anchisiades) are inspiring, since they reveal fresh poetic meaning in what had passed as a mere mechanism of diction. Indeed, the whole subject of the epithets of Aeneas is well worth studying. They are seldom haphazard or otiose. An examination of the contexts where *pater* occurs shows that it generally, if not always, aids the narrative by emphasising some aspect of Aeneas' faithfulness, whether to the gods, or his companions, or his mission. The epithet *pater* in almost every case marks the clanlike relationships between Aeneas and the Trojans. One wishes that Dr. Fowler had added a note on 'Laomedontius heros' (l. 18). I venture to suggest that Virgil, after just describing Aeneas in the words of Turnus, is still for the moment influenced by their hostile point of view. He is in their

would excise the second simile, supposing that it was written by Virgil merely as an alternative, and was put into the text by Varius and Tucca. Professor Conway, however, showed that the second simile was not a mere alternative, but compares the appearance of the host to that of a flock of birds, while the first compares them in point of noise. Now Homer introduces his *Catalogue* (II. 455-73) with five similes one after the other—one of appearance, one of noise, two of number, one of the marshalling of the host. Did not Virgil here set the two similes side by side on purpose in imitation of Homer? In both cases the similes illustrate the *Catalogue of Warriors*, and one of those used by Virgil is actually similar in substance to one of those of Homer.

eyes 'Laomedontius,' a breaker of bonds, and the reputation is therefore one of the difficulties he has to overcome. Cf. the well-known curse of the Harpy (III. 248), also IV. 542. In VIII. 158 and 161 'Laomedontiaden' is natural enough of Priam in Evander's speech, but I admit that in VII. 105 'Laomedontia pubes' may seem a mere variety.¹

Examples of Dr. Warde Fowler's

¹ Professor Conway, whom I consulted on this point, suggests that since Laomedon was a builder of Troy as well as a breaker of contracts, it is perhaps not fanciful to see in the epithet in both VIII. 18 and VII. 105 an appropriate reference to the task which they had come to Latium to carry out—to found a new city.

enlightening observations could be multiplied. The brilliant and, if I may be allowed to say so, complete elucidation of Virgil's view of the Tiber basin (ll. 31. 80), his exposition of the geography of Evander's city, his analysis of Virgil's use of Fate, are perhaps the most notable of many delightful studies, all of which are substantial additions to our knowledge of the poet. Dr. Warde Fowler leaves his readers hungry for more. He has begun a task which it will be difficult to leave off; for even now we eagerly await 'Observations on Book X.,' not to add Book XII. I venture rather profanely to misquote his own quotation: 'We live in hope.'

J. HUSBAND.

SHORT NOTICES

The Religious Thought of the Greeks.
By CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.
1 vol. 8vo. Pp. vi+385. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916.

IN this book the Professor of Latin at Harvard has embodied a series of Lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, and at various American Colleges. It is no light task to trace the history of Greek religious thought for a period of ten centuries, 'from Homer to the triumph of Christianity,' within the limits of ten Lectures or some 360 octavo pages, but Prof. Moore has undoubtedly achieved this task with a large measure of success and produced a very handy and useful textbook. Although it contains little, perhaps, that is new to students of the subjects, yet the book has its value in putting together in concise form the main conclusions of a number of special treatises and more elaborate studies, and thus rendering easily available a quantity of material that is hardly to be found elsewhere within the compass of a single volume. Thus, for example, readers already familiar with Homer and the Attic poets will find their knowledge supplemented by short up-to-date accounts of Orphism and Eleusinianism as well as of the theology of the philosophic Schools from the days of Heraclitus to those of Aurelius and Plotinus;

while those who have already made acquaintance with these matters—in the pages, it may be, of Campbell or of Caird—will still find something of novelty and interest in Prof. Moore's chapters on Oriental Religions and on Christianity. In details, no doubt, some of his valuations may be open to dispute; but in the main he has made judicious use, as it seems to me, of the best authorities, and exercised sound judgment in the shaping and presentation of his material. There is a useful bibliography at the end of the book (in which, however, I miss for one thing Hicks's valuable *Stoic and Epicurean*, as well as Davidson's book on Stoicism), and also a good, though not impeccable, Index.

One is tempted to write more at length on a book dealing with so large and important a subject, but in these days prolixity in print is criminal, and I confine myself to just one final observation. Valuable as such a book as this may be for the Classical student, the College-man and the devotee of Culture in general, the readers who stand to profit most by it are the professional teachers of religion. The authorities of our Clergy-schools and Theological Colleges might find here the text-book they are looking for—if they are looking for it. Anyhow—as a kind of minor compliment to an Ally University—I cordially commend it to their notice.

R. G. BURY.

Achilles Tatius. With an English Translation by S. GASELEE, M.A., Fellow and Librarian of Magdalene College, Cambridge. One vol. Pp. xvi + 461. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1917. 5s. net.

MR. GASELEE has enlarged the opportunities of English students of the novel by this translation of an author whose return to popularity remains improbable. The adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon no longer quicken the normal pulse, and it is not easy to share the illicit excitement of the monastic scribe, so brilliantly brought to life in Jacobs's introduction to his great edition, as he hurriedly copied the text of *Achilles Tatius* between the respectable sheets of Christian writers. But one may reflect with satisfaction that the novel is one of the few experiments in which man has bettered his achievements as the centuries have passed; and as an early example the book is full of interest. The heroine, in whom Nature copied Art, for she is compared on her first appearance to a picture of Europa at Sidon, starts into life when the author in the enumeration of her charms speaks of ὄμμα γοργόν ἐν ἡδονῇ; and throughout the book the elements of a deeper analysis of the thoughts and feelings of man can be discerned. We learn (I. 8) the theory underlying a joke which is unhappily not dead: 'How wretched is a bridegroom—he looks to me like one being sent off to the wars'; and (V. 13) why love laughs at rations: 'To lovers there is no delight save in the object of love, which occupies the whole of their soul, and leaves no place in it for the pleasures of the table.' The lovely Melitte expounds (V. 25) the doctrine afterwards compressed into a phrase about 'a woman scorned,' and storms Clitophon's virtue by the fluttering of her heart; and in VI. 19 there is a comparison of love with anger which Mr. Gaselee (an editor rigid in impartiality towards his author) stigmatises as 'extremely tiresome to modern readers.'

Achilles Tatius was indeed oppressively well-informed. The study of rhetoric had given rise in the uncritical public of Alexandria to that thirst for general information to which English

literature of the seventeenth century sometimes seeks to minister. The characters are therefore liable on small provocation to set the match to a train of description, whether of flowers (I. 15), the loves of the viper and the lamprey (I. 18, a remarkable story known to Sir Thomas Browne), the Phoenix (III. 24), the crocodile (IV. 19), or the hippopotamus, who in IV. 3 is prettily termed 'the elephant of Egypt.'

By far the best character in the book is the bishop whose oration (in VIII. 9), upon the topic of profane love, is prefaced by the words, not unworthy of Peacock: ἦν δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἀριστοφάνους ἐξηλακῶς κωμῳδίαν. Mr. Gaselee's translation is smooth and agreeable throughout. It is pleasant to learn that the unique copy of the version of *Achilles Tatius* made by W. Burton in 1597 has come to rest in hands which have laboured so well in the cause of the classical languages and of our own. It is to be hoped that in the future Mr. Gaselee may find the time, and a publisher the paper, to make this book generally available.

M. HESELTINE.

The Biblical Antiquities of Philo. By M. R. JAMES. Octavo. Pp. 280. S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d. net.

DR. JAMES'S translation of *Philo* forms one of the first series of the 'Translations of Early Documents' now being issued by the S.P.C.K. under the joint editorship of Dr. Oesterley and Canon Box. Special importance attaches to the present volume as being the first translation ever made from the Old Latin version, and the book is interesting in itself as a curious specimen of the work of the Jewish school which produced *Fourth Esdras* and the *Apocalypse of Baruch* in the later decades of the first century. The contents of the book are sufficiently indicated by the alternative title, *The History of Philo from the Beginning of the World to King David*, which shows that it covers much the same ground as the Bible story from Genesis to Samuel. Dr. James suggests that Philo largely modelled his work on the Book of Chronicles, and that his main purpose was to supplement existing narrations. Of his sup-

plements or inventions the most notable is the account he gives, with much detail, of Kenaz, the first of the Judges, who—from being *vox et praeterea nihil* in the Bible narrative—is exalted to a place second only to Moses as warrior-prince and prophet-judge in one, and this at the expense of Othniel. Philo is great, too, at fabulous genealogies, and he has no compunction in throwing over Bible tradition, as in the story of Micah, when the spirit so moves him. In his learned and elaborate Introduction (75 pp.) Dr. James discusses the text and its history, the author and his style, the contents of the work and its relation to contemporary writings; and two Appendices deal with various readings and the vocabulary of the Latin version. A serviceable Index adds to the completeness and convenience of the volume.

R. G. BURY.

SCHOOL BOOKS.

Latin Prose for Middle Forms. By W. H. SPRAGGE and A. SLOMAN. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 147. 3s. net.

'THIS book is intended for the use of Middle Forms, to enable them to begin writing Continuous Prose at an earlier stage.' Part I. consists of twenty-five chapters, in each of which we have (1) some syntax, (2) a list of phrases or sentences illustrating differences between Latin and English idiom, (3) an exercise of detached sentences, and (4) an easy continuous passage composed to give practice in the use of the new material. In Part II. there are fifty continuous pieces of a rather more difficult type. Many of them are translations from Latin authors, rendered with a certain freedom so that the pupil will have plenty of work to do to turn them into Latin paragraphs. There is a vocabulary to Part I. In Part II. some of the words needed and occasional paraphrases are given in brief notes; we think a little more talk about the structure and connexion of the sentences would be useful here. The exposition of syntax in Part I. is in general correct and intelligible enough, though it strikes us as rather too elementary for this stage. But in places we have noticed rather puzzling statements; e.g. the note on p. 83 (ap-

pended to the sentences, 'O.R. Rhenum nunc transeo, O.O. Dixit se tunc Rhenum transire'). 'The so-called Present Infinitive includes the Imperfect usage' seems to us a very dark saying. It is well to encourage the use of *nego*, but it is a pity to tell the student that 'Dico is not found coupled with a negative word.' This is quite untrue. Cicero, for instance, has a number of sentences such as 'Epicurus iocetur . . . et dicat se non posse intellegere' (*Nat. Deor.* II. 46), 'nam vos quidem nihil esse dicitis a sapiente tam alienum' (*Acad.* II. 132). There is a well-known instance in Livy XXI. 9, 3.

The Germania, with Introduction and Notes. By D. R. STUART, Professor of Classics in Princeton University. The Macmillan Company, 1916. Pp. xxiii + 139. 3s. net.

THIS is an excellent school edition. It forms part of a series in which it is intended that the notes should be 'brief and concise,' not encumbered with any matter which a young student will not easily understand. Brief and concise they are not. There are 112 pages of notes to 24 of text, but we do not regret that. For the *Germania* needs a full commentary and the editor is well fitted to write one. He is really interested in his subject, he has an extensive knowledge of the literature connected with it, and he keeps steadily in mind the capacity and resources of young students. Not that the notes are childish; they are in fact full of interest for mature scholars. But he does not refer his readers to German periodicals and books of reference, and he translates quotations which are likely to present any difficulty.

Latin Selections illustrating Public Life in the Roman Commonwealth in the Time of Cicero. By A. A. HOWARD. Pp. vi + 113. Ginn.

THE editor has done a useful piece of work in putting together in a small and handy volume a large number of passages from various sources (e.g. Cicero, Varro, Pliny, Aulus Gellius, Festus) which throw light on legal and constitutional questions. The selections are not 'intended to exhaust the possibilities of Roman public life, but merely to furnish

a limited amount of pertinent reading matter supplementary to the study of that subject, and to direct the attention of the student to the great mass of information . . . relating to it which is scattered through Latin literature.' We think that such a student would be greatly helped if a few notes were added, for many of the passages contain special difficulties of language or matter. It is perhaps difficult, if one begins to annotate, to avoid writing a large book; but we believe that the sort of help which most students need could be put quite briefly, and that their time could be saved by showing them where to look for the necessary technical information.

Caesar's Campaign in Britain. Edited by T. RICE HOLMES. Clarendon Press, 1916. 160 pp. 1s. 6d.

THE Oxford Press offers us in this book a great deal for a small sum. We may have, in the same clear type as in the school edition of the separate books, the text of chaps. 20-38 of *B.G.* iv. and the whole of *B.G.* v., together with Dr. Holmes's Notes and Mr. Loane's *Vocabulary to the Gallic War*. The book includes two maps and three illustrations. By way of Introduction there is a short epitome of the preceding books.

The Notes are stimulating. Dr. Holmes obviously spares himself no

trouble to find out the answers to the questions: What is the exact meaning of Caesar's words and how would an English writer express that meaning? What did happen and where and when did it happen? He puts the evidence, so far as it can be put shortly, before the student and expects him to think for himself. And many, we think, will respond. But a boy will not get the full benefit of the editor's labours unless he reads with this book the history of the two expeditions in Dr. Holmes's *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* and some of the discussions in the Second Part of that work. At a school prize-giving not long ago Mr. Fisher said that he thought text-books were one of our great dangers. 'My advice is,' he continued, 'read books, the great human books, the long books, the interesting books, the books which are not specially made to enable young people to pass examinations.' *Ancient Britain* appeals to all sorts of boys, scholarly and unscholarly, from quite early years. Some will not do more than read the vivid narrative chapters, but if they merely do this, they realise that Latin authors sometimes at least tell a story which, if one can understand it, is full of interest at the present day. But many boys will go further and enjoy the elaborate studies of the evidence on which the narrative is based. Σ.

NOTES AND NEWS

At its last meeting, held in May, the Northumberland and Durham Classical Association discussed methods of teaching Latin. Dr. J. Wight Duff summarised data obtained in his recent circular addressed to schools in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the North Riding concerning the employment of the Direct Method. Replies were received from fifty-eight of the ninety-eight schools circularised. Four schools answered 'Yes' to the query whether they employed the Direct Method, but even the one which most adopts it introduces 'some English.' Thirty-nine schools said 'No,' and of these some had tried and abandoned the

method. The fifteen remaining schools use ancillary oral methods, but, though they may approve of a Latin *questionnaire*, they do not confine explanations to Latin.

Among opinions commonly expressed in the replies as to the Direct Method were these: (1) It stimulates interest, and does so most successfully with quite young pupils; (2) for success it demands more time than most secondary schools assign to Latin; (3) for success it depends, more than most methods perhaps, on the personality of the teacher; (4) it does not sufficiently develop acquaintance with the literary vocabulary, and often produces disappointing results in grammar.

Brief notes were then read by various members on books exemplifying methods: By the Rev. Professor Cruickshank on *Primus Annus* and *Praeceptor*; Mr. Widdows on *Decem Fabulae*; Miss Taylor on *Via Nova*; the Rev. E. P. Pestle on *First Latin Lessons*; Dr.

Hepple on Scott and Jones' *First Course* and *Second Course*; and Professor Wight Duff on a Belgian handbook, *Linguam Discito Lingua*. The notes and the discussion aroused a great deal of interest.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,—May I ask for a little space in order to obviate misapprehensions that may arise on some of the points touched upon by Professor Anderson in his generous notice of my edition of Lucan VIII.?

(1) 158 *stantis adhuc fati uixit* I understood in the sense which he says will alone suit the context. In my translation 'she lived (as one) of a still unfallen fortune' I used 'as' for 'in the capacity of', 'in the position of,' so e.g. 'asking,' 'as private citizen,' not noticing how easily it might be misunderstood. It had better be replaced by 'when.'

(2) 513-526. I thought it was obvious that these lines were an expansion, or 'explanation,' of *querellae* 512, which Professor Anderson says has not been noticed hitherto. In my note on 498 I refer to 518 as an example of the speaker associating himself in pleader's fashion with the King, their interests being identical. This is nothing presumptuous but a common forensic use (the advocate's 'we' for 'our side') both in Latin and English. Professor Anderson's view is at bottom not very different.

(3) I see now that on 637 f. I criticised Professor Anderson's explanation under a misconception, and I tender him my apologies. He has given the only reasonable interpretation of the traditional text. J. P. POSTGATE.

June 2, 1918.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DEAR SIRS,—It is necessary for me to refer once again to the subject of my last letter in the *Class. Rev.*, as I have just received a further letter on the subject of Mycenaean remains at Corinth from Mr. Wace, and this may materially modify the situation. The following is an extract from his letter:

'I wish you could come and visit it (Corinth) this spring, when the Americans go down. They have discovered that the whole of the Temple Hill is a big prehistoric site, probably reaching from the earliest times to Mycenaean, though rather cut up by the Temple foundations, much as Troy was spoilt by the later builders. When I come home (when?) I will be able to tell you all about it. Of the ten prehistoric sites found by the Americans I have seen seven. One they have not yet excavated—Aietopetra—is a fine early Acropolis to the west of old Corinth guarding the road west of Acrocorinth coming

from Cleonae. All this country is too far east to have anything to do with Sicyon.'

This does not make it quite clear to me that the Mycenaean period is represented on the Temple Hill; the word 'probably' seems to apply to this; and of course the Mycenaean period is the only one with which I am concerned—earlier periods were abundantly represented before, and there never was any doubt in my mind that for a considerable period of prehistory Corinth was an important settlement. If it should turn out that the Mycenaean period itself is represented on the Temple Hill, of course what I have said will have to be put aside; and I lose no time in recognising publicly the possibility of this.

The existence of a Mycenaean acropolis guarding the road to Cleonae in no way surprises me; it is merely another link in the chain of hill-forts of which several have been found in connexion with Mycenae itself. The only point at issue is the existence of an actual Mycenaean settlement at Corinth itself. As to this we must await further information.

Yours faithfully,

WALTER LEAF.

June 10, 1918.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

IN your review of Dr. Dawkins' book you refer to the pedantism of the Greek schoolmasters. Your remark is just, but their pedantism is due to the pernicious system which forces them to teach in an artificial language. Last month, however, an act was passed by Mr. Venizelos making demotic compulsory in primary schools. This is the first step towards an official admission of the value of demotic, and its use is sure soon to extend and prevail. When that is accomplished, pedantism will be a thing of the past,

ALEX. PALLIS.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

I AM desirous of purchasing a complete copy of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, or as many of the volumes as I can get, for the Birmingham University Library. If any of your readers have any of these volumes and would like to dispose of them, I shall be glad to hear.

E. A. SONNENSCHN.

The University, Birmingham.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

** * * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

- Beardslee** (J. W., jun.) *The Use of Φύσις in Greek Fifth-Century Literature* (Dissertation for Doctorate). 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 126. University of Chicago Press, 1918.
- Bell's One Term Classics.** Cicero : Pro Milone (C. E. Laurence), pp. xii + 54. Livy : Veii and the Etruscan Confederacy (S. E. Winbolt), pp. xii + 72. 6" x 4". London : George Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1918. Limp cloth, 1s. 3d. each.
- Brackman** (C., jun.) *Miscella Tertia*. 9" x 6". Pp. 48. Lugduni Batavorum : Brill, 1917.
- Burton** (E. D.) *Spirit, Soul and Flesh*, N.T. Historical and Linguistic Studies. Second Series, Vol. III. Chicago : University Press, 1918. \$2.
- Clark** (A. C.) *The Descent of Manuscripts*. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. xvi + 464. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1918. Cloth, 28s. net.
- Corpus. Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum.** Moderante Carolo Pascal. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Turin : in aedibus I. B. Paraviae et Soc. Flexible boards. M. Minucii Felicis Octavius (L. 1.25). Q. Valerii Catulli Carmina (L. 2.25). Cornelii Taciti De Origine et Situ Germanorum liber (L. 1.25). C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Civili (L. 2.75). M. Tullii Ciceronis De Re Publica (L. 2.75). T. Macci Plauti Stichus (L. 1.50). Cornelii Taciti de Vita Iulii Agricolae liber (L. 1.25). M. Tullii Ciceronis Pro Milone, Pro Archia (L. 2). P. Vergilii Maronis, Bucolicon liber, accedunt Moretum, Copa (L. 1.25). Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus (L. 1.50). P. Ovidii Nasonis Tristia (L. 2.50). Artis Amatoriae, Libri III. (L. 5). T. Macci Plauti Captivi (L. 1.75). L. Annaei Senecae, Thyestes et Phaedra (L. 2.50).
- Dempsey** (T.) *The Delphic Oracle : its Early History, Influence, and Fall*. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. xxii + 200. Oxford : B. H. Blackwell, 1918. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Dennison** (W.) *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*. University of Michigan Studies : Humanistic Series XII. ii. 11" x 8". Pp. 86-174. New York : The Macmillan Company, 1918. Cloth, \$2.50.
- Flickinger** (R. C.) *The Greek Theater and its Drama*. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxviii + 358. Chicago : University Press, 1918. Cloth, \$3 net.
- Geikie** (Sir A.) *John Michell. A Memoir*. 8" x 5". Pp. viii + 108. Cambridge : University Press, 1918.
- Herford** (C. H.) *The Poetry of Lucretius. A Lecture*. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 26. Manchester : University Press, 1918. Paper boards, 1s. net.
- Jastrow** (M.) *The War and the Coming Peace*. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 144. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott Company, 1918. Cloth, \$1 net.
- Lankester** (Sir R. and others). *Natural Science and the Classical System in Education*. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. x + 268. London : W. Heinemann, 1918. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Lautand** (L.) *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines. Fasc. V. : Littérature. Latine*. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 489-622. Paris : A. Picard, 1918. Fr. 2.50.
- Loeb Library.** Juvenal and Persius (G. G. Ramsay), pp. lxxxii + 416. The Greek Anthology (W. R. Paton, vol. iv., pp. xii + 400 ; vol. v., pp. vi + 422. Xenophon's Hellenica (C. L. Brownson), pp. xiv + 493. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". London : W. Heinemann, 1918. Cloth, 6s. net each.
- Matthaei** (L. E.) *Studies in Greek Tragedy*. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. xii + 220. Cambridge : University Press, 1918. Cloth, 9s. net.
- Murray** (G.) *Religio Grammatici. Presidential Address to the Classical Association*. London : Allen and Unwin, 1918. 1s. net.
- Peake** (A. S.) *The Quintessence of Paulinism*. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 32. Manchester : University Press, 1918. Paper boards, 1s. net.
- Phillimore** (J. S.) *Things New and Old*. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. viii + 140. Oxford : University Press, 1918. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Plautus** (Menaechmi). Edited by P. Thoresby Jones. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 226. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1918. Cloth, 4s. 6d.
- Royds** (T. F.) *Virgil and Isaiah : A Study of the Pollio*, pp. xiv + 122, 5s. net. *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (second edition, revised), 4s. 6d. net. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Oxford : B. H. Blackwell, 1918.
- Sanders** (Henry A.) *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection. Part II. : The Washington MS. of the Epistles of St. Paul*. Pp. iv + 251-316, 8 plates. New York : Macmillan and Co., 1918.
- Sizoo** (A.) *De Plutarchi qui fertur de liberis educandis libello* (Doctor's Dissertation). 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 102. Amsterdam : A. H. Kruyt, 1918.
- Stampini** (E.) *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*. Vol. XLVI. Fasc. 1 and 2. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. 152 each. Torino : E. Loescher, 1918.
- Statius** (Silvae). Edited by J. S. Phillimore. Oxford text. Second edition. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1918. Cloth, 3s. 6d.
- Texts for Students.* (2) Selections from Matthew Paris ; (3) from Giraldus Cambrensis. 7" x 5". Pp. 64 each. London : S.P.C.K., 1918. 9d. net each.
- The Classical Association of Ireland.* Proceedings for 1918, with Rules and List of Members. 9" x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. iv + 126. Dublin : Brown and Nolan ; Hodges, Figgis and Co.
- Van Leeuwen** (J.) *Enchiridium Dictionis Epicae. Editio Altera, aucta et emendata*. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xx + 432. Leyden : A. W. Sijthoff, 1918. Fl. 6.50.
- White** (H. J.) *Select Passages, illustrative of Christianity in the First Century Texts for Students*, No. 1. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 16. London : S.P.C.K., 1918. 3d. net.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1918

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE *ELECTRA* OF EURIPIDES.

In the *Choëphoroe* (140) Electra prays that she may be *σωφρονεστέρα* πολὺ μητρὸς . . . χεῖρά τ' εὐσεβεστέρα. The use made of this combination by Sophocles, who founds his tragedy on the notion that decency and piety to her father make it impossible for Electra to be modest-minded or pious to Clytaemnestra, entitles us to assume that the *σωφροσύνη* and *εὐσέβεια* of Electra had become proverbial.¹ As for the former trait, we have an independent witness in Aristophanes, whose comparison of his comedy to Electra proceeds from the allusion to the proverbial lock of hair to the equally proverbial ὥς δὲ σῶφρων ἐστὶ φύσει . . . (*Nub.* 537). Of course the *εὐσέβεια* of Electra is, for orthodoxy, her piety to her father; her *σωφροσύνη* is connected with her name 'unwedded'; she is 'the chaste Electra.'

Now there are many allusions in the *Electra* of Euripides to the prayer of the *Choëphoroe*. Compare *Cho.* 132-139 with Eur. *El.* 165, 1090, 110, 1008, 314, 1001, 594,² and you will see that the external circumstances of Electra's humiliation, as conceived by Euripides, are carefully modelled on the details cited by Aeschylus, and are presented in phraseology which is deliberately imitative. But what has happened to the most striking characteristics of his model? What about the prayer for piety and the modest mind?

¹ See my paper on 'The Tragedy of Electra according to Sophocles,' *Class. Quart.* April, 1918, Vol. XII. p. 80.

² Nor do these passages exhaust the list of reminiscences. With *Cho.* 131 (read *φῶς ἀναψον* with W. Headlam) cf. *El.* 587. The phrase *δίκη νικηφόρα*, *Cho.* 148, inspires the remarkable scene, Eur. *El.* 859 ff.

The answer is somewhat startling. Euripides has transferred these proverbial characteristics of the romantic Electra to the working-farmer whose questionable privilege it is to become her nominal husband. Not only does Electra herself describe the man as *εὐσεβής* (253) and *σῶφρων* (261), but the first scene of the play is designed to bring out precisely these two aspects of his character. At line 50, having described the delicacy of his consideration for his unequal consort, the peasant owns that he may be thought foolish by some persons, but only, he thinks, by those who 'measure τὸ σῶφρον' by base standards, and are themselves lacking in modesty. And again, at line 78, he tells us that, with the advent of morning,³ he will drive his oxen to the fields and work, because 'no idler, who is always doing lip-service to the gods, could get together a livelihood, doing no work.' These two reflections are not simply the tags which some critics are never tired of abusing as impertinences of Euripides. They are the structural pillars of the prologue, and have an important relevance to the subsequent development of the drama. Quite deliberately Euripides, whose main purpose is to bring us down (or up) from romantic flummery to the stern facts of life (in order first that we may judge justly, and secondly that we may feel human sympathies) has introduced into the drama of royal passions and revenges a humble creature from real life whose notion of self-restraint is prac-

³ This wholesome reference to the morning as the time for work is a subtle Euripidean modification of the old romantic theme, developed in very different fashion by Sophocles.

tical, but also noble, and whose piety consists not in talk about the gods, but in earning his bread honestly. Mr. Murray has rightly remarked that this peasant is the only person in our drama who is not somehow tainted with blood-madness. He stands for the simple humanity which Euripides preaches, and which, if we once understand it, makes romantic talk about the degradation of poor clothes, menial labour, and a cottage instead of a palace, dwindle into insignificance. At the outset Euripides challenges the romantic convention by showing us that the root of the matter is better understood by this peasant than by the great ones of the earth. He stands for the realities of life as it should be lived, realities which the other characters of the drama tragically fail to know. He has a wholesome conception of the value of riches, and also of their comparative unimportance. For him, enough is better than a great abundance. Yet it is well to have enough to share with friends, enough to meet the emergencies of sickness. All that (424-432) is not irrelevant moralising. It provides the decent human standard against which the tragic error of the 'nobly born' heroes and heroines stand out in sharp relief. It is precisely because men 'measure with base standards' such things as work and poverty, respectability and birth, that tragedies as grim as that of Electra occur every day.

These themes are as old as Solon, and much older. But by stating them in this way Euripides challenges the slovenly practice of ordinary convention. He is like a modern clergyman who should deem it his duty to commend the unmitigated practice of Christian morality, as expounded in the New Testament. And, like such a clergyman, he earns the reputation of profanity. On each point on which the peasant is profoundly right Electra takes the conventional view, and Electra is tragically wrong. The sum of the conventions means, in her case, a poisoned soul. She seriously thinks that her marriage to the peasant is *θανάσιμος* (247). She does not know that real nobility is a matter of character, not birth. Observe this point,

and you will no longer think of lines 367-390 as undramatic. She seriously thinks that, by carrying the waterpot herself, she makes the wickedness of Aegisthus evident to the gods. True, she has the decency to conceal her thoughts from her excellent protector. But look at line 307, and consider what it implies about her state of mind. She dwells on externals, like her clothes, her humble lodging; she is humiliated at the thought that she must entertain strangers in such a place and with such modest fare. The peasant knows better than she the really valuable things of this world. She harps on good birth. It will lead to a disappointment when Orestes comes. And similarly, though with a more tragic significance, the thought of her thwarted womanhood, her enforced virginity, takes colour from her conventional sense of propriety. The study is very subtle, and repays analysis. In the main, she is the daughter of her mother, as Wilamowitz says, but not exactly frivolous—as conventional people go. Rather she is a person with great natural capabilities for sympathy and good sense, bullied and thwarted, never educated, blind to the real values.

One thing, however, she cherishes, and it is noble enough. It is the thought of Orestes, the son of a great king, surely himself as bold, as splendid, as his race. When the actual Orestes appears, it is no wonder that she is slow to recognise him. He is, in fact, cautious beyond measure, weak, indecisive—but also, if she only knew it, something better than a bold fine figure of a nobleman, a youth of gentle instincts. That is the key to the recognition scene. Although I think the spectator is intended to draw an inference about the superior technique of Euripides, I cordially agree with Mr. Murray that it is a mistake to treat this scene as primarily or exclusively a criticism of Aeschylus. Electra has imagined Orestes as a hero of melodrama. She finds him a very simple, ordinary human being. It is not through clumsiness, nor by an oversight, that Euripides makes his Electra say, 'If you think my brave brother was so afraid of Aegisthus that he came to the country secretly, you are saying what is unworthy of a

man of sense.' That is precisely what Orestes, the real human Orestes, had done. And the same sort of imagination has made Electra suppose that her brother's hair would be altogether unlike her own, his footprints large and manly.¹

Frankly, I believe that a spectator of the play would see, and would be expected to see, that Electra is disappointed in Orestes. And Orestes, if I am not mistaken, is also disappointed in Electra. He is charmed with the peasant (262), and more startled than edified by the savage assurance of his sister that she is ready and eager to do the killing of Clytaemnestra herself (282). When the brother and sister have been forced by the old servant to the mutual recognition, instead of the romantic ecstasy which, perhaps, the sentimental reader would desire, we get, I think, something more true to life, a sort of puzzled embarrassment. There is a note of apology in the reply of Orestes to her question (581):

EL. *ἐκεῖνος εἰ σὺ; OR. σύμμαχος γέ σοι μόνος.*

After which, though the chorus provides the jubilation, Electra remains silent until, at line 648, she breaks into the planning of the two men with her characteristic proposal:

ἐγὼ φόνον γε μητρὸς ἐξαπύσομαι.

The heartlessness of the device which she actually adopts is characteristic. It is explained, though not excused, by the thwarting of Electra's sex.

The Electra of Sophocles is, as I have tried to show, suggested to the poet by the prayer of Electra in the *Choephores* that she may be more pious and more modest-minded than her mother. Her instincts are towards normal piety and modesty. Her situation makes her violate those instincts daily, and the tragic clash of circumstance and temperament culminates in the scene in which she actually triumphs in the murdering of her own mother—just retribution as it is, and, in the absence of

law-courts, according to the standards of heroic antiquity, a pious and a proper consummation. The early scenes of the play, by their insistence on the heroine's sense that loyalty to her father means the violation of her own instincts of 'piety and modesty,' prove that the consummation is tragic. The result is not by any means a tract in favour of Apollo, though it is also not a tract against his oracle. Simply, it is a study of human tragedy. Electra is like so many of us poor creatures to-day, forced, in order not to violate the sense of righteousness and duty to whatever gods there be, to violate instincts which normally we regard as the final criterion of right. Circumstance makes tragedy.

The tragedy of the Euripidean Electra is different. She is not indeed a monster, but she is a thwarted woman, which is often much the same thing. In her dealings with Clytaemnestra there are, until the tragedy is consummated, none of those signs of moral uneasiness which explain the character of the Sophoclean heroine. Simply, she hates her mother, and is anxious for revenge. Orestes feels the scruples. Cruelty and the thwarting of her womanhood have made Electra sour. She does not feel, like the Sophoclean heroine, a passionate and spiritual devotion even to the murdered father, whom she lives to avenge. The vengeance she wants is vengeance for her own spoilt life. The one person she loves is Orestes, and an imaginary Orestes, the strong man who will come to her aid. Whereas in Sophocles Electra becomes the devoted slave of Orestes, and forgets herself in him, as soon as he is recognised, in Euripides she takes the lead. She urges him on, when he would avoid the crime. Her tragedy is that she is thus warped and embittered; what distinguishes her, however, from a wicked woman of melodrama is precisely her love for Orestes. But that love she only discovers too late, when she has already been guilty of thrusting him over the precipice, forcing him to the crime which will ruin his life. Of course, this implies that Euripides treats the oracle of Apollo as indubitably criminal. But the purpose of his play is not to prove this doctrine. It is to exhibit the results of

¹ I confess this does not explain lines 539 ff., and here I am constrained to admit that, in my opinion, the poet elaborates the familiar themes too much. In line 546 read *ἢ τις δεσπότης σκοποῦς λαθῶν* (cf. 66, 97, 798).

human cruelty, and to awaken human sympathies.

I venture to think that this reading of the character of Electra throws light on many details, which appear, at first sight, puzzling or irrelevant. We have already seen how important the rôle of the peasant-husband becomes, and how the general conception of the tragedy makes relevant the moralising speeches which he delivers or inspires. Let us now consider the choral odes, which have been described as 'Embolima,' and which look like mere decoration. That they are, as decorative embroidery, fairly relevant is not, I think, disputed. But, to appreciate their dramatic value, we must notice how they are, poetically and imaginatively, related to one another. The terms of the invitation to the festival of Hera, with which the chorus first approaches Electra, have a poetical value in connexion with the assembly to which a herald summons the Mycenaeans in the ode on the Golden Lamb (170 ff., 706 ff.). There is a poetical connexion, undefined but important, between Electra's cry to 'Night, the nurse of golden stars' (54, another reference to the traditional *motif* of 'morning after night'), the sun and dancing stars on the shield of Achilles, which are to turn Hector to flight (465 ff.), and the sun and stars which are turned from their natural courses by the impiety of Thyestes (726 ff.). All that lends value to Electra's cry at 866. And the importance of the stars in the drama is not unconnected with the rôle of the Dioskuri (see, for example, 991). Thirdly, there is poetical value in the Nymphs (447) and Nereids (434) in connexion with the circumstances of Aegisthus' death (625). But why should the poet think fit to make his chorus sing irrelevant songs about the arms of Achilles? He is using art to conceal art. What looks like a celebration of Agamemnon and Achilles is, in effect, a suggestion of the traditional, romantic, heroic, view of Orestes. The chief emblem on the shield of Achilles is the figure of Perseus, accompanied by Hermes, carrying the Gorgon's head. Even so does Electra imagine her Orestes. The connexion of these two romantic monster-slayers is traditional.

In Aeschylus (*Cho.* 808-830) the chorus pray that Hermes may assist Orestes, and that Orestes may have the spirit of Perseus in him. That is why Perseus is worked into the devices of Achilles's weapons here, and the point becomes tragic at line 856. It is not the Gorgon's head that will turn Electra to stone, but the body of Aegisthus 'whom she hates.' And when he comes to slay his mother, Orestes cannot bear the sight of her face. He veils his eyes (1221). The tragic relevance of the chorus is, I submit, established. See also line 1174, with its reminiscence of 456, 469, and possibly 711. The full value of the symbolism depends on a great number of details, including, for example, the 'fire-breathing lioness' of line 472, recalled in lines 1162-4, and again, I think, tragically in line 1183.

As for the episode of the Golden Lamb, its relevance depends on the fact that it marks the beginning of the tragedy and sin, forming a dark prelude to the scene of exaltation in which Orestes is hailed as 'victorious,' crowned as rightful prince and conqueror, and then thrust over the precipice by Electra. That is its main value, and the denial of the ancient story that the course of nature was changed by mortal sin is meant to suggest the poet's denial that the actions of Electra and Orestes are mysteries, not to be judged by ordinary human standards, and not caused by normal human motives. The details also are dramatic. The Mycenaean festival (see above) leads up to the dances which welcome Orestes, and to the sinister greeting with which Clytaemnestra is hailed as 'a happy Queen.' In the light of all this, we shall perceive that there is tragic irony in the moralising of Electra when she indicts the dead Aegisthus. The short dialogue in which Orestes bids her speak freely, without fear of the *φθόρος* either of gods or men (900 ff.) tragically recalls the temptation of Agamemnon by Clytaemnestra in Aeschylus. Throughout this part of the drama, we should notice, the chorus is swept away into a rapture which bodes ill for the sequel.

Finally, when the critical moment comes, Orestes feels 'pity' for his mother, and would draw back from the

fatal act (967-8). He sees plainly at that moment that Apollo has spoken *ἀμαθίαν* (971). But Electra stifles his scruples by her question, 'If Apollo be evil-minded, who are the wise?' Look at lines 294-6, and you will admit that Euripides uses his moral reflection with an eye to dramatic effect. Orestes, in his own sound mind, knows

ἔνεστιν οἶκτος ἀμαθία μὲν οὐδαμοῦ,
σοφοῖσι δ' ἀνδρῶν. . . .

In the final scene, which is externally conventional, the Dioskuri blame Apollo for lack of wisdom. And when Orestes, in a poignant cry, which recalls the most tragic moment of the *Choephorae* (923), bids his sister (1325)

πρόσπτυσον σῶμα· θανόντος δ'
ὥς ἐπὶ τύμβῳ καταθρήνησον,

the Dioskuri touch again the theme of pity for human trouble.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

THE PROBLEM OF THE *ANTIGONE*: WHAT DID SOPHOCLES WRITE?

WHEN Jebb in his famous edition decided against the genuineness of the suspected lines in the last speech of Antigone, he supported his decision by arguments which are still unanswered, and, with the present interpretation of the text, are likely to continue so. Yet there are several difficulties in his treatment of the problem. He cuts out line 904 to 920, a matter of nearly one-third of the whole speech, so that it runs:

. . . νῦν δὲ Πολυνείκης τὸ σὸν
δέμας περιστέλλονσα τοιάδ' ἄρννμαι
ποίαν παρεξέλθουσα δαιμόνων δίκην;

To account for such an interpolation he merely repeats the suggestion that Iophon, in a revision of his father's plays, inserted the suspected lines in the text. Why Iophon, or any other poetical editor, should be guilty of such a literary atrocity he does not say. Moreover, though in Jebb's version the lines run smoothly enough, the participle *παρεξέλθουσα* coming naturally after the indicative *ἄρννμαι*, from an aesthetic view-point it is extremely forced. The great appeal against inexplicable fate contained in the single line *ποίαν παρεξέλθουσα δαιμόνων δίκην*, comes as a splendid finish to the lines

καὶ νῦν ἄγει με διὰ χειρῶν οὕτω λαβὼν
ἄλεκτρον ἀνυμέναιον οὔτε τοῦ γάμον
μέρος λαχοῦσαν οὔτε παιδείου τροφῆς
ἀλλ' ὧδ' ἔρημος πρὸς φίλων ἢ δύσμορος
ζῶσ' εἰς θανόντων ἔρχομαι κατασκαφάς,

which express so vividly the sadness and horror of her early death, and almost make her believe that the gods have forsaken her, who thus reward her obedience to their divine laws.

Coming after the prosaic *τοιιάδε* it would be much less effective, in fact almost bombastic.

The received interpretation of the passage left Jebb no alternative but to reject it entirely. Antigone seems to say, 'Never would I have taken up this task if it had been my husband or children that lay mouldering in death.' Such a startling statement needs justification, which is supplied by a 'primitive sophism' taken almost bodily out of Herodotus. But does Antigone really say this? Let us forget for a moment the received interpretation, and, taking the Greek as it stands, try if it is capable of some other more satisfactory interpretation. The first thing that strikes us is that Antigone never actually refers to the death of her children as a case in which she would not have deemed the divine law binding, in fact she never mentions it at all. Her words are: 'Never, *if I had been the mother of children* . . .'

This has been taken as a poetic way of saying 'if my children were dead'; but surely in a solemn statement of such great importance to the whole aspect of the play, and one which the poet admits to be in need of explanation, it would be absurd to increase the difficulty by involving it in a poetic disguise, which is certainly liable to another interpretation. Evidently there is something wrong somewhere, and where such perplexity arises it is extremely probable that the clear brain of Sophocles is not alone responsible for the text.

Jebb objects rightly to the line *τίνος*

νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω, as 'strongly suggestive of the interpolator who bespeaks attention for his coming point.' It certainly has not the spirit of Sophocles, so we may reasonably arrest it on suspicion, on Jebb's informations, till we secure its accomplices. We shall still follow Jebb in making a clear sweep of the four lines containing the 'primitive sophism'; but as the principal objection to the following three depends on the sense of the preceding eight, and as there is nothing in the technique to show that they are not Sophoclean, we must let them stand till we see how the others are to be treated.

Let us now suppose the remaining verses written in the Athenian script of the fifth century B.C., with no accentuation, punctuation, or division of words. What is more likely than that an editor or revisor reading over the *Antigone*, forty years after its first production, and coming to the words

οὐγαρ ποτὺν αὖτε κένων μήτηρ ἔφυν
οὐτεῖ ποσσὶ μοι καθανῶν ἐτήκετο
βιαιοπολιτῶν τανδ' ἀνηρομήνονον

should have been misled by the *οὐτεῖ* catching his eye at the beginning of the second line and taken *οὐταν* in the first to be the corresponding negative followed by the particle *αὖν*. To him, then, the text presents the strange problem of an extraordinary statement, qualifying the whole aspect of the play and absolutely unsupported by any stated reasons.

In accordance with the well-known rule of rhetoric, soon afterwards to be formulated by Aristotle, he proceeds to supply the deficiency, aided by the remembrance of a supposed parallel instance in Herodotus which the unusual word *ἐκπροτιμήσασα* may have helped him to recall. This happy thought he expresses in four jogging senarii, and goes on his way rejoicing.

Now this very word *ἐκπροτιμήσασα* does not give the required sense to the present form of the text. Antigone did not honour her brother beyond her husband or children, for the simple reason that such a comparison would be unmeaning. She was dying *ἀλεκτρος ἀνυμέναιος*, and knew it too well to for-

get it even in the depth of fraternal love. She might have said that she *would have* honoured her brother more than them, but the interpolator, content with a loose connexion of thought, preferred to keep the poet's actual words as far as possible, than to secure his own position by any further changes which might involve more tampering with the text than his conscience would allow, or his own limited powers could undertake.

Let us now consider the alternative interpretation. If we divide the first line so as to give

οὐ γάρ ποτ', οὐ τὰν, εἰ τέκνων μήτηρ ἔφυν,

the next line falls naturally into a parenthesis since *οὐτ' εἰ* must mean 'not if,' not 'nor if,' since there is now no corresponding 'neither.' Then the third line takes up the first and completes the conditional sentence, and thus we obtain an entirely new meaning with practically no change in the text. The passage will then run:

καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ τίμησα τοῖς φρονούσιν, εὖ.
οὐ γάρ ποτ'. οὐ τὰν, εἰ τέκνων μήτηρ ἔφυν
—οὐτ' εἰ ποσσὶ μοι καθανῶν ἐτήκετο—
βία πολιτῶν τὸνδ' ἂν ἥρόμην πόνον.
τοιῷδε μέντοι σ' ἐκπροτιμήσας' ἐγὼ
νόμῳ Κρέοντι ταῦτ' ἔδοξ' ἀμαρτάνειν
καὶ δεινὰ τολμᾶν, ὧ κασίγνητον Κάρα.
καὶ νῦν ἄγχι με κ.τ.λ.

'And yet I honoured thee in the eyes of those that are wise, well. For never, no never, had I been the mother of children—not if it were my husband that lay mouldering in death—would I have taken on myself this labour in defiance of the citizens. Yet though I held thee first in honour by such a law I seemed to Creon to be wrong and dare unlawfully, brother mine. And now he leads me to my death, etc.'

This is the *νόμος* which Antigone quotes as the authority for 'honouring her brother above all.' Not above husband or children, for they are not for her, but above the commands and threats of Creon, the persuasions of Ismene and the example of blind obedience given by public opinion as expressed by the chorus. The force of this law, the reason why she mentions it, and the light which it throws on the play, must next be considered.

Antigone is dying before she has got what is due to her out of life. The

perfection of the natural life being in the Greek ideal, the joy of marriage and offspring, she is scarcely to be considered as having lived at all. She is but as a child—a pure spirit clothed in a garment of flesh, touching this world for an instant and shrinking from the cold blasts of misfortune which have been her portion during her brief existence. Yet she does not want to lie down and sleep away in death the memory of her sorrows. She has found love, and her young heart is full of unspeakable longings after happiness, sweeter because only half-guessed. And now all this is torn from her by the most cruel stroke of all. On the edge of her living tomb she pauses and thinks of what might have been; of wedded love, and the sweet duty of *παιδείας τροφή*, the nurture of children.

'Ah then,' she says, 'I could have lived; even if it were my husband that lay unburied. I need not have faced the violence of men, for my duty to my children would have first claim. But now my dead brother holds the first place and I could not do otherwise. Yet Creon thinks me wrong, though he knows that I acted under this law and from no choice of mine, and now he leads me desolate to death. I do not

know; I cannot understand why the gods permit such things. But why disquiet myself in vain? I shall soon know all, and I trust to the justice of Heaven to justify me on earth by punishing my judges if they have done wrong.'

Thus the virgin-martyr goes to her doom, not lifted above the earth in an ecstasy of devotion and already enjoying a foretaste of Heaven, but with one long sad glance at the fair joys she can never share she faces an unknown world full of doubt and darkness, with her brave heart alone sustaining her in the firm belief that she has done her duty and that it will not be in vain.

Surely this new interpretation reveals a trait in the character of Antigone hitherto almost unsuspected—her deep tenderness and immense capacity for love. Nowhere else in the play do we get such striking proof of the words the poet puts into her mouth at the beginning of the action, thus giving a hint at the truest and most beautiful aspect of her character.

οὐ τοι συνέχθειν ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφην.

J. J. MURPHY.

University College,
Dublin.

THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

XI.

Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

IT is a small matter to read *ἀνέρας εἰσορόων* for *ἄνδρας τ' εἰσορόων* in 154, and it is perhaps not extravagant to regard 155 as the ambitious, albeit rather wooden, interpolation of a meddlesome rhapsodist; but it may be a shock to the thick-and-thin supporters of *hiatus licitus* to be told that

156 πρὸς δὲ τὸδε μέγα θαῦμα, οὖν κλέος οὐπτο' ὀλεῖται

should be corrected by introducing *τόο*, the uncontracted form of *τοῦ*, instead of the barbaric diectasis *οὖν* (= *ὅο*).

The couplet 159-60,

αὐτὶς δ' αὖ Λητὸς τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιραν,
μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἥδ' ἐγυναικῶν

presents greater difficulty. *Λητώ* for *Λητόα* and the hiatus *μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν*

are a sufficient indication that something is amiss. A deliberate attempt has been made, unless I am mistaken, by a little omission and the transposition of seemingly unimportant words to exalt Apollo and to dissociate his praises from the laudation of his mother and sister, as if the singers sang two or even three separate hymns, one for each person. The present hymn itself shows that the assumption is improbable. So far Leto and her troubles have been dwelt upon in nearly a hundred lines out of 160, and in 165 we read

ἰλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν.

Moreover, if we adopt the theory of a separate Delian *Hymn* ending at 178, Leto is the last word. I suggest then that the true reading of 158-61 may be approximately—

αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ' πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόλλων' ἀργυρότοξον
 Λητόα δ' ὑμνήσωσιν ἰδ' Ἀρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
 αὐτίς δ' αὖτ' ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἥδ' ἑταίρων
 ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν θέλγυνται δὲ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων,

or *μνησάμεναι* δ' for *αὐτίς* δ' αὖτ' in 160.

In this arrangement the *Hymn* to the god is one and indivisible a true *προοίμιον*, as Thucydides calls it, a prelude not to a recitation from Homer, as is commonly said, but a ceremonial opening of all the festival from beginning to end, the next item on the programme being apparently a selection from the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, which Achilles is recorded as singing in I. 189. The *Hymn* is more than an overture to a musical entertainment. Like the Prelude to *Faust*, it imparts tone and colour to all that follows.

* * *

163 μμείσθ' ἴσασιν · φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
 φθέγγεσθ' ·

The MSS. read *μμείσθαι* without elision. The elision is due to Barnes, whom all editors have followed. The tradition is certainly right and Barnes as certainly in error.

ἔργον Ὀμηρείοιο τόδ' ἔπλετο Βαρνεσίοιο,

and like his celebrated *αὐτὰρ ἀποπτανέουσιν* (Ξ 101) only helps to obscure the true reading, which may by the substitution of *φαίτο* for *φαίη* still be recovered, v. 151. My suggestion is

μμείσθαι ἴσασ' · αὐτὸς δέ κε φαίτο ἕκαστος.

'They know how to imitate the voices and the clacking of all men: each one would think his very self was speaking.'

'Clacking' is a word current in Lancashire meaning 'chatter,' 'gabble,' 'jabbering,' in French *caquetage*, and corresponds exactly to *κρεμβαλιαστήν* here, cf. Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, 'I'm called their agreeable Rattle,' nor is the meaning much different if we read the variant *βαμβαλιαστήν*.

* * *

169 ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὅμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
 ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέφ' ἔρπεσθε μάλιστα;
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμῳς ·

Perhaps *τῷ καὶ ἔρπεσθε* with *τῷ* as the relative and *καί* laying stress on *ἔρπεσθε* is right, 'Who, as ye think, is the sweetest singer in whom ye most delight?' *Τέφ' = τίνι* (*Hymn Dem.* 404) is unique for the early epic, and the

indefinite *τεφ* is suspect, v. *Homericā*, ρ 364.

The *crux*, however, of this passage is 171. The reading given is that of Allen and Sikes, 1904, but in the Oxford text, 1913, Mr. Allen has adopted very unwisely an exquisitely bad conjecture of F. Marx, *Rh. Mus.* 1907,

ὑποκρίνασθ' ἀμφ' ἡμέων,

'make answer about me.' Not only is the metre made poor and the poetry marred by this unhappy change, but the whole effect of the next line, the little pleasantry of revealing himself while using the third and not the first person, *οἰκεῖ*, is obliterated by this premature and unseasonable *ἀμφ' ἡμέων*.

The better MSS. of Thucydides (iii. 104) give *ἀφήμῳς*, the later *εὐφήμῳς* obviously to save the metre. The MSS. of the *Hymns* present a more degenerate *ἀφ' ἡμέων* and still worse *ἀφ' ὑμέων*. All seem to read *ὑποκρίνασθε* save M *ὑποκρίνεσθ'*, which as far as the elision goes is right enough, as in *Hymn Dem.* 332 q.v.

My suggestion involves little change, *ὑποκρίνασθ' ἰαφήμῳς*, 'answer him with one voice,' 'with one prophetic voice,' for this is the sense of *φήμη*. The adverb would be a compound of *ἴα* 'one' (N 354 *ἦδ' ἴα πάτρην*) and *φήμη*. If the form be accepted under warrant of *ἀφήμῳς*, it affords a complete solution of the variations of the tradition, and also justifies Barnes's very sensible *ἀριστεύουσιν* (173) wrongly excluded by Allēn and Sikes. Otherwise we should have to fall back upon *ὁμοφώνως*, a recognised but poetically much weaker alternative form, which deviates very seriously from the tradition.

* * *

177 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἔκρηβλον Ἀπόλλωνα
 ὑμνῶν ἀργυρότοξον, δν ἠύκομος τέκε Λητώ.

The metrical flaw, non-existent in the later language, is the result of a transposition, accompanied by the least possible modification of one epithet. Let us restore

*αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω Ἀπόλλων' ἀργυρότοξον
 ὑμνῶν ἑκάεργον*

and compare this passage with *Hymn VI.* 18-9 discussed in the June number of the *Classical Review*, 1916. Here the primary motive for the change would

be to remove the obsolete form *ὑμνείων*, cf. 190, corrected without remark v. 81 (No. X.).

* * *

181 αὐτὸς δ' αὖ Δῆλοιο περικλύστοιο ἀνάσσεις.

The strong case for *περικλύστοιο* as against *περικλύστης* or *περικλύστου μέγ'* was fairly stated in *Class. Rev.*, November, 1896. For *αὐτός* no satisfactory defence has yet been offered. I venture to suggest *αὐτῆς*. Insistence on the importance of Delos as compared with other localities is natural enough. The greatness of Apollo may be taken for granted throughout. Perhaps 179 should begin and did begin ὦ ἄν', ὃ καὶ *Λυκίην*, leaving 181 to stand alone as principal sentence. The loss of the relative in this form has occurred I think in several cases, e.g. A 37,

κλυθί μεν, Ἀργυρότοξος, ὃ Χρῦσσην ἀμφιβέβηκας. . . .
Hymn Dem. 347,

* * *

κνανοχαῖτ' Αἰδῆς, ὃ καταφθιμένοισι ἀνάσσεις,

and similarly in this *Hymn*, 199, we should read

Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρ', ἡ ὀμότροφος Ἀπολλῶνι,
and let *hiatus licitus* go by the board once more.

* * *

201 παῖζουσ'· αὐτὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐγκιθαρίζει. . . .

Certainly ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων is inadmissible. Either ὁ should be excluded, or, as I should think, more probably the intruder in Φοῖβος which has displaced *τῆσιν*, not tolerated because it occurs in the preceding line, but really shown to be necessary by *ἐγκιθαρίζει*, a compound which in *Hymn Herm.* 17 is quite out of place, and *μεσσημάτιος κιθάριζεν* (Schneidewin) a necessity.

* * *

208 ἡέ σ' ἐν μνηστῆσιν αἰδῶ καὶ φιλότῃ
ὅπως μνωμένος ἔκies Ἀθαντίδα κούρην . . . ;

Surely not, as Allen and Sikes say, 'in thy love of brides,' whatever reading we adopt. No hymn-writer could have been so audaciously irreverent. The poet probably wrote

ἡέ σ' ἐν ἀδμήτησιν αἰδῶ καὶ φιλότῃ,
'amid loving maidens.' A delicate compliment to Apollo as what we call a lady-killer. See Milman's *Newdigate*, 1812, on the Belvedere Apollo.

In the next line for *ἔκies* we may

without hesitation read *κίες εἰς*, cf. ξ 127 *ἐλθὼν ἐς δέσποιναν ἐμὴν ἀπατήλια βάζει*.

The corrupt lines which follow I would write tentatively thus, in the hope that such suggestions as are here made may be of service and lead to better developments in the future :

Ἴσχν' ἄμ' ἀντιθέω Ἑλατιονίδῃ εὐίπῳ,
ἡ Φόρβανθ' ἄμα Τρισπίδῃ γένος εἰς Ἀμάρυνθον,
ἡ σύ γ' ἄμ' Ἀρσίπῳ ἐς Λευκίπποιο θύγατρα
πεζὸς ἑὼν, ἵπποισι σὺ δ' οὐκ Ἴδα' ἐνέλειπες,
ἡ ὥς δὴ πρῶτον χρηστήριον ἀνθρώποισι
ζητεύων κατὰ γαίαν ἔβης, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλων ;

So written the question begins with *ἡε* (208), surely not *ἡέ*, and continues to the end of 215. In 211 neither *Ἐρευνθεῖ* nor *Ἐρεχθεῖ* is metrically allowable : *εἰς Ἀμαρύνθου* 'to the house of A.' (*Ἀμαρύνθω* marg. L¹ Π) is possible, but very uncertain. L. 214 might begin (cf. 209) *ἡ ὅπως πρῶτον*.

In 223 *ὑπέκ τοῦ* (cf. 110) is probable for *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*.

* * *

231 ἐνθα νεοδμῆς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενος περ. . . .

Allen and Sikes explain *ἀναπνέει* 'gains new life' through the inspiration of the horse-god. A recurrent miracle here seems to me a needless assumption. The verb ordinarily means 'recovers breath,' 'has a breathing-space' (*ἀνάπνευστι*). The colt is out of breath, 'blown' as they say technically, with pulling the car, and gets relief because the wise driver jumps out of the car and walks, *χαμαὶ δ' ἐλατῆρ* . . . *ὁδὸν ἔρχεται*.

This is the *rationale*, the sensible basis, of the custom, but there was added for its enforcement in very early times a religious sanction involving a definite penalty for its breach. The whole passage has caused much discussion, and stands thus :

ἐνθα νεοδμῆς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενος περ
ἐλκων ἄρματα καλὰ, χαμαὶ δ' ἐλατῆρ ἀγαθὸς περ
ἐκ δίφροιο θορῶν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται· οἱ δὲ τῶς μὲν
κεῖν' ὄχρα κροτέουσι ἀνακτορίην ἀφίεντες.
εἰ δέ κεν ἄρματ' ἄγῃσιν ἐν ἄλσει δεινὴν ἔντι
ἵππους μὲν κομέουσι, τὰ δὲ κλιναντες ἑὼν·
ὥς γάρ τε πρῶτισθ' ὅσην γένεθ'· οἱ δὲ ἀνακτι
εὔχονται, δίφρον δὲ θεοῦ τότε μοῖρα φυλάσσει.

Here *οἱ δὲ τῶς μὲν* must be a modernisation, and probably of *οἱ δέ οἱ ἵπποι*, cf. O 452, Ψ 474. In 235 *ἄγῃσιν* is the reading of the MSS. There is no need to suppose that the empty car could not rattle without being broken

as most editors by adopting Cobet's ἀγῆσιν seem to imagine. In 236 I would read ἀγκλίναντες, cf. Δ 113, σ 103, and most certainly in the next line γάρ τε as above for γὰρ τὰ (πρώτιστα), possibly also εἰ δέ for οἱ δέ. The translation is to this effect:

'There a new-broken colt, distressed with pulling the smart chariot, has a breathing-time, for the driver, a sensible man, springs from the car and wends his way afoot. His horses losing his guidance rattle along the empty carriage. But if one drive a chariot within the woodland grove, his men lead off just (μέν) the horses, the chariot they tilt and abandon. For this was the taboo in earliest time; but for those who pray to the lord of the grove, then the god's dispensation ensures the chariot.'

The meaning seems to be that any vehicle passing the temple must slow down, and, in fact, is not to be driven at all. Before entering the sacred grove the driver must descend, and proceed on foot until he quits it. If, on the other hand, he should persist in driving his team anywhere within the limits of the grove, he and his fellows take home the horses, but are obliged to leave the vehicle behind as a punishment for the offence they have committed. There is just one possibility of escaping the penalty. Petition or prayer may be made to Poseidon, and following that the god's award may prevent the forfeiture of the car.

* * *

246 στῆς δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι αὐτῆς. . . (=378).

In these two lines the true reading is very probably τῆς δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι στῆς (στῆ). Cf. δ 370 ἢ δέ μεν ἄγχι στᾶσα.

* * *

252 χρῆσθμενοι· τοῖσιν δέ τ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν
πάσι θεμιστεύοιμι (=292-3).

Read θεμιστεύοιμι with Ilgen's κ' for τ'. A speech that opens with the dominant and decided ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω could not end in the if-you-please attitude of θεμιστεύοιμι, and would probably be all the better for the omission of 250-1 (=290-1), in which (1) Πέλο-

πόννησον, (2) Εὐρώπην, and (3) κατὰ are more or less questionable.

* * *

263 ἀρδόμενα τ' οὐρῆς ἐμῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ πηγέων·

This line and Φ 312 ὕδατος ἐκ πηγέων throw great doubt upon the value of the observation that in Homer and in the early epic the noun πηγῇ was only used in the plural, never in the singular number. If this restriction had existed for the early poets the two lines quoted could not have been composed at all, for they would necessarily have said and sung πηγάων. Obviously the authors of our line and of Φ 312 wrote ἐμῆς ἱερῆς ἀπὸ πηγῆς and ἐκ πηγῆς respectively. The metre and language prove this conclusively, in spite of traditional appearances and the most unenlightened numerical observation.

Are we to consider Aeschylus a daring experimentalist when he wrote πηγῇ πυρός (Prom. 110) and πηγῇ κακῶν (Pers. 743), and that Sophocles, Plato, Xenophon, and others followed his lead? Or is there some natural plurality about springs and wells? Unless these questions can be answered affirmatively with some show of reason, we may accept quite confidently πηγῆς as the true and original reading.

* * *

275 ὥς εἰποῦς 'Ἐκάτου πέπιθε φρένας, δφρα οἱ αὐτῇ
Τελφοῦσ' κλέος εἴη ἐπὶ χθονί, μηδ' Ἐκάτοιο.

Probably no one at the present day would hesitate to accept the slight reconstruction ὥς εἰποῦς' ἐπιθεν Ἐκάτου φρένας [cf. 1, 45, 56, 157, 229 (ter), 474 of this Hymn, and my remarks on 177], save for the peculiar ending of the next line μηδ' Ἐκάτοιο, for which the remedy is not so obvious, though perhaps not unattainable.

Leaving graphical considerations out of account for the moment μηδέ τευ ἄλλον would be a tolerable substitution for the tradition, but as it seems possible to get an acceptable reading without changing more than two letters of the vulgate, I prefer to suggest μηδ' ἄρα τοῖο or μηδ' ἔτι.

T. L. AGAR.

NOTES ON SOME TEXTS IN PLATO AND MARCUS AURELIUS.

Euthyd. 303D εὖ γὰρ οἶδα ὅτι τούτους τοὺς λόγους πάνν μὲν ἂν ὀλίγοι ἀγαπῶεν ἄνθρωποι ὅμοιοι ὑμῖν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οὕτω νοοῦσιν, ὥστ' εὖ οἶδα ὅτι αἰσχυρθεῖεν ἂν μᾶλλον ἐξελέγχοντες τοιοῦτοις λόγοις τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐξελεγχόμενοι.

The questionable word here is νοοῦσιν, the MSS. wavering between νοοῦσιν (B) and ἀγνοοῦσιν (T). Gifford defends νοοῦσιν, which he renders 'have such a notion of them,' 'so conceive of them,' citing *Rep.* 508D (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς νόει) and *Phaedr.* 246C (οὔτε ἰδόντες οὔτε νοήσαντες θεόν); but these instances are not really similar and do nothing to support his case. Among what Gifford calls the 'needless conjectures' already proposed are Stallbaum's ἀτιμάζουσιν and Orelli's ἀπωθοῦσιν; and more recently Mr. H. Richards, holding that 'neither νοοῦσιν nor ἀγνοοῦσιν makes any sense,' has suggested δυσχραίνουσιν as a suitable word. None of these corrections, however, is close enough to the traditional lections to be very plausible. In attempting an emendation we may, I think, assume that ἀγνοοῦσιν is a mere correction of the difficult νοοῦσιν, so that the letters α γ may be neglected. We have to deal, then, only with νοοῦσιν, or let us rather say with the series of letters formed by the two words οὕτω νοοῦσιν. A frequent cause of error is haplography or lipography: assume its action here, plus the common confusion of τ and π, and there emerges οὕτω<ς ὑπό>νοοῦσιν. This word is milder in sense than the words proposed by Richards and the rest, but it seems quite sufficiently strong. True it is not a common Platonic word, but its use here may be supported by *Laws* 3. 679 C where we have ψεῦδος ὑπονοεῖν in contrast to τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ νομίζειν: in both cases the object of suspicion is a statement or argument.

Epist. 8. 354A ὃ δέ μοι φαίνεται πῃ τὰ νῦν, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ καὶ κοινῷ τινι δικαίῳ λόγῳ χρώμενος δηλοῦν. λέγω γὰρ δὴ διαιτητοῦ τινα τρόπον διαλεγόμενος ὥς δυοῖν, τυραννεύ-

σαντι τὲ καὶ τυραννευθέντι, ὥς ἐνὶ ἑκατέρῳ παλαιὰν ἐμὴν συμβουλήν.

On this Richards comments, 'Should not τινα be τινος and δικαίῳ probably δικαίως?' Certainly the first sentence is curious: why is it not κοινῷ καὶ δικαίῳ λόγῳ, or rather why κοινῷ at all, since it is *his own* superior counsel, ἰδιὸν τι, that the writer is proposing rather pompously to produce? Here again I suspect a corruption due to the same fertile cause, haplography, and in place of κοινῷ I would write κοινῶν. The sense then will be—'taking δίκαιος λόγος to be my assessor (or fellow-counsellor), so to speak'; for which use of κοινῶν one may compare *Laws* 810 C πρὸς δὲ δὴ κοινῶν ὅντας περὶ νόμων ἀνάγκη . . . φράζειν. Moreover, the case for κοινῶν in an official or semi-legal sense is supported by the occurrence of διαιτητοῦ, συμβουλήν and σύμβουλος in the clauses immediately following. In the sentence λέγω γὰρ δὴ κτλ. I cannot quite make out how the ordinary text ought to be rendered: the double ὥς seems to me very awkward. It looks as if one ought to read something like this: λέγω γὰρ δὴ, διαιτητοῦ τινος τρόπον διαλεγόμενος καὶ δυοῖν, τυρ. τε καὶ τυρ., (ὥς ἐνὶ ἑκατέρῳ παλαιᾷ) τὴν ἐμὴν συμβουλήν. But possibly it may suffice to leave the words as they stand with the single minor alteration of ὥς for the second ὥς (as . . . so).

Epist. 8. 354D οὐ καὶ τοὺς δέκα στρατηγούς κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες . . . κατὰ νόμον οὐδένα κρίναντες, ἵνα δὴ δουλεύοιεν μηδενὶ μῆτε σὺν δίκῃ μῆτε νόμῳ δεσπότη, ἐλεύθεροι δ' εἴεν πάντῃ πάντως.

Richards' note on this runs thus: 'The sense of μῆτε σὺν δίκῃ μῆτε νόμῳ δεσπότη is very unsatisfactory, until we read μῆτε <ἀνθρώπῳ> σὺν δίκῃ, comparing 334C μὴ δουλοῦσθαι Σικελίαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώποις δεσπότηταις . . . ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ νόμοις, and even then σὺν δίκῃ seems out of place.' Certainly σὺν δίκῃ is objectionable, both from its position and because the preposition is unidiomatic. δίκη, like νόμος, ought, one thinks, to agree with the other datives,

instead of being adverbial. The first thing to be done is to cancel σύν: this done, δίκη and νόμῳ in agreement with δεσπότη are natural enough; we need only assume a kind of semi-personification. But the question remains—how did the otiose σύν manage to intrude itself? One might think of the compared word συνδίκῳ, but it would be clumsy to speak of a σύνδικος as a possible δεσπότης. The simplest correction is to read οὖν for σύν. For the combination μήτ' οὖν in one of two negative alternatives, see Madv. Gr. Synt., § 266 and cp. Od. 6. 192 οὐτ' οὖν ἐσθῆτος δευήσεται οὔτε τευ ἄλλον.

Eryx. 401A ἡ ἔστιν ὅτι χρώμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τῷ βλάπτειν καὶ ἐτέροις πολλοῖς; ἀρα ἡμῖν ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη χρήματα; καὶ μὴν χρήσιμά γε φαίνεται ὄντα. It seems scarcely possible to keep βλάπτειν as an example of χρήσιμα, and on the same footing with the innocuous business of 'conversation.' Proposed corrections are 'γράφειν vel βλέπειν Clericus, παλαίειν vel πλάττειν Horreus, θάπτειν Orelli.' <ᾱ>θλ<α> ἄπτειν (cp. πάλην ἄπτειν) would be near in point of letters; but I should prefer βουλεύειν, although its corruption is less easy to explain.

Clitorh. 409E τὴν δὲ ὁμόνοιαν ἐρωτώμενος εἰ ὁμοδοξίαν εἶναι λέγοι ἢ ἐπιστήμην, τὴν μὲν ὁμοδοξίαν ἠτίμαζεν . . . τὴν δὲ φιλίαν ἀγαθὸν ὡμολογῇ παντὶ εἶναι καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἔργον, ὥστε ταῦτόν ἐφησεν εἶναι ὁμόνοιαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν, ἀλλ' οὐ δόξαν.

This is the MS. reading of the last clause (ὥστε κτλ.), but obviously there is something amiss. Burnet follows Bekker and the Zurich editors in cancelling the καὶ before ἐπιστήμην, whereas Hermann adds a word (δικαιοσύνην) between καὶ and ἐπιστήμην. The latter is a heroic remedy, while as to the former one does not easily see why καὶ should have been inserted. With Bekker's reading, ὁμόνοιαν is, I presume, to be taken as the subject with ταῦτόν as predicate, but it is equally easy to regard τὴν φιλίαν as the subject of both clauses, in which case we must turn ὁμόνοιαν into a dative after ταῦτόν, and suppose that καὶ is, as often, a corruption of ὥς.

M. Aurel. iii. 12. ἐὰν τοῦτο συνάπτῃς . . . τῇ ὧν λέγεις καὶ φθέγγῃ ἡρωικῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀρκούμενος, εὐζωήσεις.

ἡρωικῇ has been the object of much suspicion. Rendall would read εὐροϊκῇ, but Marcus does not use this form (only εὐρους), and in any case the word applies better to an idea like βίος than to ἀληθεία. Richards' 'Ρωμαϊκῇ is ingenious but hardly more. I should agree with the Loeb translator, Mr. Haines, in keeping ἡρωικῇ ἀληθείᾳ in the sense of 'old-world truth.' It may be difficult to produce a precise Greek parallel, but the Ciceronian use of *heroicus* in such phrases as *heroica tempora*, *heroicae aetates* (e.g. 'vetus opinio est, iam usque ab *heroicis* ducta temporibus,' Div. I. 1. 1) sufficiently demonstrates that *heroicus* was practically a synonym for *antiquus*; and once this is granted, the rest of our defence is easy, since *antiquitas* to the 'antic' Roman mind connoted the ideal of probity and honour; cp. Ter. *Adelphi* 3. 3. 88 homo *antiqua* virtute et fide (and other passages quoted by L. and S. s.v. II. c).

iii. 16. 2. τῶν θεοῦς μὴ νομίζοντων . . . καὶ τῶν ποιούντων, ἐπειδὰν κλείσωσι τὰς θύρας. Something with the sense of αἰσχρά evidently needs to be supplied before ποιούντων. Mr. Haines adopts Coraes' insertion of <πᾶν>, while Schenkl prefers τί οὐ. Either of these does well enough, but why should we not assume a still closer case of haplography and write τῶν <ποῖ> οὐ ποιούντων: 'they stopped at no sort of iniquity'? Of 'ποῖος οὐ interrogative equivalent to ἕκαστος affirmative' various examples will be found in L. and S.

iv. 27. ἦτοι κόσμος διατεταγμένος ἢ κυκεὼν συμπεφορημένος μέν, ἀλλὰ κόσμος.

Haines marks the words συμπτ. . . . κόσμος with notes of doubt, but allows himself (much like Long) to put this nonsense in his translation—'Either there is a well-arranged order of things or a medley that is confused, yet still an order.' Rendall makes better sense with his—'Either an ordered universe or else a welter of confusion. Assuredly then a world-order'; but to get this he

has to alter the punctuation and transposition μέν, ἀλλὰ into ἀλλὰ μὴν: and besides this he needlessly changes συμπ. to συμπεφυρμένος, for the former word is, as Haines points out, sufficiently defended by Platonic usage. Reiske contented himself with one small change κόσμῳ for κόσμος, but this of itself does but little to ease matters. Schenkl's ἀλλ' οὐ κόσμος is, if possible, worse: to say solemnly that a *κυκεών*, 'a jumble,' is not a *κόσμος*, is too absurd even for a Stoic. Better than these is Lofft's συμπεφυραμένος· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ κόσμος. I had once thought we might read simply ἀλλ' ἀκόσμως: but there is no true antithesis between συμπεφ. and ἀκόσμως. Moreover the run of the next sentence seems to show that our sentence ought to convey a decision in favour of the *κόσμος* alternative—as Rendall and Lofft saw. I now propose, by applying again our master-key of haplography, to read ἡ *κυκεών* συμπεφορημένος<. συμπεφορημένος> μὴν, ἀλλὰ κόσμῳ (or, possibly, κοσμίως). This explains the corruption, and it makes quite good sense—for it is not the συμφορεῖσθαι that Marcus wants to deny but the ἀταξία or κυκᾶσθαι: he admits that this world is an assemblage of things, but not that it is a *κυκεών*.

V. 12. πρὸς τὸ ἡδεσθαι οὖν γέγονας, ὅλως δὲ σὺ πρὸς πείσιν ἢ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν;

Schenkl follows Schmidt and Fourrier in giving σὺ for the οὐ of the MSS. Also, the MSS. vary between πείσιν (A D) and ποιεῖν (T); for which Coraes proposed <τὸ> ποιεῖν, and Wilamowitz ποίησιν. Further, for ὅλως δὲ Wilamowitz has proposed ὁ λῶστε, and Schenkl ὅλως γε: and Upton suggested οὐ for ἢ. As all the talk in the context is of the duty of action as opposed to hedonistic inaction—my duty to do ποιεῖν ὧν ἐνεκεν γέγονα—I take it that any mention of πείσις is out of place. But if τὸ ποιεῖν or ποίησιν is right, it seems strange to add ἢ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν, which is hardly a real alternative; and in fact we need no alternative, as our talk is of only one thing. Now if we assume, for once, that T's reading is better—nearer the archetype—than A's, and if we allow

once again for haplography, then from πρὸς ποιεῖν ἢ we can without difficulty educe the words πρὸς <τί> ποτ' εἰ μὴ: to what end wast thou born save that of activity.' ἐνέργεια is not an alternative but a substitute for τὸ ποιεῖν.

vi. 10 τί δὲ μοι καὶ μέλει ἄλλον τινὸς ἢ τοῦ ὅπως ποτὲ αἶα γίνεσθαι; Haines prints αἶα γίνεσθαι with quotation marks, with a reference to Hom. *Il.* vii. 99 in the footnote; but if Marcus really had Homer in mind, why did he not write ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γίνεσθαι? Richards suggests τέφρα for αἶα, but a likelier word here is σποδιά, supposing the first three letters to have been lost through lipographic error. Perhaps we should write ὅπως πο<τε δεῖ σπο>διὰ γίνεσθαι.

ix. 28 ἢ ἀπαξ ὥρμησεν (sc. ἢ τοῦ ὅλου διάνοια) τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατ' ἐπακολουθήσιν ἥ καὶ τί ἐν τίνι τρόπῳ γάρ τινα ἄτομοι ἢ ἀμερῇ.

Schenkl marks καὶ τί ἐν τίνι as corrupt, and in his note approves the correction of Coraes καὶ τί ἐντείνῃ; which is supported by x. 31 (as Mr. Haines observes). Mr. Haines obelises the same words and also ἢ ἀμερῇ, with the note 'Possibly ἀμερῇ is a gloss, or ὁμοιομερῇ should be read.' ὁμοιομερῇ is an old conjecture of Schultz; others are μέρη Reiske, ἀμερές Couat, ἢ εἰμαρμένη Rendall. Schenkl supposes that 'verba haud pauca excidisse.' Now it seems idle to suppose with Haines that ἢ ἀμερῇ is a gloss, for what is there here to gloss? And none of the other conjectures are at all plausible, at least if we accept Coraes' correction. For the exhortation, 'Why do you strive?' ought to be followed, not by a general statement about the world at large, but by a personal argument which touches the 'you' that is thus exhorted. Such a point there would be if the sentence ran—'Why do you strive, for you are just a particle in the stream of matter, you must ἐπακολουθεῖν like the rest, the atoms that flow unresistingly.' To secure some such pertinent sense I would read—τρόπον γάρ τινα ἄτομοι εἰ ἀμελεῖς (or ἄτομα . . . ἀμελῇ, but Marcus seems to prefer the other form).

R. G. BURY.

NOTE ON THE SYMPOSIACS AND SOME OTHER DIALOGUES OF PLUTARCH.

IN two of the more elaborate dialogues of Plutarch, the *De Defectu Oraculorum* and the *De Facie quae in orbe Lunae apparet*, the principal speaker, who controls the discussion, and himself maintains the Academic position, is 'Lamprias'; Plutarch is not introduced by name. As this speaker uses the first person of himself, and is addressed by others as 'Lamprias,' the compiler of the lists of speakers (apparently Wytttenbach) has rightly placed that name upon them, and it is taken to refer to Plutarch's brother of that name. Mr. John Oakesmith remarks as to the *De Defectu* that 'Lamprias here is clearly a thin disguise of Plutarch himself.' (*The Religion of Plutarch*, p. 76. See also p. 149.) I do not wish to question this opinion, but to emphasise it, and to suggest that the brother is not present at all, having perhaps, as seemed probable to Archbishop Trench, died early, and that the name is here used of Plutarch himself. I shall refer to the other works, and especially to the *Symposiac Dialogues*, for light thrown upon the personality of the brothers.

The *Symposiacs* are arranged in nine books, which fill the greater part of a Teubner volume, all dedicated to Sossius Senecio, Consul in A.D. 99, and in some later years. Each book was intended to contain ten dialogues, but the last in fact contained fifteen, mostly on literary subjects which were discussed in Athens, during the year of office of the philosopher Ammonius in that city. But four out of Book IV. and five out of Book IX. are lost to us, being only represented by their headings, and by one short fragment the right placing of which we owe to M. Bernardakis.

A few points may be noted as to the whole collection:

(1) There is no reference to any public event, or any matter of current talk, which might suggest a date. We hear of incidents in Plutarch's life, such as his return from a visit to Egypt, and the marriage of a son; and, in some cases, the year of office of local Greek officials is mentioned; but we have no

materials for following out these clues. Dr. Mahaffy has acutely pointed out that the *De tranquillitate animi* belongs to a date before Vespasian's death, because it contains a remark that no Roman emperor had been succeeded by his son. It is just such an indication for which we look in vain through all these pages of free and varied talk. As there is no appeal to Sossius Senecio as a high personage, it seems likely that all the books appeared successively before A.D. 99. On the other hand, Plutarch, born about A.D. 50, cannot have had a married son (see IV. 3) much before the end of the century. In VIII. 6, sons of Plutarch, apparently of school-boy age, are introduced, and again in VIII. 10. Ammonius, who was a philosopher of authority in A.D. 66 (see the *De E in Delphis*) seems to be in much the same position throughout this series. Nothing can be inferred as to the date of any particular dialogue from that of the book in which it is placed.

(2) Though the question is raised at the outset whether 'Philosophy' may be talked over wine, and answered by the question 'why not?' there is little or no discussion which can be called philosophical, in our sense of the word. Stoics and Epicureans are not confronted, and the Summum Bonum is left alone. 'What Plato meant by saying, if he did say, that "God geometrises"' was a tempting subject to discuss on Plato's birthday, and some light is thrown on the *Timaeus*. The heading of one lost dialogue, 'As to our not remaining the same, while being is always in flux,' sounds really 'stiff.' Many questions of Natural History arise, and there is a well-marked group of medical dialogues, in each of which a physician takes part; such problems as 'Whether new diseases can arise and from what causes' (VIII. 9), 'Whether a varied or a simple diet is better for the digestion' (IV. 1), 'the causes of Bulimus' (VI. 8), are discussed with knowledge and freedom by professionals and laymen alike.

(3) Nothing in these dialogues suggests the future writer of the *Lives*; who was to interest posterity in human char-

acter as seen in action upon a great scale, in the shifts of 'Fortune' and the unconquerable mind of man.

(4) These are essentially conversations over wine, and we hear a good deal about the properties of wine, and the etiquette of wine-parties. There is none in which any unseemliness due to drink is mentioned or suggested. An apparent exception is noticed below. Nor do we have the connoisseur's views on different vintages, such as we may gather from Horace or Martial for those of their own day and country.

(5) The charm of the *Symposiasts* lies in the simple good faith of the narrator; each dialogue is the report from memory of a real conversation between real persons; a topic raised in one is often carried on into the next, and discussed by the same speakers, perhaps with one or more added. The persons named as taking part in them are some ninety in number, without making any allowance for the lost dialogues. They fall into groups; we have Plutarch's near relations and connections by marriage, physicians, grammarians, Roman gentlemen, philosophers, sophists, and so on. I only wish now to call attention to Plutarch's two brothers, Lamprias and Timon.

Timon (II. 2, II. 5), of whom Plutarch speaks elsewhere with much affection (*De Fraterno Amore* 487 E), does not appear in the later books. Volkmann, who identifies him with the person named in a letter of the Younger Pliny (I. 6), thinks that Timon settled in Rome. Of Lamprias, with whom we are now concerned, Trench has written—I add a few references to support his points: 'Evidently a character, a good trencherman, as became a Boeotian (II. 2, IV. 5), one who on occasion could dance the Pyrrhic war-dance (IX. 15), who loved well a scoff and a jest (VIII. 4) . . . and who, if he thrusts himself somewhat abruptly into discussions which are going forward (I. 2), was quite able to justify the intrusion.' The last point may be a little enlarged. In the *De E in Delphis* we have the report of a discussion which took place at Delphi in A.D. 66, 'many years ago,' in which Ammonius took part and the brothers Lamprias and

Plutarch, both, no doubt, very young men. Lamprias (p. 386 A) calls attention to the 'received opinions' about the letter in question. Ammonius, a teacher of authority, and a man of tact and humour, an *ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων* who knew all about the young men of his day, gave a quiet smile; Lamprias could be trusted to produce a 'received opinion' made on the spur of the moment upon any problem. This facility seems to have been inherited from his grandfather, a genial and learned man, full of old memories, quoted in the *Life of Antony*, c. 28 for the bewilderment of a young medical friend, a Boeotian, at the vast resources of Antony's larder. In IX. 2, p. 738 B 'my grandfather' is quoted for a somewhat hazardous theory about the letter Alpha. From the tense used, we may suppose that the old man was then dead.

Plutarch's father, who is never mentioned by name, was a very different person. When a question was raised on a point of stable terminology (II. 8, p. 641 F), the father 'being the last man to extemporise an opinion on fine points of language' but having always owned winning horses, settles it from his practical knowledge.

One other trait must be mentioned to the credit of Lamprias. On one occasion at Delphi (VII. 5) some young men of the chorus came in elated by their own performance, and were noisy and rather troublesome. It is Lamprias who calls them to order, whether chosen to do so on the principle of the *φῶρ δεινός*, or, as we would rather believe, because he was, in essentials, a man of character. He explains to them, with gravity and tact, that intoxication may be the result of over-indulgence in 'music,' as surely as of that in wine.

¹ The text has *ἥκιστα περὶ τὰς ἰσηγορίας αὐτοσχέδιος ὄν.* *ἰσηγορίας* can hardly be right, though Volkmann suggests a forced sense. *προσηγορίας*, *ἱστορίας*, *ὑποτροφίας* have been proposed. But there is no reason why the scribe should have stumbled over any of these, and he generally goes wrong upon less familiar words. I would venture to suggest *εὐρεσιλογία* as possible. It is a rare word, used half a dozen times by Plutarch, once (682 B) in the plural, and in the sense required here, see Wytténbach's note on 31 E. From the variations in the spelling of the word it seems to have given trouble.

Lastly, so far as Lamprias was anything serious, he was a Peripatetic (II. 2, 635 B).

Now was this a suitable person to act as Moderator, and to speak on behalf of the Academy, in two learned and elaborate works, equally with the *Symposiacs* reports of real discussions among real speakers, though, unlike them, arranged with considerable literary skill? No doubt Lamprias may have been a graver person in later life than he was in Nero's reign, and may have changed his nominal philosophic allegiance; but it seems incredible that one of so marked personality should be introduced without any touch of personality, while other friends, as Theon, Sylla, etc., are just what we know them.

If Lamprias were really dead when these dialogues were written, may not Plutarch have himself taken up the old family name? We are assured by Demosthenes (*πρὸς Βολιώτου περὶ τοῦ δυνάματος*) that no Athenian ever called two sons by the same name, and this may have been true of Boeotian usage also. But this does not make it clear that a dead brother's name might not be assumed; and the practice of some royal lines supplies instances. Indeed the very issue in the case argued by Demosthenes suggests some freedom in the transference of a name. However, it is not necessary to assume anything so formal; it would be enough if Plutarch's intimates chose, 'for love and for euphony,' to keep in use a name pleasant on the lips from its liquid syllables, and endeared to them by associations. We have other instances, in these dialogues, of people for one reason or another 'called out of their name.'

This hypothesis assumes that the *Symposiacs*, as a whole, were earlier than the two dialogues mentioned at the outset; and it may be convenient to notice references in Plutarch's other works, to the *Symposiacs* or their contents. In the *Life of Marcus Brutus* we read that Brutus had an attack of 'the distemper called Bulimia,' after a march over snow to Dyrrachium. After describing the symptoms, 'But this,' writes Plutarch, 'I have, in another place, discussed more at large,' referring

to the passage in the *Symposiacs* (VI. 8) mentioned above. Brutus had a considerate enemy; for the food required by his curious complaint was supplied from the town which he was attacking, a courtesy which was not forgotten when he entered it as a conqueror.

In the *De Facie* (939 F) the phenomenon of putrefaction accelerated by moonlight (of which an interesting account will be found in Captain Marryatt's *The King's Own*, chap. xxii.) is briefly mentioned; it is discussed in detail in the *Symposiacs* (III. 10). Dr. Max Adler, of Vienna, in his careful and valuable examination of the *De Facie* and the *De Defectu* (*Dissertationes Vindobonenses*, vol. X., 1910) infers that the more elaborate discussion is the later. The same scholar finds reason to think that the *De Facie* is earlier than the *De Defectu*, but he reserves his proof, which I have not been fortunate enough to find in such subsequent numbers of the *Dissertationes* as seem to have reached this country.

One of the lost *Symposiacs* (IX. 10) dealt with the question 'Why the moon is more often eclipsed than the sun.' This apparent phenomenon (for the fact is the other way) is considered in the *De Facie* (p. 932 C.).

Another instance is supplied by mention of Plato's view as to liquids passing into the lung (*Sympos.* VII. 1, compared with 1047 C.).

The case of the *De Pythiae Oraculis*, the second of the 'Delphian dialogues,' on the question why responses are not now given in verse, is somewhat different. It is dramatised, not narrated; at least the narrative comes from Philinus, one of the speakers in a preliminary drama, and Plutarch is not present. Philinus describes the tour of a party round the sights of the temple, the fussiness of the guides, and the naïve remarks of the young Diogenianus, son of a friend of the same name who figures in the *Symposiacs* (which illustrate the severity of the judgments of youth, a trait not unmarked by Plutarch). Then follows a sit-down debate on the main question, concluded by a long and authoritative speech of Theon, who refers to his own

services and benefactions to Delphi and the adjoining Pylaea. M. Chenevière, in his attractive study on Plutarch's friends, remarks that, under whatever name, the leading speaker always conveys Plutarch's views. I do not doubt that this is so here, but not in the sense that Theon's personality is merged in that of Plutarch. In the *Symposiasts* 'Theon our comrade,' to be distinguished from 'Theon the grammarian,' appears as a very intimate friend, and always in dialogues held at Chaeronea or Delphi. He is present at the marriage of Plutarch's son (IV. 3), and in the *Consolatio ad Uxorem*, Timoxena is reminded of the delicate sympathy given by her to Theon's wife in a domestic sorrow. Theon is appealed to when a quotation is wanted, and is full of literary knowledge, and may therefore easily be confused with his namesake the Grammarian. In the *De Facie* Theon plays a bright and important part, and in the *non posse suaviter* he is in charge of the Academic position against the Epicureans. Probably he was a rich neighbour, and had endowed the temple and town in the manner mentioned.

The *De Genio Socratis* is another dramatised dialogue, but the events and speeches belong to history, and to a time some four centuries back. Capheisias, brother of Epaminondas, narrates to an audience assembled at Athens the fine exploit of Pelopidas and his fellows (Epaminondas holding himself in reserve), in recovering the Citadel of Thebes, wrongfully held by a Spartan garrison. Long discussions on the nature of the 'Spirit' of Socrates,

to which Simmias, a young Pythagorean delegate, and others, contribute, fill up the intervals in the main action recounted. This intermixture of strenuous action with profound and curious speculation is very interesting. The first speaker in the dialogue is made to draw out an analogy between the painter and the historian, and to call for a story to satisfy the true enthusiast in works inspired by that great Art Virtue. In the opening of the *Life of Pericles* we find a similar figure, and a warm protest against the theory of 'Art for Art's sake.'

May we suppose that at some definite time Plutarch began to feel the triviality of always discussing such themes as 'Whether the number of the fixed stars is likely to be odd or even,' and 'Why mushrooms grow after thunder,' and set himself to find a more strenuous motive in 'Virtue' and Action? Is it fanciful to suppose that his researches into Theban traditions about Socrates led him to the great character of Epaminondas, and the noble severity of the early Pythagorean brotherhood, and so to the undertaking of the *Lives*? Or was it the other way? It is hard to guess the answer to such questions on *a priori* grounds. We should welcome, if we could have it, any clear link between the author of the *Lives* and the author of the writings which Southey, perhaps too fondly, placed on Daniel Dove's shelves, as 'the worthier half' of Plutarch's works.

These works are an imperfectly charted ocean, but, as Plutarch has reminded us,

θεοῦ θέλοντος κὰν ἐπὶ ῥιπὶς πλείους.

OVIDIANA: NOTES ON THE FASTI.

III.

VI. 419-436.

Moenia Dardanides nuper nova fecerat Ilus
(Ilus adhuc Asiae dives habebat opes):
creditur armigeræ signum caeleste Minervæ
urbis in Iliacæ desiluisse iuga.
cura videre fuit: vidi templumque locumque.
hoc superest illic: Pallada Roma tenet.
consulitur Smintheus lucoque obscurus opaco
hos non mentito redditit ore sonos:
'aetheriam servate deam, servabitis urbem:
imperium secum transferet illa loci.'

servat et inclusam summa tenet Ilus in arce,
curaque ad heredem Laomedonta redit.
sub Priamo servata parum. sic ipsa volebat,
ex quo iudicio forma revicta suaest.
seu genus Adrastî, seu furtis aptus Ulixes,
seu pius Aeneas—eripuisse ferunt:
auctor in incerto, res est Romana. tuetur
Vesta, quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt.

The passage is printed as above in Peter's latest edition; the first hand

of V gives *illi* in line 424 and *gener* in 433. The last four lines are hardly as Ovid wrote them. Lines 433, 434 lack a principal verb; Peter, following Madvig (*Adv.* II. p. 109), thinks that the predicate to *genus Adrasti, Ulixes* and *Aeneas* can be supplied mentally from *eripuisse*. Heinsius says 'Vix Latinitatis ratio constabit huic versui nisi cum Sarraviano codice (p) *eripuisse datur* rescribas. Unus Farnesianus *eam. an, eripuerit deam?*' He read in his text *datur*, and many editors¹ have followed him (including Merkel² in his earlier editions). It seems, however, rash to assume that Ovid would use *datur*=*narratur*. Riese and Davies read *eripuisse ferunt* in parentheses. The next two lines are even more perplexing, for we cannot discover any sequence or meaning. Leaving aside *auctor in incerto*, which is probably the apodosis of the *seu-seu-seu* clause in 433, 434, how are we to interpret *res . . . videt*. The lines were for a long time a puzzle to Gronovius and Heinsius. In 1637 Gronovius drew Heinsius' attention to Scaliger's *vetusque* (for *tuetur*), and he himself suggested reading *iuncta* for *cuncta* in 436 (*Syll.* vol. III. p. 25). In his notes in 1661 Heinsius pronounced the lines to be spurious, and he bracketed them in his text.³ He questioned *res est Romana*, and said that we would expect rather *res est Troiana*. But such a change would not, I think, help us much. All the commentators that I have seen take *res est Romana* to mean 'the Palladium is at Rome.' But to Roman ears could anything be suggested by the Latin except the *Res Romana*—viz. the Roman State? It is thus that Ovid uses the words *res Romana* (*Met.* XIV. 809), just as he talks of the *res Latina*, the *res Danaa*, the *res Troiana*. If the *littera scripta* of the MSS. is as fixed as Theseus, let us translate 'It,

the Palladium, is (*i.e.* represents) the Roman State.' But how shall we proceed? What is the point of the following words—'Vesta watches over it, *because* she sees everything with her flame that never dies'?

Vesta herself—or rather the opinions about her current in Ovid's day—may enlighten our darkness.⁴ Everything connected with this goddess was for the ordinary Roman particularly holy, and the holiness was enhanced by the mystery which enshrouded the goddess and her temple. She was essentially the *rerum custos intimarum* (*Cic. Nat. Deor.* II. 27),⁵ and *res intimae* are not for the common gaze. The *aedes Vestae* was *arcana* (*Fast.* III. 143). Her holy Fire (*arcanae faces*, *Claud. de laud. Stilich.* III. 69) were hidden from every man except the *pontifex maximus*. Holier than the Fire was the *penus Vestae*: even the *pontifex maximus* was not permitted to touch or see the objects contained therein; these objects were *sacra*, *non aedunda viro* (450). In the inner part of this *penus* was a Holy of Holies, which contained the most treasured *sacra* of the State (*τὰ ἐντὸς ἁθικτα*, *Plut. Cam.* 20; *ἱερὰ ἀπόρρητα* *Dion. Hal.* II. 66). Among them were the original *di penates* *p. R. Q.*, which poets and antiquarians alleged had been brought by Aeneas from Troy. And there also was the Palladium,⁶ an object so holy that it was popularly believed that it could be seen only by the *virgo Vestalis maxima* ('vittata sacerdos, Troianam soli cui fas vidisse Minervam,' *Lucan.* I. 598; cf. IX. 993). When in the reign of Commodus the *aedes Vestae* was burnt, this holy object was exposed to the vulgar gaze: *τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νεῶ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς γυμνωθὲν ὥφθη τὸ τῆς Παλλάδος ἄγαλμα ὃ δέβρονσι τε καὶ κρύπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κομισθὲν ἀπὸ Τροίας*,

¹ Including Paley and Hallam.

² He now brackets 433, 434.

³ He suggested, however, reading:

'auctor in incerto. Praeses (or Praestes)
Romana tuetur

Vesta, quod assiduo lumine iuncta videt.'

Vesta iuncta 'quod videt iunctum Vestae Palladium, nempe quod eodem templo est sub Romanae Praesidis Vestae tutela.'

⁴ For Vesta and the *penus Vestae*, see Wissowa, *R.K.*, p. 159, Warde-Fowler, *R.F.*, pp. 145-154, *R.E.*, p. 136; on the Palladium, see especially Marquardt-Wissowa, p. 252, n. 4, Preller-Jordan, *R.M.*, I. pp. 298, 299.

⁵ The *penus* in which her *sacra* were kept is described as 'locus intimus in aede Vestae' (*Fest.*, p. 250).

⁶ 'Hic locus est Vestae qui Pallada servat et ignem' (*Trist.* III. 1; 29).

ὡς λόγος. ὁ τότε πρῶτον καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἄφικιν εἶδον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι (Herodian, I. 14, 4-5).

Such were, I think, the popular views about Vesta and the Palladium in Ovid's day. Ovid's knowledge was perhaps even less than that of his contemporaries. He was surprised to find his preconceived ideas about Vesta to be unfounded (VI. 296, *cf.* 253). Just as he had thought that there was a statue of Vesta, so when he was at Troy he thought that there would be no difficulty in seeing the Palladium. He was reminded by his cicerone that it was at Rome. He gives a sketch of its adventures, assuming that Aeneas (*cf.* I. 527, 528; III. 422; VI. 365) brought it with the other *sacra Troiana* to Italy. We do not expect him to say again that it is now in Rome; he has already told us so (424). But we do expect him to say that he attempted to see it at Rome (*cf.* 423), or at least to explain his failure to do so. And his reticence is all the more remarkable inasmuch as he goes on to tell of the memorable occasion when the Palladium was seen and handled by a man—a *pontifex maximus*¹ at that (437-454). Now this curious break in Ovid's narrative is occupied by the words 'res est Romana. tuetur | Vesta quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt.' If you ask why Vesta has charge of the Palladium, you might answer in the words of Cicero (see above) 'quod Vesta est rerum intimarum custos,' and that is what Ovid means by 'quod Vesta cuncta videt': nothing is a *res intima* for Vesta, for she sees everything. There are taboos for the multitude, for men, even for women and Vestals, but not for the *rerum custos intimarum*. Now we have a Major Premiss 'Vesta beholds all *res intimae*' and a Conclusion 'Vesta beholds² the Palladium.' The missing Minor Premiss seems to be 'The Palladium is a *res intima*.' If

¹ Ovid tactfully ignores the fact that Metellus was blinded for his presumption in looking at the goddess (Pliny, *N.H.* VII. 141, Juv. VI. 265). Otherwise the comparison between Metellus and Augustus (453-457) would be ill-timed.

² *Tuetur* (435) includes the notion *videt* (436).

we had an explicit statement of this sort, we would understand at once why Ovid did not see the Palladium at Rome, and we would understand, moreover, the sequence of thought which leads him to tell of the only occasion on which the Palladium was seen at Rome by a man.

It is unlikely, if this interpretation of the passage is correct, that Ovid failed to make such an explicit statement, and it is unlikely that the principal verb is to be supplied mentally in lines 433, 434. Supposing that Ovid wrote
 seu genus Adraști seu furtis aptus Ulixes
 seu rapit Aeneas (et rapuisse³ ferunt),
 auctor in incerto, res est arcana: tuetur

Vesta, quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt
 it is not hard to account for the text as in V. We need postulate only a copyist obsessed by two ideas: (1) that Aeneas was pious; (2) that the Palladium was at Rome. Such a copyist has his excuse. Aeneas is, to school-boys at least, indecently pious. Ovid took pains, especially in the *Fasti*, to confirm the title conferred by Virgil. In I. 527 and III. 601 we have *iam pius Aeneas* . . . ; in IV. 799 *hunc morem pietas Aeneia fecit*; in II. 543 *hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor*, | *attulit in terras*. Our copyist was not unique; in III. 424 some copyists insisted on writing *pius* for *gravis*, for which change there is less optical cause than for converting *rapit* into *pius*.⁴ Once *rapit* had disappeared, the meaningless *et* was absorbed, and *erapuisse* became *eripuisse*. We have innumerable examples of such transformations, there are a number to be found in the

³ *Et rapuisse* is more likely than *hunc rapuisse*; the affirmative *et* (like *namque*, *enim*, *etenim*) is not uncommon in parenthetical remarks—here are a few from a large number that I have noticed in Ovid: 'credor (et ut credar pignora certa dabo),' *Fast.* III. 74; 'nec potes (et velles posse),' *Rem.* 298; 'sicut erant (et erant) culti,' *Am.* II. 5, 45; 'visa dea est movisse suas (et moverat) aras,' *Met.* IX. 782. *aut rapuisse* is also not impossible, *cf.* *Met.* VIII. 513 'seu dedit aut visus gemitus est ille dedisse,' *cf.* *Fast.* VI. 632.

⁴ In Hor. *Odes* IV. 7, 15 I am content to side with Bentley against Keller and Holder's Class I. and Class II. *Pius* has here ousted the more appropriate *pater*, see Bentley *ad loc.*

MSS. of the *Fasti*. In the change of *arcana* to *romana*, the optical suggestion of the letters was even greater, and the influence of the context (of the *Fasti* as a whole as well as of this particular passage) hardly less. *Roma*, *Romanus* are perpetual words in this poem. A few lines above the copyist had read that 'the Palladium was at Rome (*Pallada Roma tenet*); he reads that it had been taken from Troy by Aeneas—'to Rome' he adds in his mind, and he is prepared to see and write *romana*. We perceive, psychologists tell us, what we wish to perceive. Our copyist wished or at least expected to see *pius* ('hunc morem pietas Aeneia fecit!') and *romana*, and he saw these words.¹ And even if he did see *res est arcana*, and thought about the words, he might think it a strange, if not a disrespectful way of referring to a deity; he would hardly remember that Janus could describe himself as a *res prisca* (I. 103), that Ovid in his heyday was a *res magna* in his wife's eyes (*Trist.* IV. 3, 59), that Ovid said of the man of whom he stood most in awe *res est publica Caesar* (*Trist.* IV. 4, 15). Every condition was against the strange *res est arcana* and in favour of the familiar *res est romana*.

A *res arcana* is a *res secreta et sacra*. In *Met.* IV. 223 *res arcana est* is equivalent to *res secreta est*, but the secret is such as only a mother can discuss with a daughter. In our present passage, if I am right in restoring the word, there is also the notion of secrecy; the Palladium is a secret for Ovid and for all men, and for all except one woman. Hence he did not see it; hence he is

led to tell of the one man who had seen it—Metellus. But the word implies also a mystic secrecy, which attached as we saw to everything connected with Vesta, and *a fortiori* to the holiest of her *res intima*.²

The sequence of thought may now be restored: who did the deed, whether Diomed or Ulysses or Aeneas (Rumour says he did), is uncertain, the Palladium is a thing sacred and hidden from the eyes of men; Vesta sees it and guards it, because nothing is hidden from her eyes. I have punctuated so as to attach *res est arcana* to the apodosis. This is indicated, I think, by the omission of *est*; in other places where Ovid uses the words *in incerto* and in similar expressions (like *in dubio*), it seems to be his rule to insert *est*. Here there is a rhetorical antithesis between the uncertainty regarding the *auctor rapiendi*, and the complete mystery surrounding the *res rapta*.

With regard to the rest of this passage which I have printed according to Peter's text, we should read *illi* (adv.) with Davies in 424; it is the reading of V, and the form is Ovidian, see Owen's note on *Trist.* I. 1, 17. The change of *gener* (V₁) to *genus* (V₃) seems desirable though Apollodorus (I. 8, 6) may be quoted in support of *gener*—*Διομήδης . . . γημας Αἰγιάλειαν τὴν Ἀδράστου, <ῆ> ὡς ἐνίοι φάσι, τὴν Αἰγιάλειωσ*. Aegialeus was son of Adrastus (I. 9, 13). But I cannot believe that all is well with line 432:

sic ipsa volebat
ex quo iudicio forma revicta sua est.

The absence of any qualification for *iudicio*, the position of this word after *ex quo* (= *ex quo tempore*) from which it must be separated in construing,

¹ The substitution of *pius* and *Romana* was largely due to the 'Suggestion de l'ensemble du contexte,' assisted by optical resemblance, see Havet, *Man. de C.V.*, pp. 142, 144. In III. 880 R has *rome* (*rore*), IV. 753 *romulucum* (*ramo lucum*), and there are other blunders of this kind. It is not impossible that *pius* was an explanatory gloss. Mediaeval commentators regarded *Pius* as part of Aeneas' name. The Commentator Oxoniensis says on IV. 41, 42: 'Silvius Eneas qui fuit natus de Lavinia uxore Pii Enee et Postumus dictus quia post hum[an]ationem patris natus est,' showing that for the writer 'Pius Aeneas' was on a par with 'Silvius Aeneas.'

² Lactantius Placidus has an interesting note: '*arcanum nunquam inspectura pudorem*: arcanum pudorem dicit aut eius simulacrum verum, id est Palladium, quod illicitum erat cernere—quo quidam quondam viso privatus est visu—aut virginitas,' etc. (*Theb.* II. 740). This Lactantius, like his namesake of Nicomedia, was well acquainted with the *Fasti*—he quotes twice from the Sixth Book—and his note may be based on a reminiscence of our passage.

The inscription, first cited by Neapolis, *Or.* 2494, is spurious.

and the remarkable *revicta* for *victa* rouse one's suspicions.¹ A solution will be found if we look at lines 43, 44 of this book—

causa duplex irae: raptō Ganymede dolebam,
forma quoque Idaeo iudice victa mea est.

These lines have been bracketed rightly by Güthling, Davies, Peter, and others. They interrupt in an intolerable fashion the sequence (41 'tum me paeniteat,' 45 'paeniteat,' 47 'paeniteat,' 51 'sed neque paeniteat'); and the *quoque* for the simple copula has evidently been regarded as unsatisfactory (see the variants in Merkel). But *Idaeo iudice* is good.² I find it hard to believe that the ordinary interpolator (to judge from his handiwork in the *Fasti*) could have evolved the neat 'forma . . . Idaeo iudice victa mea est,' just as I feel unwilling to saddle Ovid with the lame 'ex quo iudicio forma revicta sua est.' I suggest that our interpolator in 43, 44 built up his distich out of the correct version of the pentameter 432, which he probably found added on the wrong folio of his MS. What he found was

forma quod Idaeo iudice victa sua est.

In its proper context misfortune had befallen the line: the copyist of our archetype may have found

forma quod iudicio iudice victa sua est.

If a schoolboy was asked to build *forma quod* (perhaps *quo*) *iudicio victa sua*

¹ Prof. Housman proposed to read *ab hoste revictum* for the impossible *ab Hectore victum* in *Her.* I. 15: he cited this passage to establish the use of *revincere* = *vincere* in Ovid, see *C.R.* XI. p. 103. The only possible instance of *revictus* = *victus* in Prof. Housman's list is *Lucr.* I. 593 (*revicta* = simply *victa*—Munro), but even in that place *revicta* seems to contain the notion *vicissim victa*; all composite bodies are vanquished in turn and changed into other substances—*alid ex alio reficit natura*. Suppose, says Lucretius, that the atoms were like composite bodies, that they could be vanquished in turn and changed into other things—'si primordia rerum commutari aliqua possent ratione revicta.' *Revicta* belongs to the assumption which he makes only for the sake of argument, and in this connection it is as appropriate as *commutari*.

² Cf. IV. 121 'Caelestesque duas Troiano iudice vicit.'

est into a pentameter, he would in all probability reproduce the line that disfigures our texts. *Iudicio iudice* for *idaeo* (*ideo*) *iudice* would be classed by M. Havet as 'Anticipation amorcée—substitution après l'amorce' (*Man.* p. 135). There are many examples to be found in MSS. of the *Fasti*.

We have a transposed interpolation in VI. 407, 408:

saepe suburbanas rediens conviva per undas
cantat et ad nautas ebria verba iacit.

I have not been able to see why editors have accepted this couplet without comment. In its present context it is quite meaningless, and it is not hard to discover its genesis. Some interpolator was at work on the passage describing the festival of 'Fors Fortuna' (771-790), and evolved the above lines as an improvement on 785, 786:

ecce suburbana rediens male sobrius aede
ad stellas aliquis talia verba iacit.

He may have been puzzled by 'suburbana aede (= templo Fortunae)': it is not unlikely that he thought the remark about the rising of Orion's Belt would be addressed more fitly to sailors than to the stars (cf. 715, 716). The interpolation is clever and not in itself unworthy of Ovid. It seems to contain a reminiscence of V. 337-340. But it did not succeed in ousting the genuine lines, and it owes its present position in our texts to some injudicious copyist.

Glosses as distinct from interpolations are not uncommon in the text of *Fasti*. I have suggested that we have such intrusions in II. 203, 204, 749; VI. 346, 434. A gloss will enter even in defiance of metre. A number of MSS. read in II. 714:

qui dederit primus oscula victor erit,

and this barbarism has not lacked supporters.³ In II. 638 our two best MSS. have:

³ Ciofani, Neapolis, and Barth ('perperam notant grammatici Ovidium mediam pentametri syllabam nunquam corripuisse,' *Adv.* XXXVII. 10). Carrio (*Em.* II. 10) points out that *primus* (714) and *dederunt* (715) are only glosses for *princeps* and *tulerunt*.

et 'Bene vos, bene te, patriae pater, optime Caesar'
dicite suffuso in sacra verba mero.

Another class of MSS. (*m*, *D*, *C*, and others) read *sint bona verba*, but editors weary themselves trying to emend in *sacra verba* of the older MSS. The explanation of this variant is obvious if we look at the *fragm. Ilf.* (also *C*?). There we have apparently:

i. sacra
dicite suffuso sint bona verba mero.

I have no doubt that the archetype of *R* and *V* was glossed in the same way, and that some copyist interpreted *i. sacra* as a correction (*ĩ sacra*). The right reading is to be deduced from *sint bona verba*; it is possibly *sic bona verba* (Baehrens), though I would suggest *sub bona verba*.

When a gloss accommodates itself to the metre, the danger of its intrusion is great. In VI. 99, 100 the MSS. have:

ite pares a me. perierunt iudice formae
Pergama. plus laedunt quam iuuet una
duae.

Ovid is not adverse to using the ablative of instrument of persons; see

Palmer, *Her.* V. 75, XII. 162, and Draeger II. p. 548. But I do not think there is an instance to match 'perierunt iudice formae Pergama,' nor do I feel satisfied that Ovid wrote 'ite pares a me.' Now some commentator—not the original glossator—has written at the bottom of the page in *C*, illustrating line V. 110 'in libro inferiori (*i.e.* VI. 99, 100) eiusdem sententiae versus

Pergama Troiano perierunt iudice formae:
laedere plus possint quam iuuet una duae.'

Is it possible that the writer has preserved the true version of VI. 99, 100? *Ite pares a me* may be only a gloss on line 98—'res est arbitrio non dirimenda meo.' The glossator could have borrowed *ite pares* from *A.A.* III. 3 ('ite in bella pares'), or he may have been thinking of Calpurnius, *Ecl.* II. 99 ('este pares'). The gloss would oust the first words of line 99, and the lines would owe their present shape to the patchwork of a subsequent corrector.

E. H. ALTON.

Trinity College,
Dublin.

LIVY AND THE NAME AUGUSTUS.

LIKE the great writers of the Augustan Age, Livy was a warm supporter of the Emperor and his policies. He touches but very slightly (I. 3. 2), to be sure, on the connexion of the Julian house with Aeneas and the tradition of the origin of Rome which the *Aeneid* brought into popular knowledge some years after Livy wrote his first book. It may even be doubted whether the more immediate ancestry of Augustus was the subject of panegyrics in the later books of the historian who praised Pompey so highly that the Emperor dubbed him a Pompeian,¹ and who questioned whether the birth of Julius Caesar had brought more good or more harm to the Roman state.² But Livy's attitude toward Augustus himself is clearly attested by the evidence for the warm personal relations

that existed between them and, better still, by several references to the Emperor in Livy's history. Indeed every one of his definite allusions to events of his own day—there are only five—is concerned with the achievements of the Emperor.³ Except in one case, where the statement that Germany was but lately a pathless wilderness (IX. 36. 1.) makes indirect allusion to the prowess of the Emperor's arms, Augustus is mentioned by name. He is 'templorum omnium conditor ac restitutor' (IV. 20. 7); in his reign the temple of Janus was closed for the second time since its foundation (I. 19. 3); under his auspices the troublesome province of Spain was at last thoroughly subdued (XXVIII. 12. 12); in connexion with his new

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 34.

² Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* V. 18. 4.

³ Cf. Dessau, *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* (1903), p. 164.

marriage law he is represented as reading in the senate the speech in which Quintus Metellus Macedonicus made a similar proposal a hundred years before (*Per.* LIX.). To these explicit references Professor Dessau has made the not improbable suggestion that two others may be added. He sees in the statement of the *Praefatio*, 'donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est,' an allusion to the marriage law which Augustus proposed in 28 and then withdrew (*Propertius*, II. 7).¹ He thinks that the discussion in IV. 20 of the circumstances in which the *spolia opima* were dedicated by Aulus Cornelius Cossus may have been dictated by a desire to explain the refusal of the right to dedicate *spolia opima* to Marcus Licinius Crassus in 27 B.C.²

In this connexion it seems worth while to call attention to a striking use in Livy of the word *augustus* in contrast to *humanus* which, though without definite allusion to the Emperor, is apparently an intentional commentary on the meaning of the title which the Octavian assumed in 27 B.C. The five cases of the use all occur in the first decade. Now Livy was writing the first book between January 27, when the Emperor took his new title, and 25 B.C., and it is very probable that the first decade was completed within the next few years. The references come therefore shortly after the Emperor began to be called Augustus. The passages are: I. 7. 9 (of Hercules) 'habitu formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem *augustio remque humana*'; V. 41. 8 (of the appearance of the old men waiting in the Forum for death at the hands of the Gauls) 'ornatum habitumque *humano augustio rem*'; VIII. 6. 9 (of a vision appearing to Decius and Manlius), in 'quiete . . . visa species viri maioris quam pro *humano habitu augustio* et *visque*'; VIII. 9. 10 (of Decius preparing for the *devotio*): 'aliquanto *augustio* *humano* visus sicut caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae.' The

contrast is less direct in *Praefatio* 7: 'datur haec venio antiquitati ut miscendo *humana* divinis primordia urbium *augustiora* faciat.' Although *augustus* is constantly used in a religious sense, the only close parallel to this use is found in a passage of Valerius Maximus that may well be an echo of Livy: I. 8. 8 (of a description of the vision of Julius Caesar that appeared to Cassius at Philippi): 'quem . . . vidit humano habitu *augustio rem* purpureo paludamento amictum.' The similarity between these passages and Cassius Dio's definition of the new name is marked: (53. 16. 8) Ἀὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὧν ἐπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμώτατα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα αὐγουστα προσαγορεύεται.

Livy seems to be defining the new name as if he feared that its true significance might not be understood. Later in a passage that refers explicitly to the Emperor Ovid does the same thing in somewhat different terms. Here, too, there is a suggestion of the contrast between *augustus* and *humanus*. *Fasti*, I. 605-612:

Nec gradus est ultra Fabios cognominis ullus :
illa domus meritis Maxima dicta suis.
sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus
omnes,
hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
sancta vocant augusta patres : augusta vo-
cantur
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.
huius et augurium dependet origine verbi,
et quodcumque sua Iuppiter augeat ope.

Suggestions as to the reason why *augustus* was the title selected by Octavian have recently been made by Professor Haverfield and Professor W. Warde Fowler. The former, noting the close association of the words *augustus* and *augur*, thinks that the abbreviation AUG. for *augur*, found on coins of Mark Antony that must have been in circulation in 27 B.C., may have suggested to Octavian the title Augustus which is also frequently abbreviated AUG.³ Against this suggestion which seems in general improbable it may be particularly urged that the abbreviation AUG. for *Augustus*, though common on

¹ Cf. Dessau, *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* (1903), pp. 461-466.

² Dessau, *Livius und Augustus*, in *Hermes*, XLI. (1906), pp. 142-151.

³ Haverfield, *Journal of Roman Studies*, V. (1915), pp. 249-250.

later coins, cannot be dated before 19 B.C.¹ On the early coins and on nearly all the inscriptions of Augustus the name is written in full. Professor Fowler, in his new book *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, hazards a most illuminating conjecture. He would read as an attribute the word *augustus* in the line (*Aen.* VII. 678): 'Hinc augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar.' Following a suggestion of Nettleship that the account of the battle of Actium in the description of Aeneas' shield was originally written as a separate poem shortly after the battle, he was very tentatively suggests that the line quoted from that description 'may in fact have been responsible for the famous name.'

But an adequate explanation of the choice of *augustus* seems to be provided in the special religious connotation of the epithet which exactly fitted the Emperor's needs.² Although he did not actually claim personal divinity, Octavian must already have appreciated the aid in legalising his power that was rendered by the worship which his oriental subjects and, to a far lesser degree, his western subjects as well were ready to accord to him and to his house.³ In styling himself *divi filius* as early as 37 B.C. he was probably not unconscious of the effect of such a title in establishing his rule. After Actium there was need of a new name to indicate his peculiar position of pre-eminence in the reconstituted state. It was both safer and more effective to take a name of religious import that would indicate

the 'germ of a deity in him,'⁴ rather than to call himself Romulus as he wished but dared not do.⁵ The Emperor, therefore, had recourse to the old custom of having the senate vote a descriptive title⁶—one that differed, as Ovid shows, from the titles that were voted to the heroes of old in that attributed to him not human but divine characteristics. In the Greek *σεβαστός* he found an impressive title that may well have been coined for the occasion, for it occurs first, it would seem, in the history of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (II. 75) published in 7 B.C., and is rarely used except in references to the Imperial family. Cassius Dio's statement about the word indicates that it was unfamiliar: (53. 16. 8) *καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντές πως, ὥσπερ τινὰ σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι προσέειπον.*

The Latin *augustus*, on the other hand, is used often by Cicero, regularly in a religious sense,⁷ and frequently as a synonym of *sanctus* and *religiosus*.⁸ Of these words *religiosus* was unsuitable for a name because of its ambiguity, and *sanctus*, the word that the Christians later made peculiarly their own, was too common to be distinctive. *Divinus*, regularly the opposite of *humanus*, would have seemed to make too explicit a claim to divinity, though the emperors of the third century did not hesitate to apply it to their families. The choice naturally fell on *augustus*, a word which, through its etymological connexion with *augere* and perhaps with *augur*⁹ too, had a particularly rich

¹ The abbreviation *Aug.* occurs first on coins dated after the dedication of the altar of Fortuna Redux, December 15, 19 B.C. Cf. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, III., p. 30. Professor Haverfield cites no case of the abbreviation *Aug.* in inscriptions earlier than the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

² On the name *Augustus* see Cassius Dio, 53. 16; Suet. *Aug.* 7; *Mon. Anc.* c. 34; *CIL.* I², pp. 307 f.; Censorinus, *De die natali*, 21. 8; Velleius, 2. 91. For further references see Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, pt. 2, pp. 297 f.

³ Cf. Pelham, *The Domestic Policy of Augustus in Essays on Roman History* (1911), pp. 109-113; W. S. Ferguson, *Legalised Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome in Am. Hist. Rev.* XVI. II. (1912-1913), pp. 29-37.

⁴ Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity* (1911), p. 126.

⁵ Cassius Dio, 53. 16. 7; cf. Florus II. 34. 36: 'Tractatum etiam in senatu an quia condisset imperium Romulus vocaretur; sed sanctus et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti ut scilicet iam tum dum colit terras ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur.'

⁶ Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. pp. 212-213.

⁷ Only in Brutus 295 does Cicero use the word in the sense of *magnificus, admirabilis*, common in later times. See the *Thesaurus*.

⁸ Cicero, *Har. Resp.* 12, *satis sanctum, satis augustum, satis religiosum*. Cf. also *Verr.* V. 186; *N.D.* I. 119; II. 62. 79; III. 53; *Tusc.* V. 36.

⁹ See the *Thesaurus* and Walde's *Lateinisches-etymologisches Wörterbuch*. The con-

connotation. Professor Conway has noted that the conception of physical superiority, natural from the connexion with *augere*, is strong in the word in *Aeneid* VII. 678. He thinks that it probably indicated a certain enlargement in the figure of Augustus in

nexion with *augur* is maintained by Zimmermann, *Archiv für lateinisches Lexicographie*, VII. pp. 435 f. Cf. Professor O. L. Richmond's interesting comments, *Journal of Roman Studies*, IV. (1914), p. 216.

Aeneas's shield.¹ It is worthy of note that the same idea of physical superiority, not often predominant in the word, as a glance through the cases cited in the *Thesaurus* will show, is strongly emphasised in four of the cases which I have cited from Livy.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

American Academy in Rome.

¹ Quoted by Warde Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, p. 112.

LATIN POETIC ORDER WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HORACE *EPODES* 5. 19.

I HAVE for some years been making a close study of word-order in Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*. The conclusion has been forced upon me that the order of words is no more negligible in poetry than it is in prose. It is true that orders occur in poetry which would not be equally common in prose; and yet such non-prose orders are surprisingly few. One common type, however, with rare parallels in prose, merits special attention. It has a psychological interest which may be thus illustrated. Suppose we enter a room and see upon a table a red flower in a silver bowl. What makes more impression on the mind? Is it the antithetical colours, red and silver, and the antithetical objects, flower and bowl? Or is it the antithesis of the combinations, red flower and silver bowl? English decides for the latter; Latin poetry, more often, for the former; and, with rare exceptions, the two colours (literal or metaphorical) are put first and the two objects last. Thus while prose might write *flos purpureus stat in lance argentea*, poetry will prefer the grouping *purpureus argentea stat flos in lance*, or chiasitic orders such as *argentea purpureus stat flos in lance*, etc.

This grouping, as I have said, is in prose very rare. I know one case in Cicero, viz. *De Off.* 2. 7. 23, *reliquorum similes exitus tyrannorum*, and two cases in Livy, viz. 6. 34. 7, *parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri*, and 22. 2. 3, *omne veterani robur exercitus* (where, however, the MSS. show variations); and, doubtless, other parallel instances may be

found. But in poetry the device is a commonplace.

The neatest type is seen in the formula adj. A, adj. B, verb, noun A, noun B. Compare *Lucr.* 5. 1068, *suspensis teneros imitantur dentibus haustus*; *Verg. Aen.* 7. 10, *proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae*; *Ovid. Her.* 4, 80, 81, *exiguo flexos miror in orbe pedes; seu lentum valido torques hastile lacerto and passim*.

Less common is the formula adj. A, adj. B, verb, noun B, noun A, as in *Hor. Odes* 3. 7. 25: *niveum doloso credit tauro latus*.

These two types, with the verb in the centre, we will call types α^1 and α^2 respectively. The formula adj. A, adj. B, noun A, noun B, and the verb anywhere, we will call β^1 ; the formula adj. A, adj. B, noun B, noun A, or adj. B, adj. A, noun A, noun B, both with the verb anywhere, we will call β^2 . All four types occur in Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, and make a total of nearly 200 instances.

Of type α^1 the first case in the *Odes* is *I. 2. 11, 12*, *superiecto timidæ natarunt æquore damæ*; of type α^2 , *I. 3. 10*, *fragilem truci commisit pelago ratem*; of type β^1 , *I. 3. 23*, *impias non tangenda rates transiliunt vada*; and of type β^2 , *I. 1. 14*, *Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare*.

A notorious line in Lucan (8. 343) should, I think, be regarded as a case of type β^2 , viz.:

*quem captos ducere reges
vidit ab Hyrcanis (A) Indoque (B) a litore (B)
silvis (A).*

Had Lucan written *aque Indo* in place of the slight chiastic variety *Indoque a*, there would have been no need to quote the line as a 'rare hyperbaton'; and much the same defence might be raised for Manilius i. 429, *discordes-vultu* (A) *permixtaque* (B) *corpore* (B) *partus* (A).

But to return to Horace—the importance of bearing in mind these types is seen clearly when we face such a 'derangement of epitaphs' as is provided by the commentators on *Epod.* 5. 19:

*inbet (Canidia) cupressos funebres
et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine 19
plumamque nocturnæ strigis . . .
flamænis aduri Colchicis.*

Here the editors offer a bewildering variety of interpretations. The most favoured dogma appears to be that *ova* and *plumam* belong to *strigis*, and that we should translate by 'an owl's eggs and feathers smeared with blood of hideous toad.' Gow and Page have their doubts, and well they may; for if the conventional interpretation be cor-

rect, Latin order *is* a Chinese puzzle, and school-boys should not be permitted to spend valuable time on this exhilarating game. But if we follow the principles of Latin poetic order as demonstrated above, we shall arrive at conclusions less complimentary both to Horace and to Latin poetry.

The grouping *uncta turpis ova ranæ* is simply that of type β^1 . I submit that these words *must* be read by a Roman as 'eggs anointed of foul toad,' and that *ranæ* goes with both *ova* and *sanguine*, for it lies between them. We may, if we like, in the Horatian manner, supply *unctam sanguine (strigis)* with *plumam*.

Dr. A. S. Way, in his translation (Macmillan, 1898), says rightly:

'And the spawn a loathly toad had voided,
smeared with blood,
And the feather of a screech-owl, bird of gloom.'

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

The University, Adelaide,

JESTS OF PLAUTUS, CICERO, AND TRIMALCHIO.

Plaut. *rud.* 766-8.

L. ibo hercle aliquo quaeritatum ignem.
D. quid quom inueneris?

L. ignem magnum hic faciam. D. quin inhumanum exuras tibi?

L. immo hasce ambas hic in ara ut uiuas comburam, id uolo.

On *inhumanum*, which he marks as corrupt, Leo observes 'quid fuerit apud medicos quaerendum'; Professor Lindsay refers his readers to C.R. XVIII p. 402, where he cites the verse as evidence for the pronunciation of *gn* in Latin and says 'Clearly this strange reply is due to the resemblance of *ignem* *magnum* in pronunciation to *inhumanum*.'¹ That hardly diminishes any strangeness it may have; and I believe that the problem can be solved without

researches in the abyss of ancient medicine or hypotheses about the pronunciation of *gn*.

When one speaker announces his intention of going about to make a great fire, and the other thereupon enquires 'What for? to burn the churlishness (or something of that sort) out of you?' this insult at first sight appears to have two incongruous faults: it is both clumsy and mild. It does not seem to arise naturally, as a good insult should, from the previous conversation, and it is not nearly so offensive as a bad insult, unconfined by any requirements of neatness, might easily be. Why should the proceedings of Labrax suggest the notion of burning any element out of anybody? and why should the particular element be *inhumanum*?

¹ In the same note he cites for the same purpose Cic. *de rep.* IV 6 (Non. p. 24) 'censoris iudicium nihil fere damnato obfert nisi ruborem. itaque, ut omnis ea iudicatio uersatur tantummodo in nontne, animaduersione illa ignominia dicta est, and comments 'So Cicero pronounced *ignominia* more or less as "innominia." Non

sequitur: the only inference which can be drawn from Cicero's words is that he derived *ignominia*, quite rightly, from *nomen*: there is no indication that he made the mistake of deriving it from *in nomine*.

Because men once went about to make a great and famous fire which had for its purpose to burn out of a certain person the element of *humanity*; and that person's name was casually and inadvertently mentioned by Labrax when he made use of the interjection *hercle*. Minuc. *Oct.* 22 7 'Hercules, ut hominem exuat, Oetaeis ignibus concrematur', Ouid. *met.* IX 250-3 (Jove is the speaker) 'omnia qui uicit, uincet, quos cernitis, ignes | nec nisi materna Vulcanum parte potentem | sentiet: aeternum est, a me quod traxit, et expers | atque immune necis nullaque domabile flamma', 262-5 'interea, quodcumque fuit populabile flammae, | Mulciber abstulerat, nec cognoscenda remansit | Herculis effigies, nec quicquam ab imagine ductum | matris habet tantumque Iouis uestigia seruat', Sen. *H.O.* 1966-8 (Hercules to Alcmena) 'quidquid in nobis tui | mortale fuerat, ignis euictus tulit: | paterna caelo, pars data est flammis tua.' Fire was used with the same intent though not with the same effect by Thetis on Achilles, Apollod. *bibl.* III 171 *ὥς δὲ ἐγέννησε Θέτις ἐκ Πηλέως βρέφος, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, κρύφα Πηλέως εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐγκρύβουσα τῆς νυκτὸς ἔφθειρεν ὃ ἦν αὐτῷ θνητὸν πατρῶον*, Apoll. *Rhod.* IV 869 sq. *ἡ μὲν γὰρ βροτέας αἰεὶ περὶ σάρκας ἔδαιεν | νύκτα διὰ μέσσην φλογμῷ πυρός*, and by Demeter on Demophon or Triptolemus, Apollod. *bibl.* I 31 *βουλομένη δὲ αὐτὸ ἀθάνατον ποιῆσαι τὰς νύκτας εἰς πῦρ κατέτιθει τὸ βρέφος καὶ περιγίρει τὰς θνητὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ*, Ouid. *fast.* IV 553 sq. 'inque foco corpus pueri uiuente fauilla | obruit, humanum purget ut ignis onus'. Labrax therefore may be making a bonfire with a view to such self-improvement as the nature of his case allows. Burning him alive will not indeed turn him into a god, but it may perhaps turn him into a human being.

Both interlocutors are at home in mythology: Daemones at 604 recalls that swallows are the descendants of Philomela; Labrax at 509 is expected to know who Tereus and Thyestes were, and with the life of Hercules he seems to have been thoroughly familiar, for we owe to him our knowledge of a

detail recorded by no other authority, 489 sq.:

edepol, Libertas, lepida es, quae numquam pedem uoluisti in nauem cum Hercule una imponere.

Macrob. *Saturn.* II 3 16 Cicero . . . cum Piso gener mollius incederet, filia autem concitatus, ait filiae 'ambula tamquam uir', <at genero 'ambula tamquam femina'>. et cum M. Lepidus in senatu dixisset patribus conscriptis <'ego non tanti fecissem simile factum'>, Tullius ait 'ego non tanti fecissem ὁμοιόπτωτον'.

These supplements of the defective text are those of early editions, and they are approved by the latest editor Eyssenhardt. The second, though manifestly quite uncertain, is not manifestly false; for *fecissem . . . factum* would seem to come within Quintilian's definition of ὁμοιόπτωτον *inst.* IX 3 78, though *ib.* 80 he refers 'non minus *cederet* quam *cessit*' to a distinct and different figure 'qua nomina mutatis casibus repetuntur'. But it is so inconspicuous and inoffensive a specimen of its class that it can hardly have elicited Cicero's raillery; and from the emphasis of 'patribus conscriptis' following upon 'in senatu' I should infer that Lepidus had slipped into some expression unfit for the ears of his audience, like that cited in *ad fam.* IX 22 2 'memini in senatu disertum consularem ita eloqui, "hanc culpam maiorem an illam dicam?" potuit opscenius?' This however is likewise uncertain: about the first of the two witticisms there should be no similar doubt. The supplement above given is wrong, and Cicero's own words can be recovered.

Piso had a mincing gait and Tullia a rapid stride: Cicero, displeased with these peculiarities, is supposed to say to his daughter 'walk like a man' and to his son-in-law 'walk like a woman'. That is what they did already and what he wished to break them of doing; and the form of *εἰρῶνεια* which consists in saying the opposite of what one means is much too common and simple to constitute a pleasantry or to win a place among the *dicta Ciceronis*. The contrast between the pair suggested to

their sprightly relative a whimsical way of conveying his reproof. When he said to his daughter 'ambula tamquam uir', what he meant was 'walk like your husband'. And what he said to his son-in-law was 'ambula tamquam uxor'.

Petron. 41 6-8 dum haec loquimur, puer speciosus, uitibus hederisque redimitus, modo Bromium, interdum Lyaeum Euhiumque confessus, calathisco uuas circumtulit et poemata domini sui acutissima uoce traduxit. ad quem sonum conuersus Trimalchio 'Dionyse' inquit 'LIBER esto'. puer detraxit pileum apro capite suo imposuit. tum Trimalchio rursus adiecit: 'non negabitis me' inquit 'habere LIBERVM patrem'. laudauimus dictum Trimalchionis et circumeuntem puerum sane perbasiamus.

I print this passage as Trimalchio would have wished it to be read. Our current texts, with their 'liber esto' and 'Liberum patrem', would show him that half his labour had been lost and half his wit wasted; and if he could consult the translators and commentators he would be grievously disappointed with most of them and thoroughly satisfied with none.

It is likely that many readers have understood the pun in 'me habere LIBERVM patrem', and it is not impossible that many translators have done so; but only two or three of them give proof that they understand it, and a larger number give proof that they do not. Trimalchio is happier dead than if he had lived to see such interpretations as 'dass Bacchus mein Sohn sey', 'the god of liberation is my father', 'I have freed him who frees us from care', 'on ne peut pas nier qu'à présent Bacchus ne dépende

de moi (iocus inter Liberum Patrem et seruum liberum)'. But as to 'LIBER esto', few even suspect that it contains a pun; few of those who suspect it can explain what the pun is; and nobody, not even W. K. Kelly, explains it in terms which would assure Trimalchio that he had not been casting pearls before swine.

There comes in a boy, Dionysus by name, as the sequel tells us, wearing a wreath of vine and ivy, handing round grapes, and declaring himself now Bromius, now Lyaeus, now Euhius. 'Dionysus', says Trimalchio, 'LIBER esto': that is, assume the character of the indigenous wine-god; be, not Bromius nor Lyaeus nor Euhius, but our Italian Liber. The boy, instructed beforehand, feigns to take the proper name for an adjective and to recognise the formula of manumission; he snatches the cap of liberty from the head of the lately enfranchised boar and claps it on his own. By this pun in action he has performed his master's bidding to the letter: LIBER est, and by logical consequence also *pater*: Seru. georg. II 4 '*pater licet generale sit omnium deorum, tamen proprie Libero semper cohaeret, nam Liber pater uocatur*'. Trimalchio's way is now clear to his next pun, 'non negabitis me habere LIBERVM patrem': in the words' first sense as they fall on the ear, 'father Liber is of my household',—and there stands Dionysus with his cap on to prove it; in their after-meaning, as they reach the mind, 'I am a freeman's son',—false within the knowledge of the whole company, and yet not deniable.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

Trinity College,
Cambridge.

TWO NOTES ON VIRGIL AND HORACE.

Aen. I. 462:

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

The key to the exact meaning of this famous verse, in the current interpretations of which *rerum* seems to mean anything or nothing, is to be

found in the observation that the genitive of *mortalia* is *mortalium rerum*. The two clauses are arrows shot at the same mark, in the manner familiar to us in the Psalter; not common in Latin poetry, yet not to be disallowed in any literature. They are: (1) *sunt lacrimae*

mortalium rerum; (2) *mentem mortalia tangunt*. 'Mortality hath its meed of tears: yea, it toucheth the heart to compassion.'

Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 161 ff.:

Serus enim Graecis admouit acumina chartis
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile
ferrent.

There must be something wrong with the text here. The sentence has no subject; *serus* has nothing to qualify. It is incredible that Horace expected us to cast back for a nominative, to overleap two finite clauses, and find our subject in the object, *ferum uictorum*, of 156-7. In fact, if the text stands, we are required by elementary grammar to adopt *numerus Saturnius* from v. 158 as the subject, which is absurd. Further, the missing nominative has to carry on for at least three verses more, and to serve four more verbs. Of the ensuing sentence Dr. J. S. Reid writes (in a note contributed to Wilkins's commentary): 'It is almost impossible to believe that vv. 166-7 were not written with reference to some person. Ennius Pacuvius or Attius must have been taken as a specimen of the Roman tragic writers.' This seems unquestionable, and it follows that the corruption is deep-seated, and calls for heroic surgery.

Is there any other fault in the sentence as it stands which may help us to locate the error? I submit that the word *acumina* is unsatisfactory; not merely because we have to suppose that Horace wrote *acumina* for *acumen* with no better excuse than metrical convenience, but for a graver reason. If we translate, 'He (*sc.* the *ferus uictor*) applied his mind to Greek writings,' we are ignoring the metaphor; which we do the more readily because we happen to have borrowed the word *acumen* in its metaphorical, but not in its primary or physical, sense. To a Roman, however, familiar with the primary meaning of both verb and noun, the phrase *admouere acumina* (*cf.* *admouere stimulos* in Juv. X. 329, Cic. *Tusc.* III. 16, 35, etc.) must have suggested the image of an insect advancing its sting with intention, or a

man prodding somebody or something with the pointed end of a spear or goad; and this is clearly inapplicable to a diligent Roman (even though also *ferus* and *uictor*) enlarging his mind by the study of foreign literature.

If then *acumina* is suspect, and if the sense demands one of the three names mentioned, we may perhaps find a hopeful clue by noting that, if the name *Pacuvius* lost its initial, by an accident not improbable in the hands of a scribe who did not know who Pacuvius was, the remnant would correspond, in respect of four of its seven letters (*acu . i . .*), with *acumina*; and that the triple *u* might favour further mutilation, leaving a residue which would be readily expanded into *acumina* to make out the metre. *Pacuvius chartis* is indeed impossible as the ending, and looks like the beginning, of a hexameter. But the following verse has, by reason of an uncommon caesura, a beginning metrically transferable to the end; indeed, if *post Punica bella quietus* survived as a fragment, we should naturally suppose ourselves to be reading the latter half of a hexameter verse. Before trying the transposition, however, we have to deal with *admouit*, a transitive verb which, for Pacuvius' sake, we have robbed of its object. I suggest, with diffidence, *admotus*; asking whether *-tus*, *-ust*, *-uit* is not a possible sequence of corruption; and whether *Graecis admotus chartis* might not carry the meaning, introduced to, or, attracted by, Greek manuscripts.

Let us then suppose that Horace wrote:

Serus enim Graecis, post Punica bella quietus,
Pacuvius chartis admotus quaerere coepit;

that a scribe, whose eye fell from *-is* to *-is* immediately below, made it

Serus enim Graecis admotus quaerere coepit,
but supplied the two half-verses he had omitted at the foot of his page; and that the next man, mistaking the reference marks, placed the end of 161 at the beginning of 162, and *vice versa*. A third copyist, doing his best to sort the jumble, might produce something very like the traditional text.

As for sense, *serus* and *post Punica*

bella quietus go very well together. 'Late in life' (better than 'late in Roman history'), 'in the leisure that followed the Punic Wars, Pacuvius, having his attention turned to Greek literature, began to enquire whether Sophocles, Thespis, and Aeschylus were of any use to him. He also tried his hand at translation,' etc. The scholarship here attributed to Pacuvius explains the compliment already paid to him (v. 56):

aufert Pacuvius docti famam senis;
compare also *senis* with *serus*.

Reconstructions which postulate a long series of blunders are rarely acceptable, and I hardly dare expect acceptance of this one. It is published in the hope that some critic, better versed in the mysteries of the craft, may reach a more satisfactory conclusion from the same starting-point.

C. A. VINCE.

'STATIUS, POGGIO, AND POLITIAN.'

UNDER the above heading Mr. Garrod in 1913 contributed to this Review¹ what he described as 'a new piece of evidence,' which, after being singled out for special notice by Professor A. C. Clark in *The Year's Work* for 1914 (p. 56) as an interesting statement, has now made its way into Professor Phillimore's new edition of the *Silvae* (S.C.B.O., Praef. p. xii) as an ascertained fact, '... id quod felicissimus harum tenebrarum explorator Garrodus comperit.'

For students of Statius the mystery of Poggio's *Vetustissimus* and what became of it, has the same perennial fascination that the mystery of Edwin Drood has for students of Dickens; and any scholar might well be forgiven if in dealing with it he let his imagination run away with him. But just for that reason sober criticism should be on the alert to test every 'piece of evidence' propounded. To some of us the new theory is particularly attractive, for it brings in Heinsius.

Mr. Garrod begins with a supposition. (a) 'It is usually supposed that the *Vetustissimus* ... was found by Poggio in the monastery of St. Gall. ... 'This is not certain,' he adds, 'but it is probable, and only so far as it is probable ... is the piece of evidence of which I speak cogent.' He then proceeds (b) to argue from three passages in Burmann's *Sylloge*² (1) that *V.* was still at St. Gall in the time of Nicolaus Heinsius and that N.H.

secured access to it for Lucas Langermannus in the year 1651: (2)—this is not explicitly stated, but it appears to be clearly implied—that the MS. was duly collated by Langermannus for N.H., who in 1655 was 'still³ meditating an edition of the *Silvae*,' when the collation was unfortunately lost at sea, with other papers, in a shipwreck.

What an 'intriguing' theory! It reads like a page from a romance. First the rediscovery of the long-lost *V.*, then four years of full fruition (which yet have 'left not a wrack behind'), and then—then the shipwreck, and the precious collation goes down, carrying with it all the fruits of study to the bottom of the deep blue sea. Even the memory of the treasure-trove perishes so completely from the not unretentive mind of Heinsius that fourteen years afterwards we find him asking a friend to examine for him, not the *Vetustissimus* at St. Gall, but the *deteriores* in the Vatican, to clear up his *dubitationes* on a score of passages from the *Silvae*. But to resume.

On (a) Mr. Garrod, while regarding the supposition as probable, speaks—be it noted—with the utmost caution. But it is and it remains a mere supposition, nothing more. Professor Clark—a very weighty authority on all that relates to the literary discoveries of Poggio—takes the opposite view, and with far less reserve: 'I have never,' he writes,¹ 'seen any reason for supposing that

¹ C.R. vol. xxvii. p. 265 f.

² Vol. iii. pp. 283 and 345, and vol. v. p. 532.

³ Why 'still'? Is there any definite statement that he ever did meditate an edition?

Poggio got his copy' [of the *Silvae*] 'from St. Gall.' A verdict of 'Not Proven' is the only verdict possible on the facts.

In regard to (b) it would seem that (1) is the crucial point. 'Langermannus,' writes Mr. Garrod, 'had collated a MS. of the *Silvae*' (my italics) 'lent him by the monks of St. Gall.' But Heinsius does not say so. Mr. Garrod quotes the *ipsissima verba* himself; and here they are: 'Statium etiam vetustissimum contulit,' *e.q.s.* 'Statium'—so scholars constantly wrote in referring to the *Thebaid*—not 'Silvas Statianas,' the phrase which elsewhere—*e.g.* in Mr. Garrod's other passages from the *Sylloge* (III. 345 and V. 532)—N.H. uses to describe the less known and less quoted work, the *Silvae*. And a *Statius Vetustissimus* there was and is still at St. Gall—a MS. of the *Thebaid*, not of the *Silvae*—bound up with a mediaeval poem (*Oedipus on the Death of his Sons*), No. 865, saec. xii. For² this information and for what follows about St. Gall I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Clark, to whom, being deeply interested myself in the problem of *V*, I went for enlightenment, and who instituted an inquiry into the matter on the spot. The monastery, he tells me, also possessed in the ninth century³ both a *Thebaid* and an *Achilleid*, and later another twelfth-century *Thebaid*, now at Zurich,⁴ which might also be entitled 'vetustissimus.'⁵

As for 'vetusti'—let alone a 'vetustissimus'—of the *Silvae*, Heinsius

speaks for himself in the third of Mr. Garrod's passages from the *Sylloge*, viz. v. 532, to which allusion has already been made. The letter is undated but seems to belong to 1669. It is addressed to a friend in Rome, 'Falconerius,' and the relevant sentences run thus: 'Percurreram *Silvas* Statianas nuper, ad quas iam olim complura observavi, sunt enim mendosissimae etiamnum. *Codices vetustos eius Poematis nullos omnino in Bibliothecis inveniri opinor*; notae recentioris nonnullos, et si rariores et illos, scio hic illic extare. Vaticanos quinque cum vulgatis libris in meos usus Langermannus commiserat ante annos xv. sed schedae illae naufragio nobis paullo post periire. Cum Vaticanum alia de causa adieris, rogo, codices illos, et si qui alii postea accessere, inspicias, consulasque super locis hic a me annotatis," *e.q.s.* Not a word about the *Vetustissimus*. Not a hint of what might have been. No suggestion 'that there hath passed away a glory from the earth,' only a pathetic request for the *littera scripta* of inferior copies, as the best evidence the writer can hope to obtain on the text.

In regard to (b) 2, it is self-evident that the chief *Silvae* papers lost in the wreck were the collations of these Vatican copies 'notae recentioris,' which in 1659 N.H. is seeking to replace. What the 'meae aliaeque illius lucubrationes' (*Sylloge* III. 345) were, we can only conjecture, but after what has been said it would seem to be in the highest degree improbable that they included anything at all relating to the 'Vetustissimus Poggii.'

The *Sylloge* is a badly indexed book, and between the covers of its five bulky volumes it may contain other evidence on the point.⁶ My inquiry has been confined to the three passages indicated at the outset. It is a thankless task to spoil a good story which one would be only too happy to believe; but on the evidence before us Mr. Garrod cannot yet be said to have made out a case.

D. A. S.

those assigned to them by Dr. H. M. Bannister, Mr. J. P. Gilson, and M. Omont respectively.

⁶ Professor Phillimore in a footnote refers to 'Sylloge v. p. 265'; but this must be a misprint; v. p. 265 contains no mention of Statius.

¹ In a letter (dated November 21, 1915) which he permits me to quote.

² Cf. *Verzeichnis der MSS. der Stiftsbibl. von St. Gallen.* G. Scherrer (Halle, 1875), p. 298.

³ Cf. Weidmann, *Bibliothek von St. Gallen* (St. Gallen, 1821), p. 422: 'Statius in Thebaide. . . In alio libello idem in Achilleidos.'

⁴ 'The Zurich MS. C. 62 (saec. xii.) has the St. Gall mark on ff. 195, 207, and appears to be the MS. which is described by Scheuchzer (1713) in a MS. catalogue (c. 366) of books removed from St. Gall to Zurich. It contains *Stat. Thebais, Servius Honoratus de finalibus, Theobaldus de natura primarum syllabarum, Martyrologium Bedae.*'

⁵ Thus N.H. describes as '*veterrimi*,' *Urbinas* 341, saec. xi.-xii.; and *Vatican. Palat.* 1669, saec. xii. *partis prioris*; and as *antiquissimus Paris.* 8001 (olim Berneggerianus), saec. xii.-xiii. The dates given for the three MSS. are

NOTES

ΠΕΡΙΣΚΕΛΗΣ.

THE following note first appeared in an article dealing with ancient coin dies which was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1916.¹ It has been suggested that readers of the *Classical Review* would be interested in a point which is of a literary and philological rather than of a strictly numismatic interest, and I have accordingly made an extract from my longer article, with certain additions and changes.

ἀλλ' ἴσθι τοι τὰ σκλήρ' ἄγαν φρονήματα
πίπτειν μάλιστα, καὶ τὸν ἐγκρατέστατον
σίδηρον ὅππὸν ἐκ πυρὸς περισκελῇ
θραυσθέντα καὶ ραγέντα πλείστ' ἂν εἰσίδοις.
Antigone 474-476.

Creon says: 'Yet I would have thee know that o'er-stubborn spirits are most often humbled; 'tis the stiffest iron, baked to hardness in the fire, that thou shalt oftenest see snapped and shivered.' So Jebb translates, and in his note gives 'tempered to hardness' for ὅππὸν . . . περισκελῇ. Blümner, *Technologie* IV. p. 348, has similarly—and almost wilfully—gone wide of the mark in saying that we must not assume a knowledge of technical detail in Sophocles, that Creon's words refer not to steel in the making but to the finished article, and that the meaning is that the hardest steel is often most easily broken.²

It is curious that neither Blümner nor Jebb saw a flaw in this explanation, for they both wrote at some length on *Ajax* 646 f.:

ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος
φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται·
κοῦκ ἔστ' ἀελπτον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλσικεταί·
χῶ δεινὸς ὄρκος καὶ περισκελεῖς φρένες·
κἀγὼ γάρ, ὅς τὰ δειν' ἐκαρτέρουν τότε,
βαφῇ σίδηρος ὥς, ἐθελύνθην στόμα
πρὸς τῆσδε τῆς γυναϊκός·

Ajax 646-652.

Sophocles knew the technical details perfectly well—whom better might we

expect to know them than the son of Sophillos the rich armourer?—and I am unwilling to believe that by ὅππὸν . . . περισκελῇ in the passage from the *Antigone* he meant, as Jebb and Blümner held, the finest tempered steel, as though he had written ὅππὸν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βαφῆς περισκελῇ. But in the passage of the *Ajax* the technical knowledge which enables him to use βαφή of the bath for tempering steel would of course tell him that an earlier process of heating the metal was implied, and would be understood by all who could understand this meaning of βαφή.

The fact is that iron merely hardened in the fire and not tempered by immersion is left brittle, and this, I venture to suggest, is the meaning of περισκελής; hence

θραυσθέντα καὶ ραγέντα πλείστ' ἂν εἰσίδοις

—not an encouraging commentary on the work of the ancient smiths and a bad advertisement for the family foundry if it really referred to the finest tempered steel which they could produce. Besides, 'tempered steel' as a translation for ὅππὸν . . . περισκελῇ in the *Antigone* passage makes Creon's onslaught lose point, as he is concerned with his obstinate and undisciplined citizens, not those who, like Ajax, are of a finer metal.

Translate περισκελῇ, then, in the *Antigone* by 'brittle': 'Stubborn spirits are often humbled just as hard iron passing through the fire becomes brittle and is easily broken.' For this meaning the words σκελετός (skeleton) and ἄσκελής (dried), which come from the same root, are apt comparisons; and compare 'brittle' with the metaphorical meaning 'stubborn,' which has correctly been used to render περισκελεῖς φρένες in *Ajax* 649, where Jebb quotes our line from the *Antigone*, and says: 'Thus the associations of the word lead naturally to his next thought.' Possibly so: but certainly not because περισκελής when used in this association means 'finely tempered'; for in that case the metaphorical equivalent would not be 'stubborn' but a word meaning

¹ A Dekadrachm by Kimon and a note on Greek coin dies (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1916, pp. 113-132).

² Dean Plumptre's translation also gives 'the rigid steel baked in the furnace. . . . 'Tempered' and 'steel' both give an erroneous impression, 'steel' being quite indefensible.

'hard' in some good sense—*e.g.* dauntless or morally strong.

S. W. GROSE.

THE MILITARY ROADS OF AGAMEMNON.

EVIDENCE for the kingship of Agamemnon over the whole of Greece is found in the existence of what are called military roads. Remains of roads have been discovered in the vicinity of Mycenae, but Dr. Leaf, admitting that it involves 'passing beyond the actual evidence into inference,' argues for a 'system' of such roads leading to the more distant parts of Greece (*Homer and History*, 224n). That, he thinks, need not surprise us, seeing that such highroads are really a necessity of central government.

The remains are described in the works of Schliemann, Schuchhardt, and others. There are traces of three roads leading north to the Isthmus, and of one leading south to Tiryns. But there seems to be no ground for saying they extended beyond the Isthmus. The remains—of paved roadway, culverts, and protecting fortifications—are of the 'Cyclopean' kind. If there were such roads outside the Peloponnesus, some traces must surely have survived, but no reference is quoted, even from classical authors.

A system of roads of such calibre, so to speak, could hardly have escaped notice. A Cyclopean highway along the Isthmus past the Scironian Rocks must have been famous. Nor is it stated that made roads for chariots were found to be a necessity in any of the other ancient empires, as Assyria and Egypt, in which this particular machine was used in warfare. On the other hand, that such roads were not a necessity to an ancient empire is clearly shown from India. It has been said, and there is no reason to question the assertion, that Moghuls and Marathas alike never had a mile of made road away from their capitals, nor had their early predecessors who, like Agamemnon, used war chariots. And again, it must not be forgotten that a system of roads converging on Mycenae would

constitute a danger to its rulers. It would help, and even suggest and invite, a coalition against the central power, the wealth of which, in times when the hand of every tribe or state was against its neighbour, would of itself tempt those of inferior status and resources. I read in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1917, p. 377, that it was the great roads which Rome constructed across the Brenner that proved her undoing by facilitating the passage of the barbarian hordes from the north. And again, Agamemnon, if Emperor of Greece, would have had in his fleet, which could have landed troops at any of the good harbours on the northern shores of the Gulf of Corinth, a simpler means than by the long détour by land through the Megarid and Boeotia of reaching unruly subordinates in Central or Northern Greece, or of hampering or cutting the communications of an invading force.

We must conclude that the roads were for a merely local purpose, and the one which we can conjecture consists with Bérard's theory. The roads were made to help traffic from the southern and eastern seas through the mountains to the Gulf of Corinth and the western seas beyond, and we may see in the fact that three led north from Mycenae, an indication of the extent of the trade. One roadway would suffice in the plain, where the passing of animals going in opposite directions would be a simple matter. It would be different in the hills, as anyone can understand who has had experience of mountain tracks regularly used by strings of pack bullocks. Cp. p. 58 of the *Rise of the Greek Epic*².

A. SHEWAN.

St. Andrews.

GENERAL RELATIVE CLAUSES IN GREEK.

In *Classical Review* XXXI. Nos. 3-4 (1917) Professor J. A. Smith raised a question to which I have hesitated to reply, not from any dubiety as to the answer, but rather because I doubted whether I correctly understood him.

1. In connexion with Plato *Rep.* X. 596 Α εἶδος γάρ ποῦ τι ἐν ἑκάστῳ εἰώ-

θαμεν τίθεσθαι περὶ ἕκαστα τὰ πολλὰ, οἷς ταύτων ὄνομα ἐπιφέρομεν, Professor Smith asks: 'Is it possible for a relative clause with the simple *ὅς* and its verb in the indicative to express generality or specify a group of groups?'

Certainly. Not only so, but *ἄν* with the subjunctive, which Professor Smith seems to desiderate, would have a different, and here totally inappropriate, meaning. There is no difference in point of *generality* between the indicative and the subjunctive: only the indicative assumes a fact, the subjunctive makes a hypothesis. 'All S is P' is in Greek, if S is 'a fixed collection of groups,' *ἃ ἔστιν Σ*, and not at all *ἃ ἂν ᾗ*. I do not wish to labour a point which almost any page of Plato or Aristotle would illustrate. I take a text at random. It happens to be the *Ethics*, and in the opening chapter I read *ὡν δ' εἰσὶ τέλη τινὰ παρὰ τὰς πράξεις, ἐν τούτοις βελτίω πέφυκε τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τὰ ἔργα*. To appreciate the point let anyone contrast Plato *Phaedo* 75 D περὶ πάντων οἷς ἐπισφραγιζόμεθα τὸ ὃ ἔστι with Plato *Legg.* 855 E τῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων ὅσα ἂν εἶναι καίρια δοκῇ.

2. Professor Smith further doubts the translation of ταύτων ὄνομα as 'a common name,' which he thinks would rather be κοινὸν ὄνομα, and he suggests that it means 'the same name as before.' This is wholly mistaken. See, for example, Plato *Phaedo* 103 E ἔστιν ἄρα . . . περὶ ἓνα τῶν τοιούτων, ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος ἀξιοῦσθαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλο τι, ὃ ἔστι μὲν οὐκ ἐκεῖνο, ἔχει δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖνου μορφήν αἰεὶ ὅταν περ ᾗ: which is precisely parallel to the *Republic* passage and where no pedantry could suggest 'the same name as before.' The fact is that the 'common name' is expressed indifferently by κοινόν, ἓν, ταύτων.

To avoid misunderstanding I should note that, under certain circumstances into which I cannot here enter, the use of *ἃ* with the indicative tends to encroach upon *ἃ* with *ἄν* and the subjunctive even in hypothetical generality. This is especially the case in *sententiae* and so in poetry, but is by no means confined to poetry. Soph. *O. T.* 1409 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐδᾶν ἔσθ' ἃ μὴδὲ δρᾶν καλόν. Aristotle *Eth.* N. I. 3 (1094^b) ἕκαστος δὲ κρίνει καλῶς ἢ γιγνώσκει,

precisely as Plato *Apol.* VI. ἃ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶομαι εἰδέναι. In all these cases *ἃ* with *ἄν* and the subjunctive would be possible: whereas in the passage of the *Republic* in question it would, in any appropriate sense, be inconceivable.

A. W. MAIR.

Edinburgh University.

THUCYDIDES II. 48. 3.

αὐτὸς τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας. Discussed by Richards (*C. Q.* VII. 245), who proposed for the second αὐτὸς to read πολλούς, and by Rhys Roberts (*C. Q.* VIII. 16), who defends the text; lastly by Postgate (*Cl. Rev.* XXVIII. [1914], p. 84) who proposes αὐτὸ ἰδὼν.

Professor Rhys Roberts rightly defends the text. He might have made it a little clearer that αὐτὸς—ἰδὼν is an 'eye-witness,' so that αὐτὸς in no way repeats the first αὐτὸς.

Most of us are familiar, like Professor Postgate, with the curious Thucydidean use of αὐτό in general reference: But—

1. Its position here would be intolerable.

2. αὐτὸ . . . πάσχοντας is not Greek for ταύτην τὴν νόσον νοσοῦντας.

3. πάσχοντας is precisely right. As ὁ παθὼν means the 'victim,' so ὁ πάσχων means the 'patient.' I need not accumulate examples—e.g. Plato *Republic* 410 A τοὺς μὲν εὐφυνεῖς . . . θεραπεύσουσι, τοὺς δὲ μὴ . . . ἀποθνήσκειν ἐάσουσι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν κακοφυνεῖς καὶ ἀνιάτους αὐτοὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν; Τὸ γοῦν ἄριστον, ἔφη, αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς πάσχουσιν καὶ τῇ πόλει οὕτω πέφανται: which is just the use in Thucydides.

A. W. MAIR.

Edinburgh University.

VIRGIL, AEN. VIII. 90.

Ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo.
Labitur uncta vadis abies; mirantur et undae.

CONINGTON's note says '*rumore secundo*' is rightly taken by Cerda to mean the cheering of the crews. But was it a time for 'prosperous cries' (Mackail), or even for 'the cheerful strain of the rowers' chant' (A. Sidgwick)? War has broken out; all Latium is ablaze; Aeneas is hurrying to

get assistance, first from Evander, then wherever else he can. He must row his two biremes quickly up the river to Pallanteum, without advertising his whereabouts to all and sundry any more than need be. The editors tell us that line 90 was already a puzzle in the time of Servius, who mentions with approbation the reading '*rumone secundo*'—Rumo being, he says, an old name for the Tiber. Ti. Donatus fancied that *rumor* meant the noise of the waters. That is to say, the ancient commentators didn't know what to make of *rumore secundo*. But in Mosella 22 Ausonius has '*amoena fluentia | subterlabentis tacito rumore Mosellae.*' That is to say, Ausonius took *rumore* in *Aen.* 8. 90 to mean the rushing flow of water. In this instance the poet is better interpreted by the poet than by the commentator. *Rumore* here means 'with flow of waters.' But why then *secundo*? Father Tiber has smoothed his waters for Aeneas; but Aeneas is still voyaging up-stream, not down. Therefore *secundo* here must mean 'second' 'next after' 'astern.' Who put the full-stop at *secundo*? Not Vergil, I suspect, but some librarius, some more or less modern editor. The stop should be at *celerant*, and not a full-stop even there, for *rumore secundo*, ablative absolute, goes mainly indeed with *labitur* of 91—, glides on, with rush of waters in the wake—but also connects quite closely with *celerant* of 90: the waters 'swept behind; so quick the run' (Tennyson, *The Voyage*, Stanza 2).

Translate: 'So then the voyage begun they quickly speed: with purling wake the well-pitched keel glides on the waters.'

E. J. BROOKS.

CICERO, AD. ATT. VIII. 4.

Dionysius quidem tuus potius quam noster, cuius ego cum satis cognossem mores, tuo tamen potius stabam iudicio quam meo, ne tui quidem *testimonii*, quod ei saepe apud me dederas, *veritus* superbum se praebeuit in fortuna, quam putavit nostram fore.

THE difficulty in this passage is the use of '*vereri*' with the genitive.

In Tyrrell's edition, *Cicero in his*

Letters, p. 252, Reid suggests that some word on which '*testimonii*' depended has most likely dropped out, and remarks that possibly '*verba*' has been lost before '*veritus*.'

The present writer suggests the insertion of '*veritatem*' before '*veritus*,' so that the passage would read:

ne tui quidem testimonii . . . veritatem veritus . . .

The jingle in '*veritatem veritus*' is not difficult to 'parallel in Latin. The following instances may be given:

Cicero:

- (a) Judices, quos fames magis quam fama commovit (*Att.* IV. 15).
- (b) Facie magis quam facetiis ridiculus (*Att.* I. 13. 2).
- (c) Moles molestiarum (*De Orat.* I. § 2).
- (d) Plenior ore (*De Off.* I. 18. 61).
- (e) Ciceroni in Epistulis excidit, mihi res inuisae visae sunt, Brute (*Ad Brutum*).

Terence:

- (f) Inceptiost amentium haud amantium (*Andria*, I. 3. 13).

Plautus:

- (g) Hodie hunc dolum dolamus (*Mil. Gl.* 3. 3. 64).

Livy:

- (h) Oneratus magis quam honoratus (27. 30. 4).

Lucretius:

- (i) Penitus penetralia (I. 529).

Also:

- (j) Acer acerbus.
- (k) Non honos est sed onus.

M. KEAN.

Collegiate School,
Liverpool.

LIVY XXIV. 26¹⁰.

Aversis auribus animisque cassae ne tempus terrerentur ferrum quosdam expedientes cernebat tum omissis pro se precibus puellis ut saltem parcerent orare institit.

THIS is the reading of P. Some later MSS. have *tereretur* for *terrerentur*. It is generally agreed that the last syllable of this word conceals the *ut* which seems to be required with *cernebat*. The editors rewrite the sentence in various ways, but none of them make anything satisfactory out of *cassae*. I believe that *cassae* is the mutilated relic of *incassum*: with this alteration and the generally accepted adoption of *tereret ut* and the easy omission of *tum* between *cernebat* and *omissis* a reasonable sentence results: 'On their turning a deaf ear to her entreaties, to avoid

fruitless waste of time, when she saw some of them drawing their swords, she ceased to plead for herself and implored them at least to spare her

young daughters.' For the slight redundancy of *incassum ne tempus tereret* cp. X. 29² *vana incassum iactare tela*.

A. G. PESKETT.

REVIEWS

DE PLUTARCHO SCRIPTORE ET PHILOSOPHO.

De Plutarcho Scriptore et Philosopho
Scripsit J. J. HARTMAN, Lit.Hum.
Dr. in Universitate Lugduno-Batava,
Professor Ordinarius Lugduni Bata-
vorum. Octavo. One vol. Pp.
x+690. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1916.

ON January 12, 1807, an explosion on a barge in the river at Leyden caused the pen to drop from the hand of David Wyttenbach, when his continuous commentary on the *Moralia* of Plutarch had nearly reached the end of the *De E apud Delphos* (p. 392 D). Wyttenbach has described the incident in several letters; the pen was never resumed for Plutarch, unless to add to the *Index Graecitatis*, which appeared in 1821, a year after the author's death. He had already (1795-1800) completed the laborious task undertaken in 1788 for the Oxford University Press, by the completion, under difficulties caused by the European War, of a complete text, with revised Latin translation and critical notes. He had also, in 1772, brought out a detailed commentary on the *De sera numinis vindicta*, which was reprinted at Oxford in the last volume of the general commentary (1821). In Wyttenbach's own judgment, this was a work more suited to his power than that larger undertaking, intended to cover the whole of Plutarch's works.

In the century which has intervened much has been excellently written on Plutarch the man and the moralist. On the literary and philological side of his works as a whole there has been little to help, with the exception of Volkmann's study on the life and writings (1869), which is philosophical in scope, but includes a very careful study as to date and authenticity, of all

the principal pieces of the *Moralia*, and the Teubner text (1888-1896). There has been nothing of the completeness of Professor Hartman's present volume, which supplies a detailed estimate of each piece in itself, and in relation to Plutarch's life and other works, not omitting the *Lives*, and several pages of critical notes on each. M. Hartman is an enthusiast, and views his author in relation to modern ideals and to the personalities which are most alive for himself. Besides papers, literary and critical, which have appeared in *Mnemosyne*, he has written much in the vernacular on Plutarch, and has translated many of his works. His new book, and especially the *Epilogus*, which he charges his readers to take up first, may be taken to be a recapitulation or revision of the substance of *De Avondzon des Heidendoms* (2 vols., Leyden, 1910), now served up for the benefit of the residuum 'qui Belgice nescimus,' and will be heartily welcomed. The author writes the sound and attractive Latin which we expect from a pupil of Cobet, and a successor to the traditions of Hemsterhuys, Ruhnken, and Wyttenbach.

We have in the *Moralia* a tangled mass of writings of different authenticity and value—eighty-three pieces in all, besides fragments. Many readers will be content with Montaigne's method, which was that of the Danaids, to dip, and throw to waste, and dip again. It was recommended to him by Plutarch's light touch, the liberality with which he suggests a train of thought and passes on. The intrinsic importance of some of the dialogues and the charm of the author set us seeking for a more definite clue, if one is to be found. We look to chronology, but it is just

here that there is little to help us. It is agreed that Plutarch was born about A.D. 50, and was living about A.D. 125, but within those limits little can be stated as definite fact. It is agreed also that the *Lives*, as a whole, were written at Chaeronea and in later life, in the main after the *Moralia* were complete. A few pieces supply their own date. The *De tranquillitate animi* must, as Dr. Mahaffy has pointed out, be earlier than the death of Vespasian, because it contains a remark that no Roman emperor had so far been succeeded by his son. So the *De sera numinis vindicta* must be later than that event. Such indications are surprisingly few in so discursive and unreserved a writer; they are fewest when he writes most at his ease, in the *Symposiasts*.

Volkman has looked to philosophical content for a clue. Professor Hartman has found one in the conception of Plutarch as a 'Physician of the Soul' ('mentium medicus'). The phrase is used by Plutarch himself in the *De tranquillitate animi*, but the metaphor is of course much older. It has been applied to him by M. Charles Lévêque in an article which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 1867 (vol. 71, p. 725), being a review of M. Gréard's work *De la morale de Plutarque*, inspired by a recent visit to Boeotia, a sympathetic and beautiful study. M. Gréard had shown in his concluding chapter that Plutarch's lofty morality stopped at the individual, and did not rise to the larger conceptions of the later Stoics or of Christianity. M. Lévêque finds in him a moralist born, with an unflinching tact in discerning and treating the infirmities of other men, which he applied to the amelioration of his own countrymen in an age of decadence (M. Hartman will not allow that phrase to pass, see p. 661), by reawakening in them the triple sense of domestic virtue, of patriotism, and of religion. M. Hartman adopts the formula and gives it a somewhat concrete application; it becomes a nucleus about which the scanty records of Plutarch's life take form and substance, and the works fall into a reasonable order. The definition is made to cover several vocations;

those of schoolmaster, tutor of resident pupils, family adviser and referee, and composer of manuals to meet special moral needs. Nor were these services gratuitous; we are to think of the young Boeotian as making his way among other Greeks who reached the capital, and were rewarded by the liberality of leading Romans, whether directly given, or by facilities for profitable publication, rather than as the amateur member of a wealthy family to whom professional gains were matter of indifference.

The sketch which is presented to us of Plutarch's career is stated with much conviction, somewhat as follows:

He was born at Chaeronea in A.D. 47, and, after spending parts of his youth at Athens and in general travel, reached Rome at the age of thirty, and stayed there till he was forty-five (A.D. 77-92), with the exception of a short return to his home about the year 80. Soon after his arrival he brought himself under the notice of leading Romans by lectures of a 'sophistical' type, of which the *De fortuna Romanorum* and the *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* are specimens. When he returned to Chaeronea for good, he left behind him in Rome a school, or institution, of which his brother Timon remained as president. Timon's wife Aristylla (to be identified with the Arionylla of Pliny (*Ep.* I. 5) was the friend and correspondent of Plutarch's Timoxena. At Chaeronea Plutarch devoted himself to study, especially that of the Roman language and literature, and composition. He also undertook municipal duties, and became a priest of the temple at Delphi, probably as a successor to his close friend Theon, with whom he had co-operated in the work of restoration and endowment. It was no period of decadence, indeed provincial life was in its golden age under the emperors of the later first century. Plutarch had never heard of a bad emperor Tiberius or a bad emperor Domitian (p. 489 ff.). The few references to these emperors are enumerated, but one mention of Domitian (*Vit. Publicolae* c. 15), which shows little reverence for his memory, is not among them.

M. Hartman offers an interesting addition to our knowledge of Plutarch's family circle. We hear much of his grandfather, his two brothers, and his sons, but little of his father, who is not mentioned by name. We know that he was a sportsman, the owner of winning horses, with no taste for discussions on etymology, with a habit of offering the sacrifice at the family meal, and a preference for an orderly arrangement of places, and that on one occasion he gave his son a piece of shrewd advice worthy of a place in Bacon's *Georgic of the Mind* or Sir Henry Taylor's *Statesman*. We are now told that his name was Autobulus, which was borne by one of Plutarch's sons. An Autobulus is a speaker in the *Amatorius*, whom M. Hartman would like to identify with the son; at any rate it cannot be the father. An Autobulus takes part in the preliminary dialogue of the *De sollertia animalium*, and denounces, somewhat in the vein of Lucian, the Stoic doctrine that a sharp line is to be drawn between man and the other animals, and that man has no duties towards his fellow-creatures. This Autobulus speaks of himself as passionately fond of sport, and mentions a son who is a Platonist, and has found a new method of exposition. Why may not this Autobulus be the father, and Plutarch the son? Having raised the question, M. Hartman inserts the name in the family tree and challenges contradiction. A difficulty is that an Autobulus is associated with Soclarus, apparently a friend of Plutarch's own age, in both the dialogues named. If this Autobulus be really Plutarch's father, it is a pity that we have not more discourses by one who could argue so well.

Which pieces among the eighty-three may we leave out of account as spurious? M. Bernardakis has starred fifteen in his first six volumes. As to most of these Volkmann and M. Hartman agree. They agree in approving Wyttenbach's elaborate argument against the *De liberis educandis*, and agree in thinking his judgment of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* much too favourable. M. Hartman will not hear of any doubts as to the *Septem sapientium convivium*, rejected by Volkmann,

and does not refer to the *obiter dictum* of Erasmus touching the *De sera numinis vindicta*. He would himself reject the *De Exsilio*, and perhaps the *De amore prolis*. He defends the *De vitando aere alieno* in a vigorous argument, and also the *De malignitate Herodoti*. He justifies Plutarch's apparent want of sympathy with the great historian, on the ground that contemporary writers were following his lead in decrying Boeotia, and that there is in Herodotus a 'levity' to which he himself finds a counterpart in Ovid.

The criteria may be thus stated:

1. The final test of spuriousness is the feeling of those long conversant with the author.

2. No external test, such as that of 'hiatus,' is of certain application. Plutarch has derided excessive scrupulousness in avoiding the concurrence of vowels, but he is usually careful to avoid it himself, and cases of neglect of the rule are mostly found in works which are otherwise under suspicion. But this cannot be erected into an absolute law, least of all as applied to 'collections' made for future use.

3. Any work of intrinsic merit comes from the writer under whose name it passes, since no one would have allowed such a work of his own to go abroad 'wanting a head.'

4. In almost all works ascribed to Plutarch there is much which is Plutarch's. This principle may be applied to the *Lives of the Orators*, or to the *Placita Philosophorum*, as to which important work our author has a word to say in rejoinder upon H. Diels.

An instance of the application of these principles will be found in the defence of the second treatise on the *De vita et poesi Homeri* (for the first so entitled is felt to be spurious). The author's learning (a favourite point of M. Hartman's) is shown by his correct appreciation of Homeric words, and by his quoting a line so as to give its true value to the digamma (which Aristarchus had failed to do). Then there is sound sense in his grasp of the plot of the *Iliad*. Altogether the work is too good to have been allowed to pass under any name but that of its real author. Volkmann's arguments on the other

side are considered *seriatim*. To that drawn from style M. Hartman, with his usual fairness, capitulates, so far as to agree to the modified verdict that the treatise is not Plutarch's *in its present form*, but contains matter which is *thoroughly Plutarchian*, provided that the significant words be duly stressed.

The order in which pieces are arranged is not wholly fortuitous. It may be due to Plutarch himself that we have the *De superstitione* following the *Convivium*, as a corrective to views about the miraculous. On the other hand, the *De amore prolis* finds a place after the *De fraterno amore* upon a hasty assumption that the contents were homogeneous. The three pieces, two long and a shorter one, against the Stoics balance a like set of three against the Epicureans. The three 'Delphic Dialogues' were written about the same time and form a series.

Lucianic character has been already noticed in the *De sollertia animalium*, and, it is very striking in the little *Gryllus* which follows it.

The detached notes on points of text which follow the general introduction to each piece are a very valuable part of the volume. There is much difficulty in the manuscript text of the *Moralia*, which varies greatly in different pieces, and reaches its climax in the *De Iside et Osiride* and the *De facie*. Where the matter is outside the knowledge of the copyist he is content to leave a gap, or to write in some commonplace words. Wyttenbach has shown insight and good sense in seeing through the obscurity, and often recasts a sentence in the critical notes, embodying the result in his revised translation. M. Hartman starts with the Teubner text; he often complains that the editor might have shown greater boldness in placing in the text emendations which he mentions as suggested by Reiske or Wyttenbach, or by Emperius, who is spoken of as a Reiske come to life again, or by himself. M. Hartman's own corrections often take the form of an omission of words which clog or obscure the sense, or of a plausible transposition; but we must thank him at the outset for the admirable *σαίνοντος* for *θανόντος*, of the dog Argus (457 A), where there is a *vera*

causa for the copyist's blunder in his ignorance of Homer. Every note touches a real point, and all should receive the careful attention of any future editor. Whether any particular suggestion is to be adopted into the text must be settled by the conscience of the editor, in view of the ascertained habits of the copyist.

The late lamented Herbert Richards contributed to the *Classical Review* (Vols. XXVIII. and XXIX.) a series of critical notes, not nearly so numerous as those of M. Hartman to the *Moralia*, extending to 602 B. Vol. XXVIII. contains also a valuable paper by M. J. H. W. Strijd on the *De Pythiae oraculis*; and for the three Pythian Dialogues we are assisted by Mr. W. R. Paton's critical edition. It would be too much to expect a frequent consensus of these eminent scholars as to the passages treated or the mode of treatment; it would carry great weight wherever it existed. Richards speaks with approval of M. Hartman's very attractive *οποίός κα ἔης* (for *καθίσης*) in 243 D, known to him through *Mnemosyne*. The point taken by himself on 397 B, and supported by a weighty argument, has not elicited a comment from the others.

If a few scattered passages may be mentioned where an editor might perhaps wisely leave well alone, it is done merely in the cause of an academic *ἐποχή*: it is a great help, in all cases, that the point should have been raised:

397 C : *καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν, ὑμᾶς τοὺς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου προφήτας* (δῆλος γὰρ εἶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποφερόμενος) οὐκ ἔστι διαφυγεῖν.

M. Hartman writes: 'sensu cassa haec: insere ἐκέισε post αὐτός, aptissimam habetis hanc sententiam: apparet te quoque ad illam delabi philosophiam.' M. Strijd would strike out καὶ αὐτὸς as inappropriate, and substitute πρὸς αὐτούς. Now Wyttenbach's *Index* renders ὑποφέρεσθαι by 'labascere in vitium,' with three instances from the *Moralia* (the first is 72 C), where the verb is used absolutely, and so elsewhere, e.g. in medical writers. Here it is surely more telling, and more in keeping with the character of Boethus, and with the tone of Theon's appeal to him, to say: 'They are all Epicureans now; why, you yourself are on the downward trend,' then to add the logical, but unneeded, 'towards the Epicureans.'

[In *Sympos.* V. 2 Boethus is 'the Epicurean' simply; from which M. Hartman elsewhere infers, quite fairly, a relatively late date for the *Symposiacs*.]

So above, 397 B: ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὦ Βόθη ε, κἂν φαυλότερα τοῦ Ὀμήρου ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη, μὴ νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι τὸν θεόν. Wytttenbach would insert κἂν βελτίονα, Mr. Paton κομψότεραι, after φαυλότερα; the Teubner editor would prefer to read κἂν ἢ κἂν μὴ ἢ, M. Strijdt κἂν ἢ simply. M. Hartman remarks: 'Rectissime B. κἂν μὴ ἢ, non enim periculum est ne mali sed ne egregii versus a deo facti videantur.' Is not Theon's tone of quiet irony best maintained if the text is left unchanged? Even if the verses are below the standard of Homer, it does not follow that the god is the *author* (of the worthless verses). The appeal to handwriting which follows is parallel.

555 D: καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο φαίη τις ἂν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑπάρχειν κακόν . . . 'Dirum solocismum removit Naberus ἐν pro ἂν legendo.' This appears to be a normal case of ἂν in the protasis, where the protasis is itself the apodosis of an incomplete hypothetical sentence, as in Plato *Prot.* 329 B. See Goodwin, *M. and T.* s. 506.

575 E: ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Αἰσιν τὸν ἱερὸν σπουδάζοντες οὕτω διεφάνημεν. So the Teubner editor from an admirable emendation of C. F. Hermann, for which he gives no reference (it does not appear to be in that scholar's collected papers). M. Hartman finds the intended meaning obscure; is it not, like παρὰ Σωκράτη τὸν ἡμέτερον above, 'on account of Lysis'? The *Thesaurus* recognises παρὰ as equivalent to διὰ, and the Lexicon of Bonitz has many Aristotelian instances. An English vulgarism, 'I have had trouble enough along of you,' suggests a parallel. M. Hartman says above that Archidamus was a Spartan, but Capheisias is speaking at Athens and to an audience mainly Athenian.

579 C: Plato had said that δυνεῖν μέσων ἀνάλογον λήψιν was a task for a highly trained geometrician. This appears to be regular Greek for 'the finding of two mean proportionals' between two terms, here 1 and 2 (1 : a :: a : b :: b : 2); cf. 718 F and the *Vita Marcelli*, c. 14.

563 D: Aridaeus asks εἰ βέλτιον βιώσεται τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον. The answer is ὅτι πράξει βέλτιον ὅταν ἀποθάνῃ. Certainly the verbs had better change places. But a delicate question arises. Is it the copyist who intermixed them, or is it Plutarch himself, and, if so, may we, without impertinence, correct him under cover of correcting his copyist? Again, in 813 E, καὶ βλέπειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγίου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα. Kaltwasser emends ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πρὸς τὸ στρατήγιον, which must be what Plutarch meant to write. But did he write it?

M. Hartman is always careful in his acknowledgments, and will wish it to be pointed out that his excellent suggestion of σκιάμαχοι in 741 C is to be found (αἱ τοιαῦται σκιαμαχίαι) in Wytttenbach's note.

Turning from Plutarch the writer to Plutarch the philosopher, we have seen that he deals equal measure to the

Stoics and the Epicureans, but he deals it with a difference. He has little fault to find with the Stoic tenets, unless e.g. where he, as an animal-lover, finds them hard and repulsive, but he cannot abide the Stoics. He hates the Epicurean system, its denial of a Providence, and the rank hedonism associated with it, but he likes many Epicureans, and is aware that they have brought grace and cheerfulness into life. He was himself an Academic, of the pattern which was at once the oldest and the newest, that of Plato himself as revived by Antiochus of Ascalon (*Vita Luculli* c. 42). He was himself recognised as the highest living authority on Plato, whose works he knew so well that he could venture a negative statement, with a wealth of positive knowledge behind it: 'Plato has nowhere written that God geometrises' (718 C *sup.* 389). More than this, his aim is to be the Plato of his own day. In one instance he has overdone his part by introducing a Platonic myth into the *De sera numinis vindicta*. This is true criticism; the reader does not, as he reads, see the details described, and the myth lacks the noble severity of that in the *Gorgias*. It might perhaps be fairer to Plutarch to look to the ingenious and interesting myth in the *De facie* or to that in the *De genio Socratis*. In all his philosophy Plutarch looked first to edification; on the subject of the Antipodes he may have exercised a curious economy, not wholly disbelieving, but afraid of the possible shock to people of weak nerves (p. 560).

Φιλοσοφίας τέλος θεολογία. The words are spoken by Cleombrotus the Lacedaemonian (410 A), a man of ample means and an enquiring spirit, and may be taken as coming from Plutarch himself. In a kindred phrase, borrowed from Menander, Philosophy is the 'Mystagogue of Life,' who stands by a man at his Initiation (765 A). This mystagogue assisted Plutarch in the grim details of the *De Iside et Osiride*, hard writing, as is truly remarked, and hard reading. The term is admirably developed in the eighth and following chapters of Mr. John Oakesmith's, *The Religion of Plutarch*. That religion

nowhere finds finer expression than in the fragment *De anima*, preserved by Stobaeus under the name of Themistius, but rescued for Plutarch by Wytténbach. It bears a close relation to the *De sera numinis vindicta*, the speakers being the same. 'In a beautiful passage,' writes Mr. Oakesmith (p. 118) 'Timon compares death to initiation into the Great Mysteries—an initiation in which gloom and weariness and perplexity and terror are followed by the shining of a wondrous light, which beams on lovely meadows, whose atmosphere resounds with sacred voices, that tell us all the secret of the mystery, and whose paths are trod by pure and holy men. Timon concludes with Heraclitus that, if the soul became assuredly convinced of the fate awaiting it hereafter, no power would be able to restrain it on earth.'

'Si usquam,' writes M. Hartman (p. 685), 'hic ipsum Plutarchum agnoscimus, illius Ammonii discipulum qui litterae E Delphicae praeclaram illam, ne Christianis quidem indignandam, dederit explicationem.' He refers to the glowing confession of the unity and permanence of God, specifically of the Apollo of Delphi, in contrast with the ephemeral condition of man (p. 392 A). He finds a parallel in history for this fine outburst. He never reads it, he tells us (p. 167), without recalling an incident at the Conference of Poissy, 1561. There the representative Reformers, headed by Th. Beza, met their opponents in the presence of the Queen-Mother and the Court. When admitted, before entering upon points of doctrine and discipline, they fell on their knees and recited a confession of profound humility, in a form already brought into use at Geneva by Calvin. How far the spirit of the two confessions agrees theologians will decide; the comparison is a striking one. The incident is recorded by Beza himself in the first Volume of his History.

In connexion with this fragment, two interesting points are raised, as to which we must ask a serious question. M. Hartman quotes the lines of Lucretius (III. 31-58), in which the poet refers not only the general enfeeblement of human life and the lowering of motives,

but also specific crimes, to the fear of death. Sellar mentions this as a difficulty (*Roman Poets of the Republic*, c. XIII.), and appears to give it up. As Thucydides, in his account of the plague at Athens, ascribes both neglect of duties and also positive misdoings to the fear of imminent death, is it possible that, if the end of the poem had reached us in a complete form, some clue would have been given? However that may be, is there really anything in this fragment to suggest the same train of thought? And again, does the thought of a self-sought death underlie the words quoted from Heraclitus, or those of Plutarch? The fragment is short and readily accessible, and the two questions may be left to readers.

M. Hartman is clear (see p. 114) that Plutarch was wholly uninfluenced by Christian thought. Nor does he suggest, if we may venture a negative statement about so intricate a volume, that he gave any lead in the direction of Neoplatonism.

We have in this volume an invaluable guide to all the works of the 'Mentium Medicus.' M. Hartman's own preference is with those which convey a direct moral, with the *Non posse* and its attractive picture of the life of simple duty, the *De vitando aere alieno* and its warning to a small municipality against overborrowing, with the *De tranquillitate animi* and the *De garrulitate*; and it is just on these that the reader needs the helping hand of an enthusiast. We are grateful to M. Lévêque for the key phrase, and to M. Hartman for its development. It may not touch every side of the mental activity of this 'Boeotian Squire,' as Dr. C. Bigg has called him, but it will help us to become familiar with his love of the Greeks, his admiration of the Romans, and his charitableness to all, with his enlightened views about women, his delight in animals, the cheerfulness of his religion, his recoil from pretence and unreality, and his occasional and amiable inaccuracy.

A short list of Errata is appended, but even a superficial reading shows that this must be multiplied many times. Most of the errors are trivial, and only affect the eye, though when 'qui' is

printed for 'quin' (p. 389, l. 15) or 'minor' for 'miror' (p. 658, last line) the mind receives a slight check. In p. 502, l. 10 from bottom, we should surely read 'locus.' Personal names are several times interchanged. In p. 505, l. 4, Herodotus, and in p. 657, l. 19, Homer, seem to have ousted Plutarch himself. The name Autobulus is several times replaced by Aristobulus, and once (p. 458, l. 5) by Autolycus. These are small matters, but so excellent a book will no doubt be soon called for again, perhaps in a time of less stress than the present, and an experienced

press-reader could set them right in a day. He would call attention to a point of prosody on p. 285, l. 7 from bottom. The punctuation and numeral references are correct and careful throughout; of the latter perhaps the only misleading instance is in the list of Errata itself, its first item should run 'p. 15, l. 6.'

The tables and indices appended are very useful so far as they go; a fuller index, especially of persons as 'Boethus,' but also of subjects as 'Antipodes' or 'suicidium,' would be of great assistance.

A. O. PRICKARD.

OBST'S DER FELDZUG DES XERXES.

Der Feldzug des Xerxes. Von E. OBST.
Klio. Zwölftes Beiheft. 1913.

A SURVEY of the whole evidence for the Persian War in the light of modern criticism would certainly be welcome. It is now sixteen years since Dr. Grundy's book appeared, and much has been done in the interval. Hence Obst's book seemed likely to be useful, although some of his previous contributions to Herodotean criticism (as to the account of the hippopotamus in *Klio* XIV., and as to the Scythian Bridge) were the reverse of happy.

He has certainly studied the works of his predecessors, and has paid well-deserved respect to the contributions of English scholars (with one important exception to be mentioned later); not only Dr. Grundy and Dr. Macan's big books, but Mr. Munro's articles in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are constantly quoted.

But it must be said at once that his work is most disappointing, and that from his 218 large pages, it is only here and there that any thing of value can be gained. As specimens of new points may be mentioned an ingenious conjecture as to the Aeginetan contingent (Hdt. VIII. 46, pp. 70, 71) and the suggestion as to Sciathus, p. 96.

It would be unfair to expect of him any contribution to History in the wide sense; his aim is 'Quellenforschung.'

But it may be remarked that his historical insight into a situation can be gauged from his remark about the pathetic story of Thersander (Hdt. IX. 16), 'Der heulende Reiser ist eine gar zu komische Figur' (p. 180), and his power of gauging probability from the fact that he believes that Xerxes' project of a mole from the mainland to Salamis was a serious operation (pp. 15, 154).

His treatise must be judged, however, as a criticism of our evidence in detail, and especially of that of Herodotus. It may be said at once that his arrangement is very unfortunate. He begins with a sketch of the whole campaign (twenty-four pages), which in some places can only be understood by a reference to the later sections (this at least was my own experience), and follows this with ten pages of 'Quellenabriss.' All the points in these thirty-four pages, *i.e.* nearly a sixth of the whole book, might either have been taken for granted, or worked in later—as in fact many of them are.

Even as a criticism of the evidence Herr Obst's book is very unsatisfactory. His two main aims seem to be to show how much Herodotus is indebted to a supposed 'schriftliche Vorlage,' and to vindicate the value of the later authorities—*e.g.* of Diodorus, Plutarch, and even Ctesias—against Herodotus.

With regard to the first point (for the 'Vorlage' we may refer to pp. 58-60,

134), he has of course been anticipated by others, e.g. by E. Meyer (*Forsch.* II. 23-2). Special importance is attached by Obst to it for the section dealing with Xerxes' march (Hdt. VII. 26-132). But elsewhere he continually refers to 'Vorlagen,' which were common to Herodotus and to Ephorus (e.g. p. 55 as to the march to Tempe). He never attempts, however, to deal with the real difficulty as to these suggestions. What were these 'Vorlagen,' which survived so long, to which Herodotus owed his excellence, and to which his additions are 'worthless'? A passage on p. 98 may be quoted as typical of Obst's method: 'The clearness of the geographical information and the description of the weather and the storm is excellent, so that the whole chapter may be assigned to the "Vorlage"; in VII. 189-191 the worthless tradition begins again.'

It is difficult to believe in excellent written authorities which survived to the next century, and which yet have left no trace in Greek literary history. Herodotus's many ancient critics would surely have told us something as to these authentic sources if they had existed.

With regard to the second point, Obst carries to an extreme the modern tendency to exaggerate the value of secondary sources. Grote's history might have been thought to settle once for all the question between the 'good cloth' of Herodotus and the 'transparent gauze' of Diodorus and Plutarch (to quote the phrases of Jowett); but the methods of 'Quellenforschung,' while they lead to mutually contradictory results, are supposed to have upset Grote's common-sense methods. One instance only of Obst's preference for later authorities can be quoted: Herodotus's account of the battle of Mycale is dismissed as 'ein leeres, athenisches Phantasie-gebilde' (p. 216), while that of Diodorus is accepted; and yet, as he himself says on the same page, that account (XI. 36) is made up of two hopelessly contradictory stories. To put it frankly, criticism on these lines is equally arbitrary and absurd.

Another less prominent feature of Obst's work is his fondness for cut-

ting out whole passages that seem to him improbable. The luxury of the Persian army train (Hdt. VII. 83) is made to be a mere invention of Herodotus, because it would 'hinder' and not 'facilitate mobility.' It would do such critics of Herodotus good to study the accounts of Oriental armies in the field which have been given by Englishmen who have seen and conquered them. But has a German professor ever been known to quote this kind of authority? Still more bold is the excision of the whole story of the first mission of Sicinnus (pp. 140-1), and what is the most reckless of all, the denial of the encircling movement of the Persian fleet outside Salamis (pp. 150-1). This second fact, which is related by two contemporary authorities and which is denied by none, must have rested on the evidence of hundreds of eyewitnesses. Yet it has to go because it will not square with Obst's theory of the Persian numbers.

But such arbitrary methods of criticism are believed in by many; it is old-fashioned to question their value. It remains then to give evidence that Obst does not practise his own methods well. In the first place he does not show an adequate knowledge of his authorities; two instances may be given, one ancient, one modern. The former is as to the Persian-Carthaginian alliance (pp. 40-1); he accepts it as a fact, but he never even refers to the evidence of Aristotle against it. The latter is as to the site of the Battle of Salamis; he accepts the old view that it was fought actually in the Bay, but has never heard apparently of Goodwin's paper in the *Journal of the American School of Athens*, which proved almost conclusively that the old view was impossible. It certainly does not inspire a student with confidence in Obst's knowledge of his authorities, when he is found quoting the inscription on the Corinthian dead at Salamis from Bury! In the second place his quotations always need verification; they are often incomplete or inaccurate. He quotes Grundy (p. 151) as saying that the Egyptian squadron at Salamis was too far off to take part in the fight; but he omits the other part of Grundy's statement, that the

squadron completely barred the Greek retreat. He quotes E. Meyer as refuting the statement that the Athenians 'were very unpleasantly surprised' that the Peloponnesians did not after Thermopylae meet Xerxes in Boeotia (p. 135); but what Meyer refutes is the idea that such strategy was wise or possible (*G. des A.* III. p. 384). He charges Herodotus with inconsistency in IX. cc. 99 and 107, because, having said the Milesians were posted on the heights at the time of Mycale, he yet allows the Persians to escape over those heights; but Herodotus in the later chapter expressly says that only 'a few' escaped (ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν), which is exactly what his own narrative would lead us to expect.

The above may serve as specimens of omission. The following examples of inaccuracy may be given. Obst says that Hydarnes was 'Feldherr,' but not 'Befehlshaber' (presumably he means στρατηγός and ἄρχων); but though the usual words for Hydarnes are στρατηγός and στρατηγέω, yet ἄρχω is used of his command in VII. 211. 1. And Obst is absolutely without authority for making him 'commander of the Asiatic coast peoples before the campaign.' This is not only never stated, but is in itself

improbable. (These mistakes are made in an attempt to discredit what is probably the best method for estimating the numbers of Xerxes' army, viz. the ingenious suggestion of Dr. Macan and Mr. Munro that it consisted of thirty corps of 10,000 each.)

Again on p. 89, Hdt. VII. 40, 41, are quoted to prove that the whole cavalry of Xerxes 'at most numbered 12,000'; but Herodotus expressly says these 12,000 were all 'Persians,' pointedly implying there were other contingents.

On p. 139 Herodotus is not only misquoted but mistranslated. 'The Greeks at Salamis "waren nicht in sorgst um sich, sondern sorgten sich um den Peloponnes"' is given as a rendering of VIII. 74 οὐχ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Π.; the omission of οὕτω ὥς completely alters the sense.

The subject of the Persian Wars is one of perennial interest. It seemed worth while therefore to show in some detail the failure of this recent attempt to rewrite the history of them. The up-to-date summary which will combine respect for evidence and rational criticism has yet to be written.

J. WELLS.

Wadham College, Oxford.

PATRISTIC AND BIBLICAL TRANSLATIONS.

- (1) *The Treatise of Irenaeus of Lugdunum against the Heresies*. A translation of the principal passages, with notes and arguments, by F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK, M.A., D.D.
 (2) *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of St. Macrina*. Translated by W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE, B.D.
 (3) *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira*. Translated by W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D.
 (1) Two vols.; (2) one vol.; (3) one vol. Pp. (1) 146, vol. ii. 151; (2) 79; (3) 148. London: S.P.C.K., 1916. (1) 2s. net per vol.; (2) 1s. net; (3) 2s. 6d. net.

DR. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK's two volumes are meant to serve, together with his previous work on *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, as an introduction to the study of Irenaeus. They consist of

extracts from the treatise *Against the Heresies*, linked up in many places by short summaries of the intervening passages. A general idea is thus given in brief compass of the whole treatise, and many readers will doubtless find these volumes useful, in spite of their necessarily scrappy character. As a work of scholarship, however, they are not satisfactory. The translation is free, at times to the point of being loose. Words, clauses, and even considerable sections of the original, are omitted without warning, so that what is left is often no more than a paraphrase. There are literally scores of inaccurate references to Irenaeus, the figures being usually not more than one or two out, though far enough to waste a great deal of the reader's time if he attempts to compare text and transla-

tion. Many notes are given, some of them valuable, but not a few so obscurely written as to be very hard to understand (e.g. ii. 17, n. 1; ii. 39, n. 1; ii. 58, n. 2 and n. 4, where 1 Kings should be 1 Samuel for English readers, and *calceamentum* is wrongly spelt with an *i*; ii. 80, n. 1; ii. 98, n. 2; ii. 120, n. 1). Other notes are spoilt by wrong or missing references (e.g. i. 70, n. 1; i. 81, n. 1; i. 86, n. 1, where Iren. iv. 34 should be iv. 20; i. 117, n. 2, where *Adv. Marc.* II. 17 should be ii. 17; i. 123, n. 1, where Iren. ii. 13, 5 should be iii. 11, 5; i. 125, n. 2; i. 126, n. 1, where Judges v. 29 should be v. 9; i. 138, n. 1, where Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 147 should be 145; ii. 132, n. 1, where the reference should be to Ignatius *ad Rom.* iv., as shown by Eus. *H.E.* iii. 36). In the translation also there are inaccurate references, even to the Scriptures (e.g. i. 70, Mark xiii. 13, for 32; i. 113, 1 Cor. v. 11 for xv. 11; i. 114, Acts xvi. 3 f. for 10 f.; ii. 12, where for English readers Dan. xiv. should be Bel and the Dragon i.). In i. 57, 'who ignore God' (*ignorantibus Deum*) should be 'who are ignorant of God,' as the same phrase is translated on the previous page; i. 71, 'dissolved in matter' (*corpora in materiam resoluta*) should be 'resolved into matter'; in i. 78 and ii. 44, 'conversed with' or 'held converse with' for *conversatus cum* . . . (which renders the Greek *συναναστρέφεισθαι*, and means 'dwell among'), gives a wrong impression, if not a positively wrong meaning, in English; in the quotation from Plato (*Laws* iv. pp. 715e-716a) in i. 146 the phrase *et Deus quidem, quemadmodum et vetus sermo est*, stands for *ὁ μὲν δὴ Θεός, ὡς περ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος*, and should be rendered 'God, as the ancient saying has it,' not 'God, as He is the ancient Word.' The Latin translator, to whom we owe most of our text of Irenaeus, may have misunderstood the phrase, but a glance at Justin Martyr, *Cohor. ad Graec.* xxv. (where the 'ancient saying' is said to mean the law of Moses), shows that the Christian Fathers interpreted it rightly. In ii. 45-6 *percipiunt* does not mean 'perceive,' but 'partake of,' a fact which the Greek (*μετέχουσιν*), extant in this passage, makes clear.

'Rhine' is given for 'Rhone' in i. 33; 'Lord of God' for 'Lord of all' in i. 109; 'the Son of God' in i. 133 should be 'a son of God,' as the Greek shows; and in ii. 83, 'How can one be God? . . .' should be 'a god'; instead of 'given,' in i. 136, read 'forgiven'; in ii. 95 'Almighty' is too strong for *δυνατός*, which would be better represented by 'mighty' or 'powerful.' The foregoing examples, to which others could be added, are enough to show that for the serious study of Irenaeus these volumes will need to be used with caution.

The Life of St. Macrina was written by one of her brothers, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, and is a touching tribute to an honoured sister. Her eldest brother was Basil the Great, Bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, from 370 to 378 A.D. Under his guidance and inspiration Macrina established a monastery for women on the banks of the Iris in Pontus, while yet another brother, Peter, ruled over an adjoining monastery for men. Gregory visited his sister at this retreat just before her death, and the greater part of the *Life* is taken up with the details of this visit and of Macrina's death and burial. Mr. Lowther Clarke has translated the Greek, on the whole faithfully, into free and clear English. A few points of criticism may be mentioned. To say 'perfect in every department of virtue' (p. 32, for *τελεία τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἅπασιν*) instead of 'every form of virtue,' or 'extend to an unconscionable length' (p. 46, for *πρὸς ἄπειρον ἐξετείνετο μήκος*) instead of 'an endless length,' is very like committing the fault of florid writing which the translator condemns in his author. 'Imperturbability' is hardly the equivalent of *τὸ ἀνένδοτον* (p. 32), 'indomitable spirit' would be better. On p. 38 we read, 'it was about this time that the mother died, honoured by all, and went to God,' which is not only a very lax rendering of *ἐν τούτῳ εἰς γῆρας λιπαρὸν προελθοῦσα ἢ μήτηρ, πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν μετανίστατο*, but one which obscures the Homeric allusion in *γῆρας λιπαρὸν*. On p. 53, 'in the hope of the Resurrection' seems to be a mistake for 'in the expectation of her departure (*lit.*

change), *i.e.* her death (ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς μεταστάσεως; cf. Milton, *Comus*, l. 10, 'after this mortal *change*.' 'Gulf' instead of 'chasm' for χάσμα, and 'spot' instead of 'defilement' for σπίλος (p. 56), would remind readers of the allusions to St. Luke xvi. 26 and Eph. v. 27.

The Wisdom of Ben-Sira, commonly called (from its title in the old Latin Bible) *Ecclesiasticus*, has come into special prominence of late years. Written originally in Hebrew, it had been known for many centuries only in the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions. In 1896 fragments of the Hebrew began to come to light, and by 1900 about three-quarters of the book in its original language was in the hands of scholars. There were some, however, who maintained that these discoveries were not the original Hebrew, but a retranslation depending ultimately upon the Greek. The problem thus arising as to the exact relationship between Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew, has proved an extraordinarily intricate one. It is now held to be certain that the new manuscripts give us a genuine Hebrew text, though at the same time they are in a far from pure condition, and the Greek and Syriac versions have preserved many true readings. Dr. Oesterley is an authority on this subject, and his translation of the Hebrew will be of great value to English readers who find their Revised Version largely obsolete.

A few instances will give some idea of the changes made by the Hebrew. In vii. 23, where we were formerly told to bow down the necks of children from their youth, we are now told to 'give them wives in their youth'; in ix. 13, the difficult phrase, 'walkest upon the battlements of a city,' becomes 'treadest among nets,' which agrees with the previous clause; in xxxviii. 21, 'forget it not' becomes the more appropriate 'remember him not'; in l. 3, 'in his days the cistern of waters was diminished' becomes 'in his days a reservoir was dug.' Where Dr. Oesterley depends solely upon the Greek, he challenges comparison with the Revised Version, not always to his advantage. In the prologue, ἰκανὴν ἔξιν περιποιησάμενος, 'having acquired sufficient familiarity' is less pleasing than the Revised Version, 'having gained great familiarity'; and συγγράψαι τι does not mean 'to take a part in writing something,' but simply 'to compose' (R.V. 'write'). The expression 'to be wrath' is possibly a misprint, though it occurs twice (xx. 2 and xxviii. 7); it is surely not English. The last clause of xx. 16, 'How oft—and how many they are—men laugh him to scorn,' is not sense (Gr. ποσάκις καὶ ὅσοι . . .). Read 'she' for 'he' in i. 15; 'say' for 'do' in xix. 14; 'hear' for 'bear' in xxix. 25; 'fear' for 'seek' in xxxiv. 14 (R.V. ver. 13).

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

THE NEW GREEK COMEDY.

The New Greek Comedy—κωμῳδία νέα.

By Professor Ph. E. LEGRAND.
Translated by James Loeb, A.B.
With an Introduction by John
Williams White, Ph.D., LL.D.
Heinemann, 1917. 15s. net.

THIS is an English abridgment of a French work, whose author himself reduced it to about one-third of its original bulk before committing it to the translator. In its present form it is mainly intended for 'general readers in America and England.' Of all Mr. Loeb's noble endeavours to popularise

the classics, this is by far the least fortunate. That the needs of the general reader have been taken into consideration at all, it is almost impossible to believe; no treatment could be more unsuitable. First and foremost such a book should be made interesting, and of these 530 pages almost every one is deadly dull. The chief reason is that, fragmentary as are the Greek remains, they are here chopped up beyond intelligibility. Even in the *νέα*, bad as it was, the play's the thing, and an evening or two with the Loeb Terence or Plautus would teach anybody more

about it than this book would in a year. No single account of the plot of any play is given anywhere! Countless allusions and references appear, but extremely few quotations, and those sometimes left untranslated. What *is* given, and given *ad nauseam*, it is important for everyone to remark, because it represents a widely prevalent tendency in modern dramatic 'scholarship'—a tendency for which there is but one word, devastating. Here a classification of characters (where they naturally appear extremely characterless), there a categorising of adventures—where they all seem tame. Here a slice of realism, there a sample of psychology; in one place a chip from a situation, in another place a chunk of plot; now a bundle of soliloquies (or rather of references to them), and now a bale of moralisings, all admittedly commonplace. Even the jokes are solemnly catalogued, and if the chapter on the Comic element is boring to tears, that on the Pathetic is not even amusing. Nor does the writer make any real use of most of these classifying. Generalisations, indeed, he draws in plenty; but with a very few exceptions these are all either so obvious that they might be said of any branch of literary activity, or so wide that they become meaningless.

But that is not the worst. For my own part, if asked by an intelligent non-classic to explain in two words the place of the *vêa* in ancient Greek dramatic literature, I should say that it was the voluminous decadence, and remind him of the similar phenomenon in our own history; or in two sentences, I should add to this that while many superficial characteristics remained more or less the same, generally speaking all the poetry had gone out of the verse, and all the imagination from the matter. Incredible as it may seem, throughout the whole of this book neither of these last statements or anything corresponding to them is ever made, nor is any general impression of this kind once conveyed. Not that Professor Legrand can praise New Comedy; when he tries, his instances confute him, he is disobeyed by the very ass he rides; but to do him justice, he tries but seldom, and frankly admits, even to

diffuseness, that to a great extent it was a wretched business. His real crime is this—that over and over again, after making that admission, he apologises for the *vêa* in a way which implies that the fifth-century dramatists were just as incompetent.¹ For the general reader such passages are of course pernicious in the extreme. Lest it be supposed that this implication is involuntary, and more the writer's misfortune than his fault, let me explain that he supports it sometimes by sheer contradiction of fact, at other times by fallacious reasoning. One frequent defect of these playwrights was their slowness in 'exposition'; he tells us that they got this from Sophocles. Every school-boy knows that Sophocles is the last dramatist of whom such a criticism can sanely be suggested; and every student of drama *ought* to know what Lewis Campbell wrote about O.T. 1—150. Now for his other method. We are assured (p. 454) that

'Taken as a whole, the *vêa* was not irreligious; it did not spread ungodliness,'

and that its irreverences, of which instances are given, are

'quite harmless and quite discreet when compared with the outrageous parodies and the biting ridicule with which the stage of the fifth and fourth century had riddled the dwellers in Olympus.'

The real point is of course that those had been spirited and these are *vulgar*; that is where the degeneracy comes in; that is what constitutes the demoralising influence. Again, he admits that narrative monologue was often employed with the barest and most slovenly disregard for probability, but excuses this on the ground that the speeches of the Tragic *ἄγγελοι* overstep the bounds of probability quite as much. Even if they did, who that has common sense, whether or not he has read anything of the *Poetics*, but knows that the criterion of probability cannot be applied similarly to heroic and realistic drama, and that in any case it is not, by a long way, the main criterion? On technique, his conclusion is characteristic:

'The analysis I have made shows that the technique used by writers of New Comedy was

¹ Occasionally that they were worse! See p. 492, first eight lines.

not very strict or always satisfactory from the point of view of modern taste.'

[It really shows that it was very poor.]

'In more than one respect they went on repeating the defects of tragedy and of earlier comedy.'

Well —! And not one of these instances but could be paralleled several times over.

This habit of assessing drama by its mere externals, and of applying mechanical and superficial tests, is much in vogue at present, and especially in America. It has never yet been 'dropped on'; hence its deplorable increase. Professor Legrand's book reveals the same naïve and infantile obliviousness of any particular distinction between good literature and bad, which characterised, for example, Professor Brander Matthews' *Study of the Drama*. The only distinction is that Professor Legrand's indifference is the more good-humoured. One of his chapters is entitled 'Didactic Purpose and Moral Value of New Comedy,' and with the utmost equanimity he pursues these subjects through twenty-four large pages, although the upshot is that both are nil. Has he never heard the story

of the chapter about 'Snakes in Iceland'?

The fact is that for the general reader the New Comedy is not worth a whole book. It is only significant as a part of the history of drama, where it would appear as a short study of degeneration and a warning to the dramatists of posterity. When a real scholar sets out to write us such a book, let it be acknowledged that he may find Professor Legrand's laborious compilation not without its uses as a work of reference. Often it may give him scent he might otherwise have difficulty in finding. On several points of minor importance its conclusions are original and seem sound. It is generally helpful, and occasionally even acute, in arguments for or against the Greek parentage of passages in Terence or in Plautus; that is in fact its main value. There is a very good Introduction by the late Professor John Williams White, which has just the 'general' appeal so conspicuously absent in all else.

A. Y. CAMPBELL.

*St. John's College,
Cambridge.*

T. W. ALLEN'S *ODYSSEY*.

Homeri Opera recognovit T. W. ALLEN. Tom. iii. *Odyssea* I-XII. Editio altera. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1917. Cloth 3s.

MR. ALLEN makes amends for his shortcomings as a critic by his unquestionable merits as a collator of MSS. In this field, as I have always been the first to acknowledge, he has with chalcidic industry rendered most conspicuous service. He has continued the work on which I congratulated him so heartily in the *Clas. Rev.*, March, 1909. I then mentioned with commendation the grouping of the MSS. into families indicated by small letters. There were twenty-four of these groups, and they have now become twenty-five. The new one *s* consists of the *Matriensis* which he has now been able to examine and classify, *R11* a reconsidered placing, and the *Monacensis*

m. 2 taken out of *d*. Another addition to his long list is a MS. belonging to the Earl of Leicester, and latinised uncouthly as *Holkhamius*.

The compendious value of these 'familiae' is unquestionable, but there is also a serious drawback involved in their use. Family resemblance cannot mean exact identity. In each group there is necessarily, if I may use Ovid's words,

facies non omnibus una
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

So it may happen that in a group named as supporting a particular variant there are but few MSS. actually showing the reading: its support may be in the main sporadic and outside the group limit, less in fact in the group than elsewhere.

To take a concrete instance *ι* 360, the consensus of MSS. is in favour of

ὥς ἔφατ'· ἀτὰρ οἱ αὖτις ἐγὼ πόρον αἶθρα οἶνον,

which I take to be right and of high importance, because it presents the only known instance of the preservation of an elided *οί* in the tradition, a preservation due, of course, to the mistaken idea that it was not elided at all but formed a dactyl with *αὐτάρ*. Our texts generally give either

ὥς φάτ' · ἀτάρ οἱ αὖτις ἐγὼ πόρον
(Ameis-Hentze, Merry)

or

ὥς ἔφατ' · αὐτάρ οἱ αὖτις πόρον
(Ludwich, Allen).

Neither will scan and the second is as melodious as a creaking gate. Bentley alone suggested a metrical but rather violent remedy, ὥς φάτ' · ἀτάρ οἱ ἐγὼν αὖτις. Monro in the Oxford Homer has the true *ad plenum* reading which Professor A. Platt first printed in his text with the digamma and the elision, adopting it from a self-neglected suggestion of van Leeuwen. The omission of ἐγὼ seems to have started from an *obiter dictum* of Hermann's 'sed delendum videtur ἐγὼ,' *Orph.* 779. Ludwich found it omitted once after a correction in *Flor.* 52 by the second hand: but Mr. Allen gives us this: 'αὖτις πόρον *d. g. j. p.* αὖτις ἐγὼ vulg. em. Bentley.' Now family *d* contains 14 MSS., *g* contains 12, *j* 6 and *p* 6, a total of 38 MSS. Are we to believe that ἐγὼ is omitted in 38 MSS.? Or are we misled by this new family arrangement?

Mr. Allen says in his Preface: 'genitivos in *oo* desinentes quod respuimus nonnulli admirati sunt.' It seems to me hardly credible that anyone has expressed surprise at these genitives not being printed in the text. In 1909 I expressed surprise, not at their exclusion—why should I or why should anyone?—but at Mr. Allen's attempt to justify *Αἰδίου*, etc., on the untenable plea, akin to a 'legal fiction,' of metrical license or as he calls it in mongrel phrase *ἄδεια metrica*. He is still where he was in 1909, though he has changed the previous form of statement. He now rather grandiloquently

issues this challenge to the world at large: 'quis spondet ipsum Homerum jam eis (genetivis) usum esse neque potius ἀδεία quadam epica Αἰδίου κλυτά ita ut in codicibus iegimus scripsisse?' Well, as I intimated on the previous occasion, there is the late Sir R. Jebb for one, Dr. Monro for another, Dr. Leaf (see the notes on the passages in the *Iliad*), Professor Platt most certainly, and indeed every one who has considered the facts of the case. There is even a very good MS. Palatinus 45a which reads *oo* in *α* 70 as his own critical note tells us. He adds an audacious *temere* and *corr. m. altera*, but cannot thus upset the evidence of the MS. I am really afraid that in this large appeal to metrical licence Mr. Allen is likely to stand a solitary figure in a densely caliginous halo of glory.

There is a curious statement on p. vi of the preface that *προφανείσας* exhibits to us a primitive form ('sermonis velut faciem antiquiorem'). Is it not rather a common and late Dorism introduced to get the original feminine dual form *προφανέντε* out of sight? Who can entertain a doubt?

Ἀποέργαθεν is preferred to ἀπέεργαθεν, because our editor evidently believes that ἐέργαθεν is an augmented form which it certainly is not; neither is *συνέεργον*.

Though he has altered ἦρχε to ἄρχε in *ε* 237 ex analogia, for all the MSS. are against the change, Mr. Allen still thinks he has sternly resisted 'analogia' ('analogia vero ut flecterer non mihi permisi'), because he has retained ἦρει, ἦτει, ᾠκει, ἠύδα, ἠνδανε, ᾠρσε, ᾠρτο, of which list three ἦρει, ᾠκει, ἠνδανε are unquestionably illegitimate and unepic. Oddly enough ἠνδανε still appears in *γ* 150 with this critical note, 'ἠνδανε codd.' So also besides ᾠκει we get οἴκεον (*ι* 400). Evidently the editor is against consistency and analogy alike. Perhaps he thinks they are one and the same. They are not quite.

T. L. AGAR.

THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

The Greek Anthology. With an English Translation by W. R. PATON. In five volumes: Vol. III. The Loeb Classical Library, No. 84. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917. 5s.

THIS volume contains Book IX. of the *Greek Anthology*, and brings the end of Mr. Paton's edition in sight. But we may hope that, when he has finished it, he will give us more results of his studies; for one gets from these volumes an impression of knowledge in reserve, and of matured judgment based upon it, and this edition does not give him a wide enough scope. For instance, a comparison of the Planudean text and of that given by Suidas with the Palatine would be useful. We should also like a chapter on the history of the Epigram, much as Reitzenstein has given in the article 'Epigramm' in Pauly-Wissowa, and especially a discrimination between the original and the imitative writers. Having expressed this hope, I will now, as in the notices of Mr. Paton's previous volumes, *Class. Rev.* XXXI. 142; XXXII. 33, turn to the text of some passages. But first let me correct the name of the Italian scholar in *Class. Rev.* XXXII. 33: it should be Cessi.

In IX. 144, 4 Jacob's *μεδιάει* for *δειμαίνει* is probably right, and in 314, 4, Schaefer's *ὑποπροχέει* seems the best correction of *ὑποιάχει*: *ψυχρὸν* without *ὑδωρ* is found in Hdt. II. 37, Theog. 263.

563, 6 Mr. Paton conjectures *ἀβλή-τον*, but Geffcken's *ἄκρητον* is attractive. 744, 2 Geffcken's *πὰρ λοφιᾶν* is a likely correction of the corrupt *παρολκίδαν*. 300, 3 *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὠρμήθη πρῶν ἄτε*, of a bull, hardly means 'like a mountain,' but rather, as Reiske explains, 'instar rupis avolsae.' 316, 6 Mr. Paton's conjecture *ξυνᾶ* is worth considering; and 340, 6 his conjecture *ἔδειρεν* may help towards the final restoration of a corrupt passage. 159, 6 one is glad that he leaves *εἰς Ἀἴθην ἐκολάζετο* untouched.

The future editor of the *Anthology*

will have to include the Epigrams which have been discovered of late years, and it may be convenient here to enumerate and classify the recent additions from Papyri and other sources. It will be noticed that most of them are new, and belong to a good period, early or middle Ptolemaic, and are written in a classical style. I have given references to the articles in which they are discussed.

List of Addenda to the 'Greek Anthology.'

1. New writers:

1. Amyntas. Two Epigrams nearly complete: *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662, probably of Augustus' time. Grenfell and Hunt place him in the second century B.C., for the first Epigram deals with the same person as a poem by Leonidas of Tarentum, *A.P.* VII. 163, and one by Antipater or Archias, *A.P.* VII. 164; and the second refers to the capture of Sparta by Philopoemen in 188. In the seventh line of the second Epigram *παρ' Εὐρώταιο* may be the reading; so also Wilamowitz.

2. Poseidippus of Thebes, an elegy of twenty-six lines nearly complete, but with debased forms; on a wax tablet in Berlin: R. Ellis in *American Journal of Philology*, XXI. 76; H. Diels in *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* 1898, LIV. p. 1; Crönert in *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* I. 517. First century A.D.

2. New poems by existing writers:

1. Poseidippus, the Alexandrine Epigrammatist. H. Weil, *Un Papyrus inédit de la Bibliothèque d. M. Ambroise Firmin Didot*, 1879, p. 28, of the Ptolemaic age; Blass, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXV. 90; P. Schott, *Posidippi Epigrammata*, 1905. Two Epigrams complete; one on the Pharos, the other on a temple dedicated to Arsinoe-Aphrodite by Callicrates, the commander of Ptolemy Philadelphus' fleet.

2. Leonidas of Tarentum. Two Epigrams, fragmentary: *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662; date as in I. 1.

3. Alcaeus of Mitylene (?). One Epigram, fragmentary, from a Florilegium of Epigrams: *Tebtunis Papyri* I. No. 3; of about 100 B.C.

4. Antipater of Sidon. One complete Epigram: *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662: date as in I. 1.

5. Fragments of an Epigram perhaps by Meleager: *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 1, 75; Papyrus about first century A.D.

3. New anonymous poems:

1. An Epigram on Philikus or Philiskus of Corcyra, one of the Alexandrine 'Tragic Pleiad.' Körte in *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* V. 547 says: 'this poem of a contemporary makes the form *Φίλικος*, thrice used in *Hephaestion*, IX. 4, certain, instead of the usual *Φιλίσκος*.' The writing is of the

middle of the third century B.C., and therefore only a short time after Philikus, for he was a priest of Dionysus at Alexandria in the great festivities of 275/4. See Wilamowitz in *Neues von Kallimachus: Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.* 1912, 547.

2. Elegiac lines in *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 1, 77, to a dedicated statue: early Ptolemaic.

3. Ten elegiac lines complete, containing an address to Συμπόροι, *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 2, 262. A Papyrus of the early third century B.C., resembling the Papyrus of Timotheus' *Persae*.

4. Epigram on Homer, from an ostrakon. Wilcken, *Ostraka*, No. 1148; *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 2, 62.

5. Epigram on the subject of the lame Spartan king Agesilaus from an ostrakon, published by Professor Grenfell (*Journ. Egypt. Arch.* 1918, p. 16). It is in a classical style, but with atrocious spelling, and was probably given to a class to be written out as an exercise.

6. Rhetorical school exercises, fragmentary, of the *τίνας ἀν εἶποι λόγους* type (cf. *A.P.* IX. 451 ff.). These were first published by Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, in *Hermathena*, V. 237, and A. Ludwig reconstructed out of them lines which he called *Carminis Iliaci relliquiae*. He was quite wide of the mark; and the first to detect their nature and to reconstruct some with certainty was R. Reitzenstein, in *Hermes*, XXXV. 103. This type of exercise is of the Imperial period.

7. Six sepulchral Epigrams, poor, on one Euprepus; the papyrus is perhaps of the third century A.D. Vitelli, *Papiri Greci e Latini*, Vol. I. (1912), No. 17.

8. Epigram from a wax tablet in the British Museum, Egyptian Department, No. 29527. H. Diels, *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.* 1898, LIV. 1. The writing is of the second or third century A.D.

9. Fragments of an Epigram by an author whose name ends in *ῖππον*: Poseidippus or Hermippus (Grenfell and Hunt). *Tebtunis Papyri* I. No. 3, l. 21; about 100 B.C.

10. Fragments of an Epigram by an author whose name ends in *ῖαδης*: Asclepiades or Philiadēs (Grenfell and Hunt). *Tebtunis Papyri* I. No. 3, l. 26; about 100 B.C.

11. Portions of eighteen lines from a Hellenistic poem celebrating the simple life of men in primitive times. Its mutilated condition is regrettable. *Oxyrh. Pap.* I. No. 14; H. Weil, *Revue des Études grecques*, 1898, p. 241; Wilamowitz in *Gött. gelehrte Anz.* 1898, p. 695. Papyrus probably of second century A.D.

4. Existing poems by existing authors:

1. Fragments of an Epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum, *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662.

2. Two fragmentary Epigrams by Antipater of Sidon, one in *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV. No. 662, the other in *Tebtunis Pap.* I. No. 3.

3. Fragments of Meleager, *A.P.* V. 151, XII. 76, 77, 78, 106; *Berlin. klass. Texte*, V. 1, 75. See Körte, *Archiv*, V. 547.

5. Epigrams from Inscriptions. Since Cougny added Epigrams from this source to the Paris edition of the *Anthology*, some Epigrams of a good period from inscriptions may be added here; but my list is probably incomplete:

1. *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, XIX. 392. An Epigram of the third century B.C. found at Amphissa, probably referring to the invasion of the Gauls in 278. In the last line ἀσπίδ' αἰέας should be read; P. Perdizet transliterates it as ἀσπίδα εἶπας.

2. *Bulletin de la Soc. Archaeol.* IV. 81; Wilamowitz in *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.* 1902, XLIX.; Herwerden, *Lexicon Graec. Suppl.*² s.v. πηγός. An Epigram of the third century B.C. Caunus, the station of the fleet under the Ptolemies, is referred to.

3. W. H. D. Rouse in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1906, p. 178; cf. W. Crönert in *Rhein. Mus.* 1910, 636. An Epigram of the close of the Hellenistic period found at Astypalaea.

This last class however is more fitted for a continuation of Kaibel's *Epigrammata a lapidibus collecta*, a piece of work which in 1913 was contemplated by Belgian scholars at Brussels. It is to be hoped that they survive and will carry out their intention. If there are any omissions in classes 1 to 5 above, I should be glad to be informed of them. I have not included Lyric addenda, since they do not properly belong to addenda to the *Anthology*.

J. U. POWELL.

*St. John's College,
Oxford.*

PLATONISM.

Platonism. By PAUL ELMER MORE. Octavo. Pp. 307. Princeton University Press, 1917. 7s. 6d. net.

As Mr. More explains in his Preface, this book does not—in spite of its title

—profess to cover the whole ground of Platonic doctrine; it deals mainly (in the writer's words) with 'the ethical theme that runs through all Plato's discussions, and is certainly the main-spring of his philosophy.' And behind

it there is a definitely practical aim. In an age when 'the dogmas of religion have lost their hold, while the current philosophy of the schools has become in large measure a quibbling of specialists on technical points of minor importance, or, where serious, too commonly has surrendered to that flattery of the instinctive elements of human nature which is the very negation of mental and moral discipline,' Mr. More would recall us to the truths which Plato expounded 'in the troubled and doubting days of Greece.' It is to be hoped that his presentation of unadulterated Platonism will achieve this admirable aim and prove in some measure 'a corrective of the disintegrating forces of society.'

To explain Plato we must go behind him to Socrates, and to Socrates the first chapters of the book are devoted. In his estimate of Socrates ('historic' or 'Platonic') Mr. More expressly dissents both from Gomperz and from Professor Burnet. 'To assert that a man could write the *Republic* without a definite philosophy of his own is to run pretty close to a pedantic absurdity, and it is not much better to maintain that there was no rationalism in the teaching of Socrates than that there was no mysticism in the teaching of Plato.' The Socratic doctrine, as Mr. More contends, comprised in one three veins of thought—intellectual scepticism, spiritual positivism, and the identification of virtue and knowledge. The unique combination in one mind of rationalism and mysticism is what constitutes 'the Socratic Paradox.'

According to Mr. More's exposition, the paradox of Socrates lies at the root of the dualism of Plato. In chapters on 'The Platonic Quest,' 'The Dualism of Plato,' and 'Psychology,' he endeavours to show how both 'knowledge' and 'virtue' are terms used in two senses, and how failure to distinguish between these senses has led to misapprehension of the true Platonic position. For behind the specific virtues there is a higher 'virtue,' which is the 'moral impulsion' called 'justice' in the *Republic* and 'wisdom' in the *Laws*; while above the 'knowledge' which Socrates identified with virtue stands the knowledge

which is independent of calculation, the immediate, intuitive *gnosis* 'by which we confirm our spiritual affirmation.' Other subjects dealt with in these chapters are the problems of free-will and of evil, and the Platonic distinction between pleasure and happiness. In his discussion of the doctrine of Ideas, Mr. More rejects the assumption of 'a radical break in Plato's doctrine,' and the theory of a later Platonism of 'natural kinds.' He would distinguish two quite different categories of Ideas, the rational and the ethical; of which the latter were, for Plato, the more fundamental and important. Thus 'the true Platonic ideas' are described as 'imaginative projections of the facts of moral consciousness.' In dealing with 'Science and Cosmogony,' it is contended (against some modern interpreters) that 'the whole argument (of the *Timaeus*) is founded on a radical dualism,' and that it is quite wrong 'to reduce the Platonic Ideas to mathematical entities.' Mr. More's penultimate chapter on 'Metaphysics' is mainly concerned with that baffling dialogue, *Parmenides*. Mr. Benn argued, in a recent book, that 'Plato uses the One and the Many . . . in order to cut out the transcendental theory by the roots.' Mr. More, on the contrary, contends that 'the main intention was to bring relief to Plato's own doctrine of Ideas' by showing the limitations of rationalistic metaphysic. The well-known passage in *Soph.* 248 is held to confirm this view, and to indicate on Plato's part 'an unwavering affirmation of the reality of moral Ideas, united with an unwavering scepticism.'

In brief space it is impossible, of course, to do justice to the views set forth; but enough has been said to indicate that Mr. More holds very definite views regarding the kernel of Plato's Idealism, and that he has the courage of his convictions. One may suspect that he has been influenced by the teaching of his countryman, Professor Shorey, who also is a strong exponent of the continuity of Plato's thought, and a bulwark of what we may, perhaps, call the Tory side in Platonic controversy. The strength of the writer's convictions makes the book all the more readable

and interesting, and besides its *protreptic* value it undoubtedly contains much that is true and important for the student of Ancient Thought—amongst other things this: ‘the silly allusions to enigmatic teaching and the statement

that Plato never had written and never would write down his true principles are sufficient to prove the so-called Platonic Epistles a forgery’ (p. 199). It is a pity the book has no Index.

R. G. BURY.

GREEK IDEALS.

Greek Ideals: A Study in Social Life.

By C. DELISLE BURNS. One vol. Octavo. Pp. ix+275. London: G. Bell and Sons, and Macmillan Co., 1917. 5s. net (and \$2.00).

MR. BURNS has taken for his book a subject highly attractive but hardly less elusive. For, as Mr. Lowes Dickinson once put it (in his excellent little book on *The Greek View of Life*), ‘there is nothing so misleading as generalisation, specially on the subject of the Greeks. Again and again, when we think we have laid hold of their characteristic view, we are confronted with some new aspect of their life which we cannot fit into harmony with our scheme. There is no formula which will sum up that versatile and many-sided people.’ This versatility which renders definition so difficult is fully recognised by Mr. Burns, who says in his Preface that ‘the versatility of the Greeks is more emphasised (in his book) than any single idea such as “harmony” or “beauty” to express the Greek ideal’; but the point he most emphasises and regards as most characteristic is that ‘in all their ideals what is most prominent appears to be sociability.’ By ‘Greek’ Mr. Burns means mainly Athenian, and his earlier chapters are devoted to an account of Athenian religion and the chief festivals connected with it. He teaches us once again how the *polis* is fundamentally a religious institution ‘having very close likeness to a democratic church’—a church without clergy or congregation or sacred book. We used to be taught that *Homer* was ‘the Greek Bible,’ but Mr. Burns tells us that that is ‘false,’ since ‘no one was compelled to “believe in” *Homer*.’ He does not tell us, however, what other English book can be compared more adequately with *Homer*.

After religion and politics, Mr. Burns turns mainly to philosophic literature for his illustrations of the Greek social ideal. He has useful chapters on ‘The Fifth Century’ and ‘The Old School,’ as well as on Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; and his last chapter, entitled ‘The After-Glow,’ is mainly concerned with the views of the Stoics and Epicureans, concluding with what we may call the application of the moral to the men of to-day. As regards Socrates and Plato, it is interesting to compare and contrast the views here set forth with those expressed in Mr. P. E. More’s *Platonism*. Whereas Mr. More will have none of the Socrates limned by Professors Burnet and Taylor, or of their emasculated Plato, Mr. Burns enthusiastically accepts both. His *Socrates*, as Form-Theorist and Orphic-Pythagorean-Brother, is ‘a much greater Socrates than historians have generally supposed to exist’; while as for Plato, ‘although the new view may seem to make him less original as a thinker, it makes him much more skilful as an artist’ (p. 147). How, we wonder, would Plato appreciate this compliment! ‘All great men’ (we quote again from Mr. Burns, p. 243) ‘must be astonished at their followers: and *si quis piorum animis locus*, in some other sphere the original author must often stand aghast at what his commentators make him say’—and still more aghast, we may suppose, must stand the original author who wasn’t an author. However, Mr. Burns has the highest admiration for his bean-eschewing Socrates, as well as for his Boswellised Plato, and that, after all, is the main point. Unlike Mr. More, he says curiously little of the Socratic *daimonion*; but on the other hand he has much to say about the educational and political views of Plato.

The general reader will find in this volume much to interest as well as to instruct: it is written brightly and with constant reference to the needs and

ideals of the modern *polites*. I have noticed only two misprints (pp. 184, 185); but the Index is over-scanty.

R. G. BURY.

PROLEGOMENA TO AUSONIUS.

Prolegomena to an Edition of the Works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius. By SISTER M. J. BYRNE, Ph.D., Professor of Latin in the College of St. Elizabeth. Octavo. One vol. Pp. viii + 101. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. 5s. 6d.

PROFESSOR BYRNE'S book was no doubt written as a thesis: it is issued with the *imprimatur* of the Department of Classical Philology of Columbia University. It is a careful and thorough digest of information about Ausonius, his life, his works, and the expository accretions of learning thereupon. Are they *Prolegomena* to an ideal edition, or to an edition actually designed? We are not told. A new text is much needed. Schenkl's reputation has been blown by Mr. Garrod: Peiper is an ugly and awkward work. Would that Fr. Martindale's long-promised contribution to the Oxford Classical Texts showed any signs of appearing! Professor Byrne's references are made to Souchay; but we are not made aware of this until p. 83: it ought to have been done on the front page. Schenkl and Peiper having introduced disorder into the order of the poems, all reference becomes sinfully confused. But probably most scholars would have been grateful for a direct page-reference to Peiper.

There are theses literary or speculative, and theses of which it may be brutally asserted that the perfect form is an *index verborum*; as it stands, this present work suffers a certain disadvantage. It reveals no ambition to rival or to supersede the literary critical estimates of Ausonius which are already to be found in Boissier, La Ville de Mirmont, Pichon, Plessis, etc.; indeed, such estimates, by their nature, do not go out of date. And yet, lacking an index, it is not very convenient for consultation as a repertory of materials. Reviewers

have a vile trick of constructing two stools and placing one on each side of the victim, who is then accused and found guilty of falling between them. But in this case are not the two stools real, and no mere instruments of the carnifex? A finished literary judgment by your Boissier or your Plessis has value; and a book lying wholly within the banausic part of literature, such as Teuffel, the Bradshaw of Latin, whose judgments are of course altogether negligible, has value as a great piece of clerkwork. Is there room for such a book as Sister Byrne's between the two? Yes, on condition that these be really *Prolegomena*. Read strictly in connexion with an edition in one indexed volume together, these chapters would fully justify their utility, which for the nonce remains somewhat fragmentary or provisional.

Ausonius was *par excellence* the poetical Don, a professor in whom the study of expression had quite outrun an impotent imagination and an atrophied heart. He is a far less real and interesting person than Paulinus or Sidonius Apollinaris. The *Mosella* is a readable poem, with feeling enough and historic substance enough to keep it alive. Otherwise the only real thing about the writings of this magnificent prototype of a Head of a House (a hundred years ago) is the breach with Paulinus. This is a bit of Oxford Movement: to draw out the parallel would be an interesting essay. It is an episode of tragical pathos—two friends who no longer speak the same language. Baudrillart's *S. Paulin de Nôle* should be added to the Bibliography.

One may criticise a few details in the chapter on Metre and Prosody. It is to be regretted that the authoress continues to use the discredited equivoque of *arsis* and *thesis*. Havet's substitutes 'temps fort' and 'temps faible' will go

quite nicely into English as the 'forte' and the 'faible' of a foot. On p. 89, examples are given 'of the way in which A. sometimes violates quantity.' These include *Palatia*, which is Statian, at any rate; *rêcidit* and *rêligio*, which are both Augustan; and *utrâque*, nominative singular feminine, an interesting case of accentual stress producing quan-

titative length (codex V. ninth century is actually recorded as having an accent on the vowel). Such a note is too indiscriminate.

However, with a few reservations of detail, and supposing always an edition to follow, the book deserves to be praised and welcomed.

J. S. P.

LIVY, BOOK XXIII.

Livy, Book XXIII. Edited by A. G. PESKETT. Pp. xxiv+159. Cambridge University Press, 1917.

THIS book gives much useful help, especially on the subject-matter. Mr. Peskett has studied the works of Soltau and Kromayer-Veith to good purpose, and he puts the results of their labours before his readers concisely and intelligibly. More frequent references from the Notes to the continuous narrative of the Introduction would be welcome.

On the language the Notes seem to us less satisfactory, mainly for two reasons. First, the editor has tried to provide for the needs of too wide a range of students. He has in view, he tells us, the teacher as well as the school-boy, and he seems to include the boy who has read very little Latin. It would be better, we think, to assume that the student has read books XXI.-XXII. and grown accustomed to the more ordinary difficulties of historical prose. In that case it would not be necessary to say, as Mr. Peskett says more than once, that a historic present may be followed by the historic tenses of the subjunctive, or that in *oratio obliqua* a pluperfect subjunctive may represent the future perfect indicative of the *oratio recta*; and it would be possible to give fuller information on many interesting questions of language and history. For example, on 6, 2 *neque controversiam fore, quin, cum . . . deportet, Italiae imperium Campanis relinquatur* it would be well to note that *relinquatur* is a future tense, especially as beginners are sometimes taught that *futurum sit ut relinquatur* is idiomatic Latin. Mr. Peskett translates 'is left,' Church and Brodribb

more correctly 'the empire of Italy will be left in the hands of the Campanians.' On 16, 16 the note on the subject-matter might well be expanded, for not one reader in a thousand will have access to the books referred to.

Secondly, the Notes on language need some revision. 15, 12, 'The actual words of the speaker were somewhat as follows: *multi qui cum te stipendia fecerunt referunt.*' Obviously *tecum*. 10, 8 '*capta Capua = si Capua caperetur.*' Rather *capta esset*. 8, 5, '*interdum* "now and then": this use of *interdum* must be distinguished from the more common meaning "meanwhile." There is no fear of confusion; the word is not used in the sense of 'meanwhile' till much later times, and most readers will not have seen it with that meaning. 11, 3 Mr. Peskett calls the imperatives *mittitote* etc. 'old-fashioned.' Surely we may infer from their frequent use (with a future subordinate clause) in Cicero's speeches and letters that in his time, as in that of Plautus, the second person, singular and plural, were on everyone's lips. One does not easily realise this till one sees all the examples put together, as in Lebreton's *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, p. 195 f. It is sometimes supposed that there is something formal and solemn in the use of these forms. Yet Cicero uses them in his most familiar style; in writing to Atticus, for instance (1, 12, 4), *Si rem nullam habebis, quod in buccam venerit, scribito*; or to Tiro (*Fam.* 16, 6, 1), *quantum poscet, promitti iubeto*. The note on 3, 3 *accipite solos, inermis. nec quicquam . . . temere egeritis* says 'notice positive command *accipite* followed by prohibition *ne* [a confusing misprint

for *nec*] *egeritis* perfect subjunctive. In earlier times *neve* would be more common than *nec*. A similar statement may be found in some of the older grammars but is corrected in the more recent books. In the first edition of Kühner's Grammar it is said that when a prohibition is to be connected with a positive command '*neque* is allowed instead of the usual *neve*,' but in the second edition (II. i. p. 193) Stegmann says that *neque* (*nec*) is in such cases the regular connecting link and that in Early Latin *neve* (*neu*) is at any rate very rarely so used. Cf. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, I. p. 168 ff. '*Neve* (*neu*), ordinarily regarded as the normal connecting negative with the prohibitive, is relatively much less frequent.' For a full collection of the evidence from 'the earliest times down to Apuleius, see the article by Dr. E. B. Lease ('der unermüdliche Lease' as Schmalz calls him) on '*Neve* and *neque* with the Imperative and Subjunctive' in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 34 (1913). Mr. Peskett's remark may suggest that Livy is doing something unusual. It would be better to impress on the student that he is writing normal Latin like Cicero, *Att.* 10, 18, 2, *perge, quaeso, scribere nec meas litteras exspectaris*.

It would add to the value of this and similar books if the editors would say

what are the best *English* books on the history, and on constitutional and similar questions. It is perhaps assumed that readers will turn of themselves to such books as Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, the Cambridge 'Companion' and Dr. Gow's 'Companion'; but it saves valuable time if they are told where they will find a question well treated. Mr. Peskett often refers to Marquardt and Mommsen's 'Handbuch.' Such references might well be cut down; they are of value to very few readers, and such readers will easily find their way to the best foreign books.

There are a good many notes of the type 'This use is archaic and poetical and therefore attractive to Livy.' Such remarks would have more interest if they were connected together by an Appendix on the strong and weak points of Livy's style. It is a pity that Mr. Peskett has not brought out more fully Livy's merits both as a historian and as a writer of Latin. He gives him a few words of praise on p. x. but more often he is content to point out his faults. Perhaps some readers will finish their study of the book with the feeling that his history is worthless and that he did not quite understand the art of writing Latin Prose.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

St. Paul's School.

SELECT LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.

Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae. Vol. III., pars 2. Edidit H. DESSAU. Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1916.

THE first volume of Dessau's *Select Latin Inscriptions* appeared late in 1892, and successive volumes have followed at intervals. The first half of the third volume came out in 1914, just before the war, and contained the beginning of the indices. Now the rest of that volume is before me, and the work is complete after nearly thirty-five years. The reputation of the whole book is so great that Latin scholars in England may perhaps care for a notice of the appearance of this concluding part, of which the preface is dated April, 1916.

As now complete, the publication consists of three volumes in five parts, volumes two and three being each double; the price, at pre-war rates, seems to amount to rather less than £4 10s. The work has many merits, of which I would emphasise two. First, it contains a very large selection of inscriptions, nearly 10,000 (to be accurate, 9,522), which include almost all the notable Roman inscriptions discovered up to date. It is, therefore, a larger selection than that given in the well-known older work of A. Wilmanns, completed in 1873, which contains 2,885 items, and larger even than that of Orelli-Henzen, which was issued in 1828-56, and contains 5,076 items. It

is, indeed, a miniature Corpus in itself. The only recent work which forms in any sense a rival to it is the series which has been annually issued by the leading French epigraphist, Professor Cagnat, under the title *Année Épigraphique*, with admirable regularity during the last thirty years. This, however, is not intended to serve quite the same purpose as Mr. Dessau's volumes, nor does any one index run through it. The reader who would be sure that an item is not to be found in the *Année Épigraphique* must consult a variety of indices before he can feel safe. This brings me to the second merit of Mr. Dessau's work. It is provided with a very full and most excellent index, issued partly in vol. iii., part 1, and partly in vol. iii., part 2. As now complete, this index fills 954 pages, and it is so arranged that it can be extracted from the text of the work, and bound up separately. I remember, long years ago, almost before Mr. Dessau's book was begun, meeting in Budapest a foreign epigraphist, even then of much eminence, who carried with him, as his standby, a separately bound copy of the index to Wilmanns, which fills 432 pages. This went conveniently into any bag, and this he consulted when confronted with any new inscription which was hard to decipher or to interpret. The wandering epigraphist, and, no less, the historical student of the Roman Empire, will, I think, provide himself in future with the 1,000 pp. of Mr. Dessau, and will find it an invaluable 'hand-book.'

Thirdly, so far as I can judge, after having for many years used the previous volumes, this selection has, as a selection, extraordinary merits. It is obviously based, as we might expect, on a very thorough knowledge of the masses of Roman inscriptions with which its editor has been busy all his life. He has, I think, succeeded in giving a completeness to his collection, which renders it not merely indispensable, but also an uncommonly useful book of reference. Even his index excels in this. The pages devoted to 'Consules aliaeque anni determinationes' form almost a hand-book of 'Consular fasti' of the middle and later Republic, and still more of the Empire, right into later

days. Again, in selecting his inscriptions, Mr. Dessau has most wisely included many of those longer texts, which lie in a sense outside the strictly epigraphic borders. Thus, he gives us the speech made by Claudius in A.D. 48 on the grant of Senatorial rank to various Gauls (212) and also the 'fragmentum legis quae dicitur de imperio Vespasiani' (244), and he gives extracts from the records of the Arval College, and a copious supply of the so-called 'diplomata militaria' (1986). Here we find also Hadrian's speech to his troops in Africa (2487), all the chief Municipal laws, 'lex Ursonensis, etc.' (6087 f.), the 'lex Metalli Vipascensis' (6891), even the 'lex Iulia Municipalis' (6085) and other documents which technically are inscriptions, but actually in modern life would be issued in blue-books, or otherwise in print. Not a few scholars (I for one) have planned a small volume of 'imperial documents' which would contain such literary rather than lapidary matter; Mr. Dessau has given us it in his stride. His selection is, indeed, so arranged as to form an admirable basis for a study of most branches of Roman Imperial history, pursued apart from the literary texts with which we usually carry it on. If anybody desires to know what inscriptions record about any important religious cult in the Roman Empire, he will find it set forth in chapter xi., a section of 288 pages in vol. ii., where are treated typical records not only of the 'numina romana' but also of Mithras (pp. 152-164), and of the local gods of most provinces, as of Gaul, Germany, and Britain, and much more on the same lines. Further on, he will meet (p. 276) the Arval Hymn, 'enos lases iuvate.' In short, there is very little that a student could wish to know, about any branch of Roman life and history, which inscriptions deal with, which is not somehow handled in these volumes.

It is needless to add that the handling is throughout excellent. Everyone who has ever had to do with Professor Dessau's work knows that he is a past-master in completeness, minuteness, and accuracy. One might as well look for errors of details in his writings as

in those of Theodor Mommsen. However, I will mention two slips which I owe to the keen observation of a friend: (1) In 5892. 2 for *idemque* read *eidemque*. The interest of the correction is that the word is written *idemque* in 5892. 1; therefore *i* and *ei* were sometimes in-

terchanged, in Cicero's time. (2) In No. 23, the number of miles opposite Muranum seems to be ten too little. But in general Mr. Dessau's accuracy is superb.

F. HAVERFIELD.

SHORT NOTICES

The Annual of the British School at Athens, XXI. Sessions 1914-15-16. With 15 photos and many illustrations. Macmillan. 21s. net.

IT is not surprising that the British School at Athens has less to give us than in the days before the war; the wonder is that there is anything. This volume contains not only the usual scholarly fare but a charming little poem in Modern Greek, recited by a peasant of Euboea, with a graceful translation in English. To some this grain of mustard seed will give more pleasure than the rest of the book, good as it is in its own way. But I will not transcribe it: you must pay your guinea. Another page contains the names of five old students of the school who have given their lives for England: of them there is no need to say, *Requiescant in pace*.

Mr. Dickins opens with a study of some imitators of Praxiteles, and reminds us that there is no evidence for a 'school' of Praxiteles in the proper sense. Mr. Wace identifies the site of Olynthus with Myriophyton, and Mekyberna with Molivopyrgos, and Dr. Leaf discusses some sites in the Troad. Miss Lamb has notes on Seljouk buildings in Konia. Miss Hutton and Mr. Buckler deal with inscriptions, two of which come from Suvla Bay. The indefatigable Mr. Hasluck discusses Stone Cults in the Græco-Turkish area, and the geographical distribution of the Bektashi sect. Dr. Leaf discusses the inscription relating to the Locrian maidens, and concludes that it records the final settlement of the tribute, which

thereafter ceased to be paid, 'the solemn and final ending of the thousand years' curse.' Probably the most important article in the volume is Mr. Tillyard's on Rhythm in Byzantine Music, a subject which he has made peculiarly his own. It is to be hoped that he may be able to continue his study of this, since it is likely to be fruitful for those who are interested in the music of ancient Greece.

W. H. D. R.

Ausgewählte Tragödien des Euripides für den Schulgebrauch erklärt, von N. WECKLEIN. Vol. XII.: *Iphigenie in Aulis*, mit einer Tafel. Pp. xvii + 93. Teubner, 1914. M. 1. 80.

THOUGH this is a school edition, it is not without interest for maturer scholars. Dr. Wecklein discusses at some length the authorship of those parts of the play which seem by their language or their thought not to be the work of Euripides. After excluding lines 1578 ff. as obviously a much later addition, he finds that there are seven such passages (not to speak of shorter interpolations), viz. 1-48, 231-302, 413-441 and 454-468, 619-637, 773-783, 1115-1123, 1532, or perhaps 1510, to 1577. The author of all these passages may well be the same person. He wished to avoid two peculiarities of Euripides which had been ridiculed by the comic poets, the prologue beginning abruptly and the *deus ex machina*. He sought to heighten the effect by introducing the little child, of whom we are told more than once that he cannot yet talk. Lastly he added a

new attraction in the *κατάλογος νεῶν*. Wecklein thinks that we have the play substantially as it was produced in 405 B.C., and that these passages were the work of the younger Euripides. To him he would also ascribe the *Rhesus*. Among the points of similarity between the *Rhesus* and the interpolated parts of the *Iphigenia* he mentions the following: (1) The style of the opening anapaests: *Rhes.* XO. βᾶθι πρὸς εὐνὰς τὰς Ἑκτορέους . . . θάρσει. EK. θαρσῶ. *Iph.* ΑΓΑ. ὦ πρέσβυ, δόμων τῶνδε πάροιθεν στεῖχε. ΠΡ. στείχω. (2) The lines about the Pleiads (*Rhes.* 529, *Iph.* 7) and the break of day (*Rhes.* 546, *Iph.* 9). (3) The repetition of the word *πωλικός*. It occurs four times in the *Rhesus*, three in *Iph.* 619-623. (Wecklein says four times in 613-623, but the occurrence in 613 is not to the point, as he does not regard 613-618 as the work of the younger Euripides). (4) The use of epic forms *Iph.* 782 ἐσείτῃ, *Rhes.* 525 δέχθαι. Dr. Wecklein shows an extensive knowledge of the work produced in countries other than his own; he knows the best English editions of the *Iphigenia*, and in his note on lines 231-302 he refers to Mr. T. W. Allen's article in this *Review* (XV., 1901, p. 346 ff.). It will be noticed that he comes to a different conclusion on the *Rhesus* problem from that reached by several scholars in this country in the last few years. (See the article by Mr. G. C. Richards in *C.Q.* X., 1916, p. 192 ff.) Dr. Wecklein's Preface is dated 1913, the year in which Professor Murray's *Rhesus* and Mr. W. H. Porter's article in *Hermathena* were published.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

St. Paul's School.

Lucian's Atticism: the Morphology of the Verb. By R. J. DEFERRARI. One vol. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. ix + 85. Princeton: University Press; London: H. Milford, 1916.

'THIS dissertation presents the first results of an extended study of Lucian's language, both in relation to his fellow Atticists and the κοινή. . . . I have confined myself to the morphology of the verb, as containing perhaps the

greatest number of MS. problems, and as showing certain general and typical tendencies and motives of the author.' Certain pieces have been omitted, but for the mass of writings included in the Lucianic corpus 'it is hoped that the material has been completely collected and presented in sufficient detail.' The author's general plan is to state briefly, with references to such works as those of Kühner, Meisterhans, Mayser, Blass, what forms are found in Attic literature or inscriptions, in the papyri, and in the New Testament; then to summarise the usage of the other Atticists; and finally to give statistics of Lucian's usage and, in most cases, complete references to the passages in which the form occurs. Thus we have in a compact form the result of much laborious research. 'Probably no significant variant has been missed, even if the evidence for and against it is not full.'

The book will undoubtedly be helpful (as the author hopes) to future editors of Lucian. It will also serve as a supplement to the larger reference books on grammar.

The last chapter, in which Mr. Deferrari sums up the conclusions at which he has arrived, is of more general interest, as a few quotations will show:

'This investigation of Lucian's verb morphology as compared to that of other exponents of the same literary movement has greatly increased our respect for Lucian as the most strict, yet the least stiff, of the Hellenistic Atticists. Lucian has many variations from good Attic, some extensive and some isolated; but practically all are the result of a definite purpose, not of ignorance. . . . They are due in the main to three factors: a sense of dramatic fitness, a desire to avoid obscurity, and a desire to avoid pronounced pedantry. This deliberate abandonment of true Attic is further evidence of Lucian's great command of the Attic dialect, and is responsible for the naturalness of his style.'

'We believe that on the whole the tradition faithfully represents Lucian's usage—modified, however, by the insertion of a small number of Atticisms and a much greater number of vul-

garisms. Lucian was more Attic, not less Attic, than as we now know him.'

It is a pity that such a solid piece of work is marred by occasional misprints: e.g., p. 49, 'Although correct in eleven cases of the aorist of *σημαίνω*, yet in 73-36 L. has *ἐσήμνηα*.' Here *ἐσήμνηα* is meant, as is shown on p. 50. The Attic form of the imperfect of *ἐργάζομαι* (sic) is stated on p. 12 to be *εἰργαζόμην*, on p. 13 *ἡργαζόμην*.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

The First Year of Greek. By J. T. ALLEN, Associate Professor of Greek, University of California. Pp. 375. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.30.

THIS is a book of a new kind and we commend it to the notice of all whom it may concern. Its author's aim is to provide for the needs of 'students of college age' who, as he says, 'do not desire, and should not be expected, to begin the study of a language in precisely the same manner as children of fourteen or fifteen.' As many of them will not be able to give more than a year or two to Greek, 'the course must be more compressed; the content of the first year richer. Just so far as is possible in so brief a period the student must be given the opportunity of reading in their original form choice portions of Greek literature. . . . The selections have been chosen for their intrinsic merit and graded with greatest care, and deserve to be read and re-read many times. In fact, there are only a few that are not worthy to be memorised, which indeed was one of the chief considerations in determining their choice. For in learning a language like Greek there is hardly any exercise more helpful than memorising suitable passages both in prose and verse.'

The author has chosen with good judgment and from a wide range of authors. The pieces are interesting and varied and are not too hard for their place in the book if the learner goes slowly, revises often, and learns many passages by heart. In the earlier lessons we have, among other

attractive material, a few verses from the gospels, a line or two from some poet, Euclid's axioms. Single lines of Menander, many of which are easy (e.g. 'Ἡ γλῶσσα πολλῶν ἐστὶν αἰτία κακῶν'), are often introduced. After a time we have short pieces from Plato, then longer selections from the *Lysis* and *Protagoras*, short extracts (3 or 4 lines) from the tragedians, the Anthology, etc.

There are comparatively few exercises for translation into Greek. Those given are well planned to give practice in the words and types of sentence which occur in the reading. It is suggested that they should be expanded, and this will probably be found necessary in order to make the student thoroughly familiar with the common words and inflexions.

The editor is a scholar. He does not expect his pupils to be able to enjoy Greek literature without learning to distinguish fine shades of meaning. He does not rewrite the selections (except those from Herodotus) to make them easier, but he chooses carefully passages which contain only common words and standard constructions. The grammar (123 pages) is clear and thorough; the syntax is perhaps rather too much compressed; here and there the general statement is scarcely clear without an example.

The paper, print, and binding are admirable.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

Bernini and other Studies in the History of Art. By RICHARD NORTON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. With 69 plates. New York: Macmillan Company.

THIS volume is an admirable example of the aesthetic criticism of art. It touches the classical student in three chapters: the Art of Portraiture, Pheidias and Michel Angelo, and a Head of Athena found at Cyrene. Mr. Norton analyses the principles of portrait statues in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and compares the portrait in statuary and in painting. The painting depends for its impression chiefly on the eyes, the carving chiefly depends on the mouth, since the peculiar power of

the two branches of art lies in colour and in form respectively. Egypt, Greece, and Rome are all realistic in portraiture, but they all try to represent character rather than physical peculiarities merely—until the time of decadence comes, and character gives place to sensation. But the character which the Greek sought was that of the whole man as he was, his inner self embodied in the form and moulding it; the Roman sought to depict a man as he appeared to his contemporaries: in the Greek, thought predominates, in the Roman, action. The second essay compares the genius of the two sculptors, which in itself seems to be not unlike, under the different influences of their religion and their moral ideas. In both the author sees the conception of a work of art as a whole, its parts and its decorations belonging naturally to the whole, and if separated from it losing their value. The Cyrenean head was discovered by Mr. Norton himself in the American excavations. He discusses its style in detail, and comes to the conclusion that it is by a local artist of the fourth century, and that it shows local influence.

The volume has a peculiarity which is welcome to the amateur, if that word be used in its true sense: it is free from art jargon, and expresses its thoughts with perfect clearness for any intelligent reader. The author's competence is obvious: no less his good sense and thoughtful penetration.

W. H. D. R.

The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian. Their Careers, with some Notes on Hadrian's Reforms. By R. H. LACEY. Princeton, 1917.

THIS is a dissertation presented for the doctorate in Princeton University, and it is of more than average merit. In effect, the writer re-edits those items in the 'Prosopographia' which bear upon his subject, with necessary additions and corrections and full comments, accompanied by abundant references to the opinions of scholars on disputed points. The author is not merely a compiler; there is good criticism of divergent views. Inaccuracies are few. Among them is a statement on p. 60 that

'Hadrian received the tribunician power the second time . . . the third time.' Naturally the balance of probability will sometimes seem to the reader to incline in a different direction from that assumed by the author. It is hard to believe, for instance, that the title *legatus iuridicus* was ever applied to the independent governor of a province (p. 49). Such an officer must have been normally subordinate to a governor, though he may have been acting governor in an emergency, as the quaestor was on occasion in the Republican age. Momm- sen seems to have been right in holding that *promagister* could not apply to an imperial officer of finance (p. 43). There is no real difficulty in supposing that a man who at one time was an official of a *societas publicanorum* became later on an imperial *procurator*. Misprints in the thesis are rare. On p. 5 *moderationem* in a quotation should be *moderato-rem* and on p. 49 *region* is an error for *reign*. A full index adds to the value of dissertation.

J. S. R.

Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediaeval Period. By C. R. MOREY. One vol. Small 4to, 10¼" × 7½". Pp. 70. Seven full-page plates, seventeen figures in text. Princeton University Press, Princeton; London: Humphrey Milford, 1915.

THE subject of this book causes it to fall outside the proper scope of the *Classical Review*; but it is of no small importance to students of mediaeval Rome, and furnishes a good illustration of the value of the study of drawings of Roman monuments. The author shows that amongst the drawings collected by Cassiano dal Pozzo, now preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor, there is a group which may be attributed to one Antonio Eclissi, a protégé of the Barberini, representing several of the mosaics which suffered restoration at the hands of Urban VIII. The study of these drawings enables us not only to recover details which the restorers obliterated or altered, but also to determine the true text of fragmentary inscriptions. It will be of interest to epigraphists that even so competent a

scholar as Wilpert was wide of the mark in his restorations of such inscriptions as those on the mosaics of S. Pudenziana. H. S. JONES.

Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language. By E. H. STURTEVANT. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. x+184. University of Chicago Press. \$1.00 net.

LINGUISTIC study has considerably advanced since the days when Voltaire could scoff at it as a science in which the consonants count for little and the vowels for nothing; and Mr. Sturtevant is nothing if not modern—we really feel at times as though we had been admitted into the laboratory of the professor of phonetics in Shaw's *Pygmalion*! For much stress is given to influences, such as those which we know colloquially as 'Spoonerisms,' and the sort of phenomena collected by Meringer in his *Aus dem Leben der Sprache*, which play a very important part in linguistic development—a part inclined to be neglected by philologists of the older school. Sometimes, perhaps, Mr. Sturtevant's scientific enthusiasm leads him to adduce somewhat trivial instances from the American language; but we must forgive him the vices of his ultra-modernism for the sake of its benefits, and perhaps he would remind us of Socrates' rebuke of the young Theaetetus to the effect that nothing—not even hair and mud—is *φᾶνλος* to the philosophic mind. What is of more importance is a certain lack of critical spirit which accepts as well-established facts conjectures such as the derivation of *breviter* from *breve iter*; had Mr. Sturtevant only remembered that caution of Swift's about deriving *apothecary* from *the pot he carries*, philologists would have found fewer causes of quarrel with the present volume. But in spite of these, somewhat serious, defects it is a stimulating little book, which treats in a very simple way the important effects of the living voice upon the history of a language, together with such things as change of form and of meaning in isolated words and in general syntax.

R. B. APPLETON.

Patriotic Poetry. Greek and English, by W. RHYS ROBERTS. Pp. viii+135, with four illustrations. London: Murray, 1916. 3s. 6d. net.

WHAT the preface calls the 'more martial' portions of this volume were delivered as an address on St. Crispin's day 1915 to the Literary and Historical Society of Leeds University. To this Prof. Roberts has added some sixty pages of notes and references which provide an excellent collation of Greek and English patriotic poetry from Shakespeare and Homer down to William Watson and Constantine Rhigas, who was shot by the Turks at Belgrade in 1798. (Part of his splendid appeal to the Greeks is quoted in the notes and is one of the finest poems among them.) The book is not intended mainly for classical scholars, but for boys, and the English reader who has little or no Greek; which explains the general simplicity, and an occasional crudity, of comment; but even the classical scholar will find it stimulating to find how often Prof. Roberts can give a modern application to old familiar words. Perhaps these stand out at times in too vivid contrast with the author's somewhat ephemeral commentary, but who can expect what is frankly a book of the day to be written in immortal words? One would certainly have welcomed upon so fascinating a theme a rather more fully-digested work than this somewhat hasty compilation, but even as it stands it is a remarkable illustration of the fact that the words and thoughts of the ancient Greeks are as true and as valuable to-day as they were over two thousand years ago.

R. B. A.

Storia della letteratura romana. By A. G. AMATUCCI. Napoli (1912, 1916). 4 lire.

THE first part of this work appeared some years ago; the second, which deals with the period from Augustus to the fifth century A.D., although composed shortly afterwards, was first published in 1916. The author writes for Italian schools and Universities, and expresses a hope that his book may be kept for reference by students after they have completed their courses. In his

Preface he claims some originality for his work, and states that it is written from an Italian point of view. The originality is not obvious, and the literary judgments, though sane, are not striking. The strength of the author appears to lie in his power of compression, the skilful use which he has made of his materials, and his great industry. He has drawn chiefly from Teuffel and the 'monumental' work of Schanz, and made great use of the reviews and notices to be found in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*. He gives a selection from the monographs which have appeared in recent years upon the various authors, and claims to have studied them himself. The text is accompanied by notes arranged in three classes: (a) To elucidate and amplify the text; (b) dealing with the *fontes*; (c) giving the chief MSS., critical editions, transactions, etc. The notes are not given at the foot of the page, but succeed the text, and it is often necessary to look back several pages in order to find the re-

ference. This method has some inconveniences. Thus 1. 239 we find

(28) A. *È un delle migliori opere di Cicerone, la migliore tra le filosofiche.*

The name of the treatise is not given, and it is necessary to look back to p. 229 to find that (28) = *De Finibus*.

There are some natural omissions in the lists of authorities. Thus the Harleian MS. 2682, though mentioned for other speeches of Cicero, is not given as an authority for the text of the *Miloniana*. The subject of rhythm in Latin prose-writers, which has been so much discussed in recent years, receives only scanty reference. It will be gathered that Professor Amatucci's work is likely to be of use to students outside of his own country. No other book of its size contains so much information, and its cheapness is quite extraordinary.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

NOTES AND NEWS

ALTHOUGH it bears only indirectly upon our work, we wish to call attention to the Classical French Theatre Association, which has just issued an attractive programme of drama, music, and lectures. These help our under-

standing of one of the chief heirs of Latin culture in Europe. Further particulars may be had from the Comte de Croze, 89, Fitzjohn's Avenue, London, N.W. 3.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DR. LEAF'S second letter in your August-September number makes it unnecessary for me to repeat what I said in a reply to it which waited too long for information from Athens, and so was too late for that issue. I will only observe that it was he, not I, who was 'misinformed.' I had known for some time that nearly a dozen sites had been discovered, not one only, and that there was reason to believe that a settlement 'at Corinth' was Mycenaean, like the rest. Dr. Leaf hopes it was not. We shall soon know for certain.

Meantime, however important his particular point may be for his prophecy, it does not seem to matter to those who oppose his latest view of the *Catalogue*. For already thus much is clear, that there was in Mycenaean times effective occupation of the region of Corinth, and that there were—I quote the *Classical Journal*—

'extensive trade relations with Crete and the Aegean Islands, and with settlements in Argolis and in Central Greece.' The soil and climate, which Dr. Leaf has misdescribed in his book in terms so disparaging that one must marvel that a great city was ever founded and flourished there, did not deter the Mycenaeans. They, like their predecessors and successors, appreciated the importance of the locality for trade. We always knew that there was a 'natural harbour at Cenchreae,' but we now know it was a Mycenaean port. About Lechaëum also I believe Dr. Leaf is wrong. There is in the tradition a claim by the Corinthians that it was the first artificial port ever created. It may well have been created in Mycenaean times; its creation would surely have been a trifle to the builders of Mycenae. But, be that as it may, the fact is, in spite of what Dr. Leaf has written to the contrary, that the shore in the vicinity is well adapted to shipping of the

Mycenaean kind. Trade thence across the Gulf to Central Greece appears to have been active, and, personally, I do not doubt there would be some trade along the Isthmus, however *δυσσόδος* the route may have been. The whole region was evidently dominated by the lords of Mycenae. They could either permit traffic to cross from Cenchreae to Lechaem, or constrain it to Nauplia and the route past their great *τελώνιον* in the mountains to Corinth and the Gulf. Perhaps in this restraint of trade they only imitated their great predecessor, Sisyphus. There is a hint in the tradition about that *κέρδιστος ἀνδρῶν*, who is said to have 'promoted navigation and commerce.' He made the Isthmus impassable by rolling stones down on travellers, and that procedure may reflect some embargo on the land traffic designed to favour the direct route between the then Lechaem and Northern Greece.

The 'foundation of my arguments' has not been 'knocked away'—yet. So far as one can judge at present, it seems they have been strengthened, and that Unitarians, pitted by some reviewers of *Homer and History*, have good ground for awaiting without trepidation a full statement of the results of these excavations, and the light it is anticipated they will throw on the prehistory of the Peloponnesus. Whatever the issue of Dr. Leaf's prediction, there seems to be good reason for believing

that 'Homer' and the *Catalogue* are sound in regard to *ἀφνειὸς Κόρινθος*. His excision of the passage in 'Homer' in which it is mentioned is arbitrary and negligible.—Yours, etc.,

A. SHEWAN.

St. Andrews.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

Professor Housman says (*Class. Rev.* XVII. 390) that only one certain emendation has ever been made in the text of Persius. May I through the medium of your columns present him with another? The Epigram that does duty for *Prologue* is, as they print it, halt and maimed, without a leg to stand on; in fine, no epigram at all. And who's to blame? Not Persius, but the monk (God rest his soul!) who expurgated the poem for the fastidious reader—the St. Jerome?—of his day. Give the poor thing its due: write in the last line 'cacare for 'cātare' (i.e. *cantare*), and it may become less prim and proper, but at least it will stand on its own legs again. And anyone who has chanced to pass through a rookery in spring will admit the force and aptness of the expression as a set-off against its coarseness and bear the precocious author no lasting ill-will.

I am, sir, etc.,

'IUS SUUM CUIQUE.'

September 11, 1918.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Barker (E.) Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors. New edition. 9" x 6". Pp. xiv + 404. London: Methuen and Co., 1918. Cloth, 14s. net.
- Begbie (H.) Living Water: Chapters from the Romance of the Poor Student. 7½" x 5". Pp. 210. London: Headley Bros., 1918. Paper boards, 2s. 6d. net.
- Benton (P. A.) A Book of Anniversaries. 7" x 4½". Pp. 170. Oxford: University Press, 1918. 3s. net.
- Byrne (L.) The Syntax of High School Latin. Revised edition. 9" x 6". Pp. xii + 60. Chicago: University Press, 1918. Cloth, 75 cents net.
- Fowler (W. W.) Virgil's Gathering of the Clans. Second edition, revised. Pp. vi + 98. Aeneas at the Site of Rome. Second edition, revised. Pp. x + 130. 8" x 5". Oxford: Blackwell, 1918. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net each.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XXIX. 8" x 5½". Pp. viii + 178. Harvard Press and Oxford University Press, 1918. Paper boards, 6s. 6d. net.
- Leopold (H. M. R.) De Ontwikkeling van het Heidendom in Rome. 10" x 6½". Pp. xvi + 162. Rotterdam: W. L. and J. Brusse.
- Nachmanson (E.) Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum Collectio, cum Fragmentis. 9" x 5½". Pp. xxxii + 156. Göteborg: Eranos' Förlag; London: Williams and Norgate, 1918. Kr. 10.
- Roehl (H.) Epistula Novi Mariti. Prize Poem and others, highly commended. Also Report on the foregoing. 10" x 6½". Amsterdam: J. Muller, 1918.
- Stampini (E.) Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, Anno 46, Fasc. 3. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 305-384. Turin: G. Chiantore, 1918.
- Thomas (M. A.) Notice sur le Manuscrit Latin 4788 du Vatican, contenant une traduction de la Consolatio Philosophiae de Boèce. 11¼" x 9". Pp. 66. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1917. Fr. 3.
- Translations of Christian Literature. Series I.: St. Dionysius of Alexandria: Letters and Treatises (C. L. Feltoe). Pp. 110. 3s. 6d. net. The Lausiaca History of Palladius (W. K. L. Clarke). Pp. 188. 5s. net. 7½" x 5". London: S.P.C.K., 1918. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Verrua (P.) L'Eloquenza di Lucio Marineo Siculo. 12½" x 8½". Pp. 28. Pisa: F. Mariotti, 1918.
- White (N. J. D.) Libri Sancti Patricii. Texts for Students, No. 4. 7" x 5". Pp. 32. London: S.P.C.K., 1918. 6d. net.
- Whittaker (T.) The Neo-Platonists. Second edition, with a supplement on the Commentaries of Proclus. 9" x 6". Pp. xvi + 320. Cambridge: University Press, 1918. Cloth, 12s. net.

INDEX

I.—GENERAL INDEX.

A.

- Accademia Scientifico-Letteraria in Milano*, noticed, 112 ff.
Adam (Adela Marion), notice of Rostagni's *Poeti Alessandrini*, 75 f.
 Aeginetan coin standard, the, 72a
 Aeneas' voyage up the Tiber, 103 f.
Aeneid VIII., notes on, 103 ff.
 Agamemnon, military roads of, 169
 and Diomedes, realms of, 3 ff.
Agar (T. L.), notice of Allen's *Odyssea I.-XII.*, 184 f.
 the Homeric Hymns (*continued*), 143 ff.
 three passages in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 56 ff.
 'Ακαλανθής Ἀρτεμης, 110 f.
Allbutt (Sir Clifford), notice of Hort's *Theophrastus' Enquiry into Plants*, 36 ff.
 notice of Stratton's *Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle*, 117 ff.
 Alexander, Eastern versions of the romance of, 73 f.
Allen (L. H.), Horace, *Od.* I., XXXIV.-XXXV., 29 f.
 Allen's (J. T.) *The First Year of Greek*, noticed, 196
 Allen's (T.) *Odyssea I.-XII.*, noticed, 184 f.
Alton (E. H.), notice of Landi's *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristia*, 124b
 notice of Marchesi's *P. Ovidi Nasonis Artis Amatoriae*, 124
 Ovidiana: *Fasti* I. (161-227), 13 ff., 58 ff., 153 ff.
 Amatucci's *Storia della letteratura romana*, noticed, 198
Anderson (W. B.), notice of Postgate's *M. Annaei Lucani de bello civili, Liber VIII.*, 78 ff.
Annual of the British School at Athens, noticed, 194
 Antigone, the problem of the, 141 ff.
 Antony, Horace's view of, 30
Appleton (R. B.), Euripides the Idealist, 89 ff.
 note on Euripides' *Troades* (226 sqq.), 110
 notice of Sturtevant's *Linguistic Change*, 198
 Arcadia, prehistoric, 7 f.
 Arnold's *War Time Lectures*, noticed, 46
 Asclepiad odes of Horace, 24 ff.
 ass, honoured at the Vestalia, 61
 sacrifice of, at Lampsacus, *ib.*
 Atlas, Virgil's conception of, 105
Ausoniana, 111
 Ausonius, 190
 Avellani's *Pericla Navarchi Magonis*, noticed, 40 f.

B.

- Barbelenet's *de la Phrase à Verbe 'être' dans l'Ionien d'Hérodote*, noticed, 83 ff.
 Bassi's *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Civili*, noticed, 125b

- Bérard's *Les Phoeniciens et l'Odyssée*, 1, 8
 bird-names, Classical, and modern Italian, 94 ff.
 birds of Diomedes, the, 66 f., 92 ff.
 blind-rat, the, in ancient writers, 10 ff.
Books Received, 48, 88, 136, 200
 Bowie's *Caesar's Wars with the Germans*, noticed, 46
 Breasted's *Ancient Times*, noticed, 44
 Breul's *The Cambridge Songs*, noticed, 34 f.
 'breves breviantes' law, 109b
Brooks (E. J.), Callimachus (Epigr. 5), 110
 Virgil, *Aen.* VIII. (90), 171
Browne (H.), notice of Gardner's *History of Ancient Coinage*, 70 ff.
 Burns, *Greek Ideals*, noticed, 189 f.
Bury (R. G.), notes on some texts in Plato and Marcus Aurelius, 147 ff.
 notice of Burns' *Greek Ideals*, 189 f.
 notice of More's *Platonism*, 187 ff.
 notice of Haines' *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, 32 f.
 notice of James' *Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, 132b f.
 notice of Mackenna's *Plotinus: the Ethical Treatises*, 38 f.
 notice of Moore's *Religious Thought of the Greeks*, 131
 Butler, Henry Montagu, obituary notice of, 85
Butterworth (G. W.), notice of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 120 f.
 notice of Hitchcock's *Treatise of Irenaeus against the Heresies*, 180 f.
 notice of Lowther Clarke's *Gregory of Nyssa: the Life of St. Macrina*, 181 f.
 notice of Oesterley's *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, 182
 Byrne's *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius*, noticed, 190 f.

C.

- C. (L.)**, notice of *La Science Française*, 43
 Cacus, the cave of, 105
 Callimachus (Epigr. 5), 110
 the Hymns of, 76
Campbell (A. Y.), notice of Löeb's *The New Greek Comedy*, 182 ff.
 Cato Grammaticus, 62
Choéphoroe, allusions to the, in Euripides' *Electra*, 138
 Cicero, *ad Att.* VIII. (4), 171
Ep. ad Fam. IX. 20 (2), 31
Clark (Albert C.), notice of Amatucci's *Storia della letteratura romana*, 198
 notice of Colombo's *Cicero: pro Milone, pro Archia*, 125
 notice of Pascal's *Cicero: de Re Publica*, 124 f.
 notice of Wageningen's *de Ciceronis libro Consolationis*, 82

- Cleopatra in Horace, 30
 Colombo's *Cicero: pro Milone, pro Archia*, noticed, 124 f.
 Conway (R. S.), restorations and emendations in Livy VI.-X., 1 f.
 Corinth in Mycenaean times, 2
 Correspondence, 87 f., 135, 199 f.
 Cranes, habits of, 66

D.

- Daphnis myth, the, 76
 Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, noticed, 77 f.
 Deferrari's *Lucian's Atticism*, noticed, 195 f.
 Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Vol. III., pars 2), noticed, 192 ff.
 Diomedes, the birds of, 66 ff., 92 ff.
 Duckett's *Studies in Ennius*, noticed, 45 f.

E.

- Electra* of Euripides, the, 137 ff.
 Eris, the good, 56 f.
 Esposito (M.), Priscianus Lydus and Johannes Scottus, 21 ff.
 Euripides the Idealist, 89 ff.
 note on *Troades* (226 sqq.), 110
 Evelyn-White (C. H.), notice of Mayor and Souter's *Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus*, 127 f.
 Evelyn White (Hugh G.), *Ausoniana*, 111
 notice of Mooney's *The House-Door on the Ancient Stage*, 84

F.

- Fabii, the, 14
 Fishes, the Sign of the, in Ovid, 16 ff.
Flosculi Rossallenses, noticed, 44
 Fort (J. A.), note on the *Pervigilium Veneris*, 96 ff.
 four-line stanza in the *Odes* of Horace, the, 23 ff.
 Fowler (W. Warde), two Virgilian bird-notes, 65 ff.
 Fowler's (W. Warde) *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, noticed, 129 ff.
 Friedlaender's *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, noticed, 73 f.

G.

- G. (A. J. B.), notice of Breasted's *Ancient Times: a History of the Early World*, 44
 notice of Gardner's *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 43 f.
 notice of Jastrow's *Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, 44
 notice of Scrivener's *Greek Testament*, 44
 Gardner's (Miss Alice) *Lascarids of Nicaea*, noticed, 43 f.
 Gardner's *History of Ancient Coinage*, noticed, 70 ff.
 Gaselee (S.), notice of Stampini's *Studi di Letteratura e Filologia Latina*, 126
 Gaselee's *Apuleius: the Golden Ass*, noticed, 41 f.
 Achilles Tatius, noticed, 132
 genitives in *oo-*, Homeric, 185
 Genner (E. E.), *Portus Itius*, 70
 Granger (Frank), notice of Friedlaender's *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 73 f.
 Greek Anthology, list of addenda to the, 186 f.
 Greek, general relative clauses in, 169 f.
 See Vol. XXXI., Nos. 3-4.
 Greek Winds, the, 49 ff.
 Grenfell (B. P.), notice of *R. Accademia Scientifico-Letteraria in Milano*, 112 ff.
 Grose (S. W.), note on *περισκέλης*, 168a

H.

- Haines, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, noticed, 32 f.
 Hall (F. W.), notice of Duckett's *Studies in Ennius*, 45 f.
 Hartman's *de Plutarcho Scriptore et Philosopho*, noticed, 172 ff.

- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, noticed, 120 f.
 Haverfield (F.), notice of Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 192 ff.
 Heseltine (M.), notice of Gaselee's *Achilles Tatius*, 132
 notice of Gaselee's *Apuleius: the Golden Ass*, 41 f.
 Hesiod's *Works and Days*, three passages in, 56 ff.
 Homeric Hymns, the (*continued*), 143 ff.
 Horace, on a famous 'crux' in (*Sermones* I. 6. 126), 64 f.
 four-line stanza in the *Odes* of, 23 ff.
 note on *Epp.* II. 1 (161 sqq.), 165
 on *Od.* I. xxiv.-xxxv., 29 f.
 horns of Moses, the, 74b
 Hort's (Sir A.), *Theophrastus' Enquiry into Plants and Minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs*, noticed, 36 ff.
 Housman (A. E.), jests of Plautus, Cicero, and Trimalchio, 162 ff.
 Husband (J.), notice of Warde Fowler's *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, 129 ff.

I.

- indicative in relative clauses, the, 68 f.
Iphigenia in Aulis, interpolations in the, 194b f.
 Isidore's *Etymologies*, the title of, 69 f.

J.

- James' *Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, noticed, 132b f.
 Janus, 13
 Jastrow's *Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, noticed, 44b
 jests of Plautus, Cicero, and Trimalchio, 162 ff.
Jonah, the book of, 74a
 Jones (H. S.), notice of Morey's *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediaeval Period*, 197

K.

- Kean (M.), Cicero, *ad. Att.* VIII. (4), 171
 Thucydides VII. 21 (3), 110
 Kyriakides, *Pocket English-Greek Dictionary of Idioms, Proverbs, and Phrases*, 45

L.

- L. (R. B.), notice of *Flosculi Rossallenses*, 24 f.
 Lacey's *Equestrian Officials of Traian and Hadrian*, noticed, 197
 Landi's *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristia*, noticed, 124b
 Latin poetic order, with special reference to Horace, *Epodes* 5 (19), 161 f.
 vowels before *gn*, 31
 Leaf (Walter), paraphrases, 47
 Leaf's view of the Realm of Agamemnon, criticised, 1 ff.
 Lindsay (W. M.), notes on the *Lydia*, 62 f.
 a phrase-book of St. Columban, 31 f.
 the title of Isidore's *Etymologies*, 69 f.
 Plautus, *Stich.* (1 sqq.), 106 ff.
 notice of Pascal's *Vergilii Bucolicon Liber*, 123 ff.
 Livy XXIV. (26¹⁰), 171 f.
 Livy and the name Augustus, 158 ff.
 Locrian maidens, the tribute of, 194
 Loeb's *The New Greek Comedy*, noticed, 182 f.
 Lucian, verb morphology of, 195
Lydia, notes on the, 62 f.

M.

- Macgregor's *Olynthiac Speeches of Demosthenes*, noticed, 122
 Mackail (J. W.), notes on *Aeneid* VIII., 103 ff.
 obituary notice of Mrs. Sellar, 86
 Mackenna's *Plotinus: the Ethical Treatises*, noticed, 38 f.

Mair (A. W.), general relative clauses in Greek, 169 f.
 Thucydides II. 48 (3), 170b
 MSS. of the *Odysey*, 184 f.
Marchesi's P. Ovidi Nasonis Artis Amatoriae, noticed, 124
Marcus Aurelius, notes on, 148 f.
 mares of Erichthonius, the, 53b
Mayor and Souter's Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus, noticed, 127 f.
 Merry, William Walter, obituary notice of, 85 f.
 'mole' in antiquity, the, 9 ff.
Mooney's The House-Door on the Ancient Stage, noticed, 84
More's Platonism, noticed, 187 ff.
Morey's Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediæval Period, noticed, 197
Murphy (J. J.), the problem of the *Antigone*, 141 ff.
 Mycenæ, source of its wealth, 1 ff.

N.

Naylor (H. Darnley), Latin poetic order, with special reference to Horace, *Epodes* 5 (19), 161 f.
Nicklin (T.), notice of Robertson's *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 114 ff.
Norton's Bernini and other Studies in the History of Art, noticed, 196
 NOTES, 31 f., 69 f., 110 ff., 168 ff.
 NOTES AND NEWS, 48, 87, 134, 199
 Notus, 66
 O.
 OBITUARY, 85 f.
 Obst, der Feldzug des Xerxes, noticed, 178 ff.
 Oesterley's *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, noticed, 182
 Olynthus, site of, 194
 ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS, 1 ff., 49 ff., 89 ff., 137 ff.
 Ovidiana: notes on the *Fasti*, 13 ff., 58 ff., 153 ff.

P.

Pacuvius, 166
Pantin (W. E. P.), notice of Allen's *The First Year of Greek*, 196
 notice of Deferrari's *Lucian's Atticism*, 195 f.
 notice of Barbelenet's *de la Phrase à Verbe 'être' dans l'Ionien d'Hérodote*, 83 ff.
 notice of Macgregor's *Olynthiac Speeches of Demosthenes*, 122
 notice of Peskett's *Livy*, Book XXIII., 191 f.
 notice of Wecklein's *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 194 f.
 PARAPHRASES, 47
Paravia Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum, the, notices of, 123 ff.
Pascal's Cicero: de Re Publica, noticed, 124 f.
Vergilii Bucolicum Liber, noticed, 123 f.
Paton's Greek Anthology (Vol. II.), noticed, 33 f.; (Vol. III.), 186 f.
 περικελῆς, note on, 168
Pervigilium Veneris, note on the, 96 ff.
Peskett (A. G.), note on Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* IX. 20 (2), 31
 note on Livy XXIV. (26¹⁰), 171b f.
 note on Virgil, *Ecl.* VII. (52), 31
 notice of Bassi's *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Civili*, 125b
Peskett's Livy, Book XXIII., noticed, 191 f.
Phillimore (J. S.), notice of Byrnes's *Prolegomena to Ausonius*, 190 f.
 Terence, *Andria*, 434 (II. vi. 3), 28 f.
 Terentiana, 98 ff.
 phrase-book of St. Columban (?), a, 31
 Plato and Marcus Aurelius, notes on some texts in, 147 ff.
 Plato and Platonism, 188 f.
 Plautus, *Stich.* (1 sqq.), 106 ff.

Plutarch, note on the *Symposiacs* and some other dialogues of, 150 ff.
 ΠΟΑΤΧΡΤΕΟΣ ΜΤΚΗΝΗ, 1 ff.
 Porta Carmentalis, the, 14 ff.
 Portus Itius, 70
Postgate (J. P.), the four-line stanza in the *Odes* of Horace, 23 ff.
Postgate's M. Annaei Lucani de bello civili, Liber VIII., noticed, 78 ff.
Powell (J. U.), notice of Paton's *Greek Anthology*, (Vol. II.), 33 f.; (Vol. III.), 186 f.
Prickard (A. O.), notice of Hartman's *de Plutarcho Scriptore et Philosopho*, 172 ff.
 Priscianus Lydus and Johannes Scottus, 21 ff.
 prospective in subjunctive clauses, the, 20 f.

Q.

QUERIES, 86

R.

Reid (J. S.), notice of Arnold's *War Time Lectures*, 46
 notice of Lacey's *Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*, 197
 REVIEWS, 32 ff., 70 ff., 112 ff., 172 ff.
 Rice-Holmes, *Caesar's Campaign in Britain*, noticed, 134
Robertson's Grammar of the Greek New Testament, noticed, 114 ff.
Rostagni's Poeti Alessandrini, noticed, 75 f.
Rouse (W. H. D.), notice of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 194
 notice of Avellanus' *Pericla Navarchi Magonis*, 40
 notice of Breul's *The Cambridge Songs*, 34 f.
 notice of Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, 77 f.
 notice of Kyriakides' *Pocket English-Greek Dictionary of Idioms, Proverbs, and Phrases*, 45
 notice of Norton's *Bernini and other Studies*, 196

S.

Σ, notice of Bowie's *Caesar's Wars with the Germans*, 46
 notice of Rice-Holmes' *Caesar's Campaign in Britain*, 124
 notices of schoolbooks, 46 f.
S. (J.), Latin vowels before gn, 31
 St. Columban, a phrase-book of, 31 f.
 schoolbooks, noticed, 46 f., 133 ff.
Science Française, la, noticed, 43
 Sellar, Mrs., obituary notice of, 86
 shearwater, the, 67 f., 92 ff.
Sheppard (J. T.), the *Electra* of Euripides, 137 ff.
Shewan (A.), the military roads of Agamemnon, 169
 ΠΟΑΤΧΡΤΕΟΣ ΜΤΚΗΝΗ, 1 ff.
 queries, 86
 SHORT NOTICES, 43 ff., 84, 131 ff., 194 ff.
 simile, contrasted use of α, by Virgil and Apollonius, 130
 Sirius, 58
Slater (D. A.), on a famous crux in Horace (*Sermones* I. 6. 126), 64 f.
 'Statius, Poggio, and Politian,' 166 f.
 Socrates, Burnet and Taylor's view of, 188a, 189
Sonnenschein (E. A.), the indicative in relative clauses, 68 f.
 the prospective in subjunctive clauses, 20 f.
Stampini's Studi di Letteratura e Filologia Latina, noticed, 126
 'Statius, Poggio, and Politian,' 166 f.
 See Vol. XXVII., p. 265
Stratton's Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle, noticed, 117 ff.
 Sturtevant's *Linguistic Change*, noticed, 198
Sykes (Arthur), Ἀκαλαρθὶς Ἀπρεμῖς, 110 f.

- T.
Taylor (Lily Ross), *Livy and the name Augustus*, 158 ff.
Terence, *Andria*, 434 (II. vi. 3), 28 f.
 his alleged plagiarisms, 98 f.
Terentiana, 98 ff.
Thompson (Darcy Wentworth), the birds of
 Diomedes, 92 ff.
 the Greek winds, 49 ff.
 the 'mole' in antiquity, 9 ff.
Thucydides II. 48 (3), 170b
Tower of the Winds, the, 55
 trade-routes, prehistoric, in Peloponnesus, 7 ff.

- V.
Vesta and the Palladium, 144 ff.
Vince (C. A.), two notes on Virgil and Horace, 164 f.

- Virgil, notes on, 31, 65, 103 ff., 164, 170 f.
 Virgilian bird-notes, two, 65 ff.

- W.
Wecklein's Iphigenie in Aulis, noticed, 194 f.
Wells (J.), notice of Obst, *der Feldzug des Xerxes*, 178 ff.
W. (W. G.), 'Died of Wounds,' 84
Wageningen's de Ciceronis libro Consolationis, noticed, 82
 wind-names:
 Aristotelian, 50
 Carolingian, 54
 Pliny's, 55
 Winds, the Greek, 49 ff.
Wright (F. A.), note on Virgil, *Aeneid* XI. (336-7), 31

II.—INDEX LOCORUM.

- A.
Aelian :—
 XI. (37), 11b
Anthologia Graeca :—
 VII. (50. 3. 51. 6, 212. 8), 34a; IX. (144. 4, 563. 6), 186a
Aristophanes :—
Aves (874 coll. Aesch. Ag. 140), 110b f.
Aristotle :—
de An. III. 1. (425a, 11), 11b
H.A. IV. 8. (533a, 15), 11b; VIII. 28. (605b), 12a
de Mirab. 176 (847b, 3), 11b
Ausonius :—
Bissula III. (5), 111b
Ecl. VIII. (21); XXVI. (14), 111a
Ephem. VIII. (1 sqq.), 111a
Epp. XIII. (25); XXVII. (69 sqq.), 111b
Profess. XIX. (15), 111a
 C.
Callimachus :—
Epigr. (5), 110a
Cato Grammaticus :—
Lydia (3), 62b; (22, 41 sqq., 68), 63
Cicero :—
ad Att. VIII. (4), 171
ad Fam. IX. 20. (2), 31a
 E.
Euripides :—
Troades (226), 110a
 H.
Hesiod :—
Works and Days (11 sqq.), 56 f.; (314 sqq.), 57; (416), 58
Homeric Hymns :—
Apoll. (154 sqq., 159 sqq.), 143; (163, 169 sqq.), 144a; (177 sq.), 144b; (181, 208 sqq.), 145a; (231 sqq.), 145b; (246, 263, 275), 146b
Horace :—
Epod. V. (19), 162
Epp. II. 1. (161 sqq.), 154
Odes I. (xxxiv.-xxxv.), 29 ff.
Serm. I. 6. (126), 84 f.
 L.
Livy :—
 XXIV. (26¹⁰), 171b
Lucan :—
 VIII. (157 sq.), 78b f.; (513 sqq.), 80a; (638 sq., 860 sq.), 80b f.
 M.
Macrobius :—
Saturn. II. 3. (16), 163b

- Marcus Aurelius :—
 III. (12), 33b, 148b, (16. 2), 148b; IV. (27), 148b f.; VI. (10), 149b; VII. (24), 33b; IX. (28), 149b
 O.
Oppian :—
Cyn. II. (612), 12b
Ovid :—
Fasti I. (181 sqq.), 13; II. (193 sqq.), 14 ff., (472), 16b ff., (479 sq.), 19; (605 sqq.), 159b, (770), 58; III. (713 sqq.), 59 f.; IV. (817), 60b f.; VI. (99 sq.), 158, (407 sq.), 157b, (345 sq.), 61 f., (419 sqq.), 153 ff.
 P.
Pervigilium Veneris (23, 69 sqq.), 97b f.
Petronius :—
 41 (6-8), 164
Plato :—
Clitoph. (409E), 148b
Epp. 8 (354A, 354D), 147 f.
Eryx (401A), 148b
Euthyd. (303D), 147a
Rep. X. (596A), 169b f.
Plautus :—
Rud. (766 sqq.), 162 f.
Stich. (1 sqq.), 106 ff.
Pliny :—
N.H. X. (126 sq.), 67a
Plutarch :—
Mor. (397c), 175b; (555D, 563D, 575E, 579C), 176a
 S.
Sophocles :—
Ajax (646 sqq.), 168a
Antig. (474 sqq.), 168; (904 sqq.), 141 ff.
 T.
Terence :—
Andria 434 (II. vi. 3), 28 f.
Eun. (23 sqq.), 98 f.; (317), 101a; (326), 102; (978), 102b; (1011), 101b
Heaut. (600 sqq. coll. Ad. 216), 100a
Phormio (368), 100b
Thucydides :—
 II. 18. (3), 170b
 V.
Virgil :—
Aen. I. (462), 164; VIII. (90), 170b f.; X. (262 coll. Georg. I. 373), 65 f.; XI. (271 sqq.), 66 ff.; (336 sq.), 31a
Ecl. VII. (52), 31a

III.—INDEX VERBORUM

A.—GREEK.

<i>αἶθνια</i> , 95 <i>a</i>	A.	<i>ὄρνις ἀνοπαῖα</i> , 94 <i>b</i>	O.
<i>ἀκαλά</i> , 111 <i>a</i>			
<i>ἀσπάλαξ</i> , <i>σπάλαξ</i> , 9 ff.			
<i>δαιμόνιε</i> , 57 <i>b</i>	Δ.	<i>περισκελής</i> , 168	Π.
<i>ἐρωδίδος</i> , 94 <i>a</i>	Ε.	<i>πηγή</i> , 146 <i>b</i>	
? <i>λαφήμωσ</i> , 144 <i>b</i>	Ι.	<i>προφανείσας</i> , 185 <i>b</i>	
? <i>κάρκαρον</i> , 95 <i>a</i>	Κ.	<i>πωλικός</i> , 195 <i>a</i>	Σ.
<i>καταβράκτης</i> , <i>ιβ.</i>		<i>σεβαστός</i> , 150	
<i>κρεμβαλιαστών</i> , 44 <i>a</i>		<i>χάλκια πονηρά</i> , 70 <i>a</i>	Χ.

B.—LATIN.

<i>acumina</i> , 165 <i>a</i>	A.	<i>querquerus</i> , 101 <i>a</i>	Q.
<i>ardea</i> , 94 <i>a</i>			
<i>artus</i> = 'hemmed in,' 79 <i>b</i>		<i>res Romana</i> , 154 <i>a</i>	R.
<i>augustus</i> , 159 ff.	H.	<i>restare alicui</i> ,	
<i>heroicus</i> , 148 <i>b</i>	L.	<i>rumore secundo</i> , 171 <i>a</i>	
<i>legatus iuridicus</i> , 197 <i>b</i>	M.	<i>strictura</i> , 106 <i>a</i>	S.
<i>mergus</i> , 95 <i>b</i> f.			T.
<i>mundus</i> = 'sky,' 63 <i>b</i>	O.	<i>tempus</i> = 'time of day,' 65 <i>a</i>	
<i>omnia</i> = <i>cetera</i> , 78 <i>b</i>	P.	<i>vector</i> , 78 <i>b</i>	V.
<i>patiens</i> , 80 <i>b</i>			
<i>promagister</i> , 197 <i>b</i>			

THE
CLASSICAL
REVIEW

EDITED BY W. H. D. ROUSE
AND A. D. GODLEY

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT:

PROF. R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D. (*Chairman*)
PROF. J. F. DOBSON, M.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*) PROF. A. C. CLARK, Litt.D., F.B.A. (*Hon. Secretary*)
PROF. GILBERT MURRAY, LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.R.S.L.; PROF. C. FLAMSTEAD
WALTERS, M.A.; CYRIL BAILEY, M.A.; PROF. W. RIDGEWAY, D.Litt., Litt.D.,
Sc.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

With the co-operation of—PROF. W. GARDNER HALE, University of Chicago; PRINCIPAL
SIR W. PETERSON, LL.D., C.M.G., McGill University, Montreal; PROF. T. G.
TUCKER, Litt.D., University of Melbourne.

VOLUME XXXIII.

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION
LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
BOSTON, MASS.
GINN AND COMPANY, 15, ASHBURTON PLACE
1919

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Nos. 1, 2.

Original Contributions:

	PAGE
A Noble Anatolian Family of the Fourth Century. W. M. RAMSAY	I
The Art of Euripides in the <i>Hippolytus</i> . J. A. S.	9
The Meaning of ΩΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ. G. W. BUTTERWORTH	15
A Supposed Fragment of Theophrastus. C. M. MULVANY . .	18
Phaedrus and Seneca. J. P. POSTGATE	19

Notes:

IMANTEAIPMOΣ. D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON	24
<i>Anth. Pal.</i> , Book V., No. 6. M. PLATNAUER, B.E.F.	25
<i>Anth. Pal.</i> XII. 3. F.A. PROCTOR	25
<i>Soph. Antigone</i> , 471-2	25
Aeschylus, <i>Eumenides</i> , 864-5. R. B. APPLETON	26
<i>Reclus</i> . W. M. LINDSAY	26
Martial XIV. xxix. 2. W. M. LINDSAY	26
Plautus, <i>Cas.</i> 416, 814. W. M. LINDSAY	26
Metonymy in Horace, <i>Odes</i> , Book I. xi. J. A. SMITH . . .	27
Virgil and Gregory of Tours. H. W. GARROD	28
'Quis aquam nili.' DINA PORTWAY DOBSON	28

Notes—continued:

	PAGE
<i>Aen.</i> XI. 45 f. and 152 f. M. A. B. HERFORD	29
Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> I. 460. H. WILLIAMSON	30

Reviews:

Van Leeuwen's <i>Enchiridion</i> . A. SHEWAN	31
Selected Essays of Plutarch. A. C. PEARSON	33
The Greek Anthology. J. U. POWELL	35
The Geography of Strabo. O. J. R. HOWARTH	36
H. Sjögren: <i>M. Tullii Ciceronis Epp. ad Atticum</i> I.-IV. ALBERT C. CLARK	37
The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Ioannes Arnolletus. S. G. OWEN	40
Juvenal and Persius. S. G. OWEN	42

Short Notices:

The Platonism of Plutarch. R. G. BURY	44
Plato's Geometrical Number and the Comment of Proclus. R. G. BURY	45
Teucer and the Teucuri. A. S.	46
Notes and News	48
Justice	47
Books Received	48

Nos. 3, 4.

Original Contributions:

	PAGE
Graeco-Roman Ostraca from Dakka, Nubia. HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE	49
On the Date of the <i>Herakles</i> of Euripides. J. A. SPRANGER	54
Additions to the Greek Anthology. J. U. POWELL	55
<i>Nihil</i> in Ovid. A. E. HOUSMAN	56
Phaedrus and Quintilian I. 9, 2.—A Reply to Professor Postgate. F. H. COLSON	59
Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> 6. 859. H. E. BUTLER	61

Notes:

Thucydides II. 48. ARTHUR PLATT	63
Emendation of Theophrastus, <i>Characters</i> . H. G. VIJJOEN	63
The Reading in Aristophanes, <i>Ach.</i> 912. M. KEAN	63
Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i> , 854-6. J. M. SING	64
Horace, <i>Sat.</i> I. ix. 39-40. M. KEAN	64
Queries to Article on Plaut. <i>Stich.</i> 1 ff. <i>Class. Rev.</i> , September, 1918. E. J. BROOKS	64
Augustus. F. HAVERFIELD	65
Mandalus. <i>Recula</i> . Malacruca. W. M. LINDSAY.	66

Notes—continued:

	PAGE
Note on Cicero, <i>Pro. Rab. Post.</i> 7. 17. E. G. HARDY	66
Note on Virgil, <i>Eclogue</i> IV. 60 ff. W. WARDE FOWLER	67
'Mule nihil sentis' (Catullus, 88, 3). H. W. GARROD	67
Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> XII. 473, 519. J. S. POMPEY'S Compromise: Cicero, <i>Ad Fam.</i> VIII. 11, 3. TENNEY FRANK	68
Miss Matthaei on Tragedy. J. T. SHEPPARD	69
Plutarch's Lives. G. W. BUTTERWORTH	71
Euthymides and his Fellows. W. LAMB	73
A History of Greek Economic Thought. A. C. PEARSON	74
Gaetano de' Sanctis: <i>Storia dei Romani</i> . ADELA MARION ADAM	75
Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. W. LAMB	78
The Descent of Manuscripts. C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS	79
Notes and News	84
Bolshevism. T. C. WEATHERHEAD	84
Books Received	84

Nos. 5, 6.

Original Contributions:

The Homeric Hymns. XII. T. L. AGAR	85
Some Notes on the Religious Character of Apollo. S. EITREM	88
On the New Fragments of Greek Poetry Recently Published at Berlin. J. U. POWELL	90
In Propertium <i>Retractationes Selectae</i> . J. S. PHILLIMORE	91
A Metrical Peculiarity of the <i>Culex</i> . W. WARDE FOWLER	95
The 'Prospective.' FRANK H. FOWLER	97

Notes:

Epimenides and 'Maxanidus.' E. W. BROOKS	100
The Acts xv. 29. H. H. JOHN-SON	100
Horace C. I. 14. C. A. VINCE	101
<i>Serm.</i> II. 1, 886. <i>Epp.</i> II. 3, 120-3. JEFFERSON ELMORE	101
Cicero's Letters to Atticus. XV. 9. H. W. M. BURD	103
Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> VII. 7. 641 ff. A. M. COOK	103
Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> VIII. 23. TENNEY FRANK	104

Notes—continued:

	PAGE
Two Passages of Virgil. H. W. GARROD	105
Catullus 39, 11 <i>Parcus Umber</i> . W. M. LINDSAY	105
The Derivation of Latin 'Rudis' <i>quasi</i> Singlestick. EDWIN W. FAY	106
Livy II. 30. 4. M. KEAN	107
Livy XXI. 48. 3. M. CARY	107
Quintilian I. 9. 2. J. P. POSTGATE	108
Pompey's Compromise. M. CARY	109
Nostrum Nobis. EDWIN W. FAY	109

Reviews:

The Price of Freedom. G. W. BUTTERWORTH	110
Natural Science and the Classical System in Education. FRANK GRANGER	110
Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi. G. C. RICHARDS	113
Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors. A. E. ZIMMERN	114

Reviews—continued:

	PAGE
Dreams in Greek Poetry. J. T. S.	116
A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period. F. H. M.	117
Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i> I. V. E. C. MARCHANT	118
Two Tragedies of Seneca. J. WIGHT DUFF	119
Cicero's Letters to Atticus. J. JACKSON	120

Short Notices:

The Old Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection	121
The New Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection	122
Translation of Christian Literature	122
The Value of the Classics. FRANK GRANGER	122
The Letter of Aristeas	123

Notes and News:

Greek Music	123
-----------------------	-----

Books Received	124
--------------------------	-----

Nos. 7, 8.

Original Contributions:

The New Lyric Fragments—III. J. M. EDMONDS	125
The Homeric Hymns. XIII. T. L. AGAR	130
Δαίμων in Homer. SAMUEL E. BASSETT	134
Euripidea. A. W. MAIR	136
Virgil. W. H. D. ROUSE	138
Harley MS. 2610, and Ovid, <i>Met.</i> I. 544-546. D. A. SLATER	140
The 'Prospective.' E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN	141
'Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> VII. 695-6' Again. D. A. S.	144
Classical Teaching. H. P. CHOLMLEY	145

Notes:

Note on Herodotus III. 104. M. CARY	148
Statius, <i>Silvae</i> I. vi. 7, 8. G. M. HIRST	149
Notes on Aristophanes' <i>Pax</i> . C. BAILEY	150
Homer, <i>Odys.</i> VIII. 229. J. S. O. ROBERTSON-LUXFORD	151
On the Suggestion Πορκεία in the Acts of the Apostles xv. 20, 29. J. Ū. POWELL	151
An Uncial Fragment of Plautus. W. M. LINDSAY	152
A Passage of Fronto (Naber, p. 203). J. W. E. PEARCE	153
Notes on Latin Authors. A. SOUTER	153

Reviews :	PAGE	Short Notices— <i>continued</i> :	PAGE
Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums. E. M. W. T.	154	The Neo-Platonists. R. G. B.	164
A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting. E. M. W. T.	155	<i>Manuel des Études grecques et latines.</i> E. E. GENNER	164
A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases. E. M. W. T.	156	Translations of Early Documents. (I.) The Book of Jubilees, or, The Little Genesis	164
Gratti Cynegticon Quae supersunt. G. E. K. BRAUNHOLTZ	157	Bolshevism. T. C. WEATHERHEAD	165
The Paravia Editions of the Minor Works of Tacitus. J. WIGHT DUFF	158	Obituary : Professor F. Haverfield. J. G. C. ANDERSON	165
Boethius. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE	160	B. B. Rogers, T. L. AGAR	167
Short Notices :		Notes and News	167
Patriotic Poetry, Greek and English. T.	163	Books Received	168
INDEX			169

The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1919

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A NOBLE ANATOLIAN FAMILY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

THE two following inscriptions were intended to form part of an article in the forthcoming number of *J.H.S.*, which however became too long. Taken in conjunction, they offer a glimpse into the life of one of those great Anatolian provincial families on whose importance in the development of Byzantine Asia Minor I have for many years been collecting information from scattered and inadequate sources. In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, 1895 (republished and much enlarged in *Pauline and Other Studies in Religious History*, p. 376 ff.), and again in *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 187 ff., some facts are collected bearing on the family system, the household life, the great mansions (τετραπύργια¹) in which they lived, and the architectural character of those buildings. The typical figures exemplifying the influence of those great landed families on Christian organisation are Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, who show the effect which the possession of money with the possibility of education at one of the great universities produced in a remote part of Cappadocia. Gregory Nyssen, the brother of Basil, exemplifies the way in which a less able member of such a family looked down on certain members of the Christian Church, sprung from humbler origin and struggling for a livelihood. I have not been struck with any sign that the same contempt for the vulgar was shown or felt by the greater personalities of Basil and Nazianzen; but I speak from very insufficient knowledge. Gregory Nyssen, however, incidentally illustrates

the attention that was given to Christian education during that century (see *Pauline and Other Studies* etc., p. 373 f.).

A proof that the facts seen in the families of Basil and the Gregories were not confined to one part of the country is furnished in the two following inscriptions, which show the standard of education in an Antiochian family of high social standing, and confirm the inferences drawn many years ago from a study of the letters of the three Cappadocian Fathers. These inscriptions also add further information, wholly unexpected, with regard to the origin of some such families. It has become more and more clear, as the study of social and family life in early and Byzantine Anatolia progresses, that the great priestly families of the pagan period frequently survived through the centuries in possession of influence and considerable wealth, and on the whole deserving this position, so far as the evidence goes, by their character. In the fourth century, to judge from the evidence here presented, some at least of those families became Christian, and yet preserved their old quality and their social eminence. When we consider further the signs of the deterioration of education during the fifth century (as e.g. when a bishop at the Council of Constantinople in 449 was obliged to employ a friend to sign for him because he was ignorant of letters, and yet was considered qualified to make laws for the universal Church²), we must ask what was the reason why such deterioration on the Central Plateau became widespread. Another

¹ See also *C.B.Phr.* II. p. 419 f., and Rostovtsev *Stud. z. Gsch. d. Kolonates*, p. 253.

² *H.G.A.M.* p. 92.

trace of this deterioration appears in the biography of St. Hypatius (*A.A.S.S.* June, IV., p. 249).

That subject is not one to enter upon in publishing two inscriptions. I mention that, while many factors contributed to it, one important cause lay in the terrible massacre by Diocletian, which was perhaps worst in the central parts of Asia Minor (especially in Phrygia, where one Christian city was burned with its entire population, a fact vouched for on the highest contemporary evidence, but discredited by the determinedly ignorant scepticism of some modern authorities). Massacre is a dangerous weapon. Not merely does it always produce a deteriorating effect of profound significance on the authors and agents of the massacre, but also sometimes, when it is carried sufficiently far, it eliminates the best elements in the body which suffers massacre, and does away with that tendency to generous liberality and enlightened toleration which are required as a sweetening influence in social life: the survivors of the massacre are made hard and intolerant, even when enough of them survive to preserve corporate life and unity (*C.B.Phr.* II. pp. 505 ff.).

The inscriptions belong to about 340-380.¹

I.

This is the epitaph on C. Calpurnius Collega Macedo, who died at the age of thirty, and was buried by his father. He was a member of the *curia* of Pisidian Antioch and the representative of an eminent and wealthy family, possessing the Roman citizenship since about A.D. 72, and clinging to the *civitas* as a mark of old family dignity even when the devotion to the Roman system of personal nomenclature was weakened and disappearing around. This inscription was found at Pisidian Antioch, in the courtyard of a house in Yalowadj. It was copied by Calder and me in 1912, and again by me in 1914. The right-hand side is broken, and about

nine or ten letters are lost at the end of each line. The surface is worn and even broken in parts; and the lettering is very faint in some places, but on the whole the text is certain, except in 9 and at the ends of lines. It is therefore unnecessary to print an epigraphic text, as type never satisfactorily represents any difficult point. The inscription is correct and free from ligatures, in the ordinary rounded form of letters.

Γ. Καλπ. Κολληγαν Μακεδόνα βουλευτήν ἀνδρα
ἀξιόλογον ἥρωα?
ὃς ἐγένετο ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ ὡς φησιν ὁ ἀρχα[ί]ος?
ποιητής?
ρήτορα ἐν τοῖς δέκα Ἀθηναίων πρώτοις κλη[ρο]ν
ἔχοντα?
4 φιλόσοφον τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σωκράτους ἐτι αἰριού-
μενον?
ἀρχιατρὸν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις τὰ Ἱπποκράτους
τολμήσαντα?
γενόμενον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας . . .
θεοῦ προνοία καὶ ἱερῶν ἀγγέλων συνοδία με[τα]κοι-
σαντα
8 εἰς [ο]ὕραν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, θάπτον ἢ ἔδει τοὺς
γ[εν]εαμένους?
καταλιπόντα, τὸν [π]ήλ[ι]ψον [χ]ιτῶνα ἐνταυθοῖ περι-
δυσάμενος
κατασκευάσας τὸ ἡρῶον τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ πο[θ]ινο-
τάτῳ
καὶ [θεοφιλεστάτῳ τέκνῳ] Γ. Καλπούριος Μ[ακεδών].

1. *βουλευτής* was used at Antioch in the fourth century as corresponding to *curialis*, and did not imply that the old Hellenistic *βουλή* had been substituted for the *Curia* of the Colonia. The use of *hero* and *heroön* in 1 and 10 is quite consistent with Christian origin: *heroön* is frequently mentioned in the early Christian inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries (see Waddington on Lebas III. No. 2145: *C. B. Phr.* II. pp. 387, 518). The superlative degree in the final adjective *ἀξιολογώτατον* might be substituted for *ἥρωα*, but it can hardly be justified, as a *curialis* had not the superlative title.

2. In 1914 I copied APXAP or APXAIP (last letter doubtful); but *ἀρχα[ί]ος* (suggested by Mr. Lobel) seems a probable correction. I submitted the line to Sir J. E. Sandys, who replied by return of post that, if we assume the restoration as printed, 'the poet' is necessarily Homer, that the original probably contained not *πᾶς* but *παντοῖος*, and that therefore the line was *Iliad* XV. 641, τοῦ γένετ' ἐκ πατρὸς πολὺν χείρονος νῖδός ἀμείνων

¹ I am indebted to Professor A. W. Mair for many suggestions, most of which I have adopted: also, as usual, my debt to Professor W. M. Calder is great.

παντοίας ἀρετάς. We had ἀρχάν[γελος] in mind at first, seeking some Christian reference, but in 1914 I convinced myself that N was not on the stone: ἀρχάνγ[ελος] however would be a possible correction of the copy, but I cannot find that any known Christian book connects an archangel with this or a similar saying.

3. The stone has K-Α: K- is frequently used in local epitaphs for κε, either as a separate word κ(αί), or as a syllable, but this epitaph seems to avoid such devices as uneducated: therefore I take the mark after K as accidental. I had thought of the meaning 'who acquired fame as an orator on the same rank with the ten leading orators of the Athenians,' restoring at the end a participle like κλ[εόμενον], but κλ[ῆρον ἔχοντα] or κλ[ηρονόμον] (A.W.M.) seems preferable. It seems feasible to take the preposition ἐν in this sense. Calder suggests κέ[Ἀντιοχέων], but I dislike κέ.

4. ἔτι α[ίρουμενον], 'still choosing as a follower the teaching of the old philosophers,' is perhaps possible: it is defended by αἵρεσις, a philosophic sect or school, and preserves the normal length of the line: ἔτι ἀκολουθοῦντα with accusative instead of the usual dative is defended by a quotation in L.S. from Menander, and the accusative is an easy variant from dative in the article neuter plural. We saw no reason to doubt the reading ETI; but TI and II are hardly distinguishable on a broken surface: ἐπαγγελλόμενον, 'professed,' would give good sense, but is rather long: ἐπακολουθοῦντα (A.W.M.) would also suit well, but is no shorter.

5. I supposed that the concluding participle was το[λμῶντα], 'venturing to do (or imitate) a thing' (usually with infinitive or participle), but this is rather short, and not wholly satisfactory. Calder suggested τε[λῶντα], but this also is short, and in 1914 I felt confident that O (broken), not E, was on the stone (which is well preserved here at the edge of the break). το[λμήσαντα] would be of the right length. (σ)το[ιχίσαντα] (A.W.M.) (assuming haplo-

graphy) appears most probable.¹ It is common in the N.T. and papyri (where it takes the dative); the use of the accusative is no real objection, as similar variation occurs with other verbs, e.g. ἀκολουθεῖν, παρακολουθεῖν.

6-8. 'Living among men thirty years and [twelve] days, through the providence of God and in the convoy of the holy angels changing his home to heaven from among men, leaving his parents more quickly than was right, putting off the mantle of clay (to consign it) to this place.' The precise statement of the age of the deceased is a common and widespread Christian custom, which hardly occurs in pagan epitaphs. In the present case the months are omitted, showing that the deceased had exceeded thirty years by less than a month. Similarly in the well-known Christian inscription found in the catacombs dated by the Consuls of A.D. 237 (one of them incorrectly named) the dead child was eight years and a few days old: he had been sick for a hundred and twelve days, and the long anxiety of the parents nursing him from hour to hour is expressed in counting the time by days alone. The passage is definitely Christian, after a well-established type. The phraseology in 9 is evidently Christian, and the allusion to the 'Providence of God' occurs in Lycaonia during the fifth century. Hence 7 and 9 are restored with Christian touches. The cumulation of endearing adjectives at the end is common in Christian epitaphs; it is of course not confined to them, but I remember nothing so extreme on any pagan stone as is here the case.

7. The allusion to the angels accompanying the departed spirit to heaven perhaps alludes to the subject of a sculpture accompanying the epitaph, and if so has a bearing on the development of Christian art. με[τοικήσαντα] (A.W.M.) is right. I had a less typically Christian compound.

¹ The genitive -του is barred out by Σωκράτους above: that form, common in late inscriptions, is below the Greek standard of this epitaph.

8. The lines ended with a word meaning parents; but *γονέας* is too short. Either it was followed by some short word, or perhaps the more poetic term *τοὺς γ[ειναμένους]* was employed. It is difficult to determine exactly in this inscription the exact number of letters lost at the end, because often a new subject begins in the new line, and there may have been a certain space left free at the end of the preceding line; but in this case, 8-9, there is no break in the sense, and there is no reason to think that an unwritten space would be left at the end of 8.

9. Part of the surface is much worn. The adjective before *χιτῶνα* is the difficult point. It seems to begin with an upright stroke, e.g. I or II or Γ: Λ (or Α) is the letter before IN. These conditions exclude *λάινον* or *γήινον*. Both in 1912 and in 1914 the reading *πήλινον* seemed most probable, but there seemed bare room for such a long word, and this happened to be in our minds (assuming a Christian idea 'putting off the garment of clay'). On further consideration I abandoned the thought of a Christian idea here, and saw another tag from 'the poet': the writer, who was educated in epic poetry and remembered Homer's expression *λάινον ἔσσο χιτῶνα* about a person who being stoned to death put on a garment of stone, applied this idea to his son, who was buried in a clay (or stone) sarcophagus inside the family mausoleum, and thus clothed himself in a garment of either clay or earth *περι[δυσάμενον]*; but Professor Mair reconverts me to the former opinion, pointing out that *περιδύω* is commonly used in the sense of 'taking off a garment,' and that this usage, while quite frequent in later Greek, is also employed in good Classical Greek, e.g. Antiphon *Tetr.* I. 2, 5, and Hyperides *Fr.* 263 (Blass) quoted from *Pollux* VIII. 44, and even in *Iliad* XI. 100 (disputed by Dr. Leaf and Mr. Keane, who quote German authority; but probably incor-rectly).¹ At any rate, it is admitted

that the word in *Iliad*. *l.c.* was commonly understood in the sense of 'taking off'; and this sense was therefore familiar to the composer of this Phrygian epitaph both from Homer and from common usage in later Greek. I therefore recur to the Christian idea that Collega put off from himself the mantle of clay, depositing it in the grave here (*ἐνταυθοῖ*) while he himself changed his home from earth to heaven. At the same time Homer's *περίδυσσε χιτῶνας* might be in the writer's mind, turned to Christian use, probably combined with a vague thought of 2 Cor. V. 3 f.

10-11. The construction is involved. The idea is that C. Calpurnius Macedo, in constructing the tomb for his sweetest and dearest son beloved of god, (did honour to him); and on this unexpressed verb (*ἐκόσμησεν* or *ἐτίμησεν*) depends the whole series of accusatives in 1-9. The expression at the end, retaining a trace of the old pagan idea of the tomb, belongs to the period already indicated, c. 350 A.D.

This inscription presents several features of unusual interest. It is Christian, and its Christianity belongs to the time of freedom, not to the older period of concealment and veiling of religious feeling. It is written in better Greek than was usual in Anatolian, especially Christian, epigraphy, better even than the epitaph of Bishop Eugenios of Laodiceia, which is almost contemporary, and to which it shows various points of analogy.

The writer, father of the deceased, belonged to the old native aristocracy of Antioch, and possessed education and wealth. His education imparts literary quality to the epitaph (which is filled with sympathy for old literature, and yet is thoroughly Christian), and induced him to give his son the best education possible. The fond parent sees in his son a many-sided distinction of excellence, which placed him as an orator on the level of the ten leading famous orators of the Athenians, and as a philosopher made him a professed exponent of the teaching of Plato and Socrates; while as a leading physician he ventured to repeat the achievements

¹ *περιδύω* is rare in the sense of putting on. Professor Mair thinks that it was used of removing the inner garment, *ἀποδύω* of putting off the outer cloak.

of Hippocrates,¹ both in prescriptions as a physician and in operations as a surgeon. The form of this laudation gives a favourable impression of Christian society in Antioch during the fourth century, when leading Anatolian Christians, such as Basil and Gregory, were studying at the University of Athens.

II.

This very difficult text, in the outer wall of the mosque at Oerkenez, four hours south-east from Antioch, is published by Sterrett *E.J.* 182 from the copy of the late J. H. Haynes without transcription: it was recopied by Mrs. Hasluck with Calder and myself in 1911. There remain difficulties at one or two points, especially in 9. The first letter of every line on the stone except 7 is injured or lost. Each hexameter gets two lines (like the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus):

Κολλήγαν, μάκαρός τε Μακηδόνος ἡδ' ἱεροῖο
3-4 βλαστὸν Κολλήγου, ἀρετῆς θάλος ἀθανάτο[ο,
τὸν νέον ἀμβρόσιον μνή[μ]ης συνέφυνε παλαιοῖς
7-8 μήτηρ δ' εὐώδειν δυσαρ[ιστ]οτόκειά τε Μάγνα
ἦ γεν[έ]τῃ τε κάσει τε μέλος παρακάτθετο ἡδύ
11-12 τῶν σοφὸν ἱητρὸν εἰκοστὸν ἄγοντα ἔτος.

There are several ligatures, 5 NMNH, 7 MH, 9 HTEK (difficult and uncertain). In 7 εὐώδιν is quoted from *Anth.*

This epitaph was erected by the widow of Calpurnius Collega, whom the first epitaph commemorates, in honour of their son, who took the *cognomen* Collega as his sole name Kollegas. In the interval, evidently about twenty years or a little less between the two inscriptions, the Roman system of personal nomenclature had been abandoned (if we may trust the usage of a metrical epitaph), and the Byzantine system, which approximated more to Greek usage, had become common, and was adopted even in an old family where the Roman usage had been maintained to the middle of the fourth century. Both the son and the father are here called Kollegas,² whereas the father and the grandfather were spoken of twenty years previously by full Roman designation.

This epitaph is more ambitious in style than the other and not so successful from any point of view. It wants the simplicity that characterises the former epitaph, in which the strong family affection displayed fully atoned for the evident partiality and tendency to exaggerate the excellence of a lost son. The second epitaph is metrical, though the scansion is awkward and not always correct. The construction is highly involved, but is grammatically quite defensible provided that the word δέ is omitted in l. 7. The lady, Magna, is probably the real composer of the epitaph, which is not got from the local schoolmaster, but shows personal feeling and family affection. She was evidently a person of good education, though not completely mistress of the Greek language.

The meaning seems to be 'Kollegas, son of blissful and holy Collega Macedo, scion of undying excellence, his mother giving him birth added the young immortal to the ancient of history, bearing one who was best though born only to die, Magna, mother of a noble son, who laid beside his father and brother a loved sweet member of the family, the skilful physician, who was in his twentieth year.' Evidently the father Collega Macedo was already dead (μάκαρ), and the mother Magna alone erects the tomb of her son: there is a reference to the epitaph of the father in the statement that the son was a scion of immortal excellence, for the father is there said to be 'born in all excellence.' The thought of her husband is evidently in the widow's mind when she speaks about their son as 'the new immortal.' He has been conjoined by right of birth with the members of an historic holy and old family, and the mother is privileged in having given birth to such a son though born only to die. The reference to his training as a physician is noteworthy, and is explained by the family history as stated.

The lady Magna who composed the epigram uses H in the second syllable of Makedon, apparently with the intention of making it long, showing that difference was still felt between the length of *eta* and *epsilon* about 370 A.D.

¹ τομήσαντα: (σ)τοιχήσαντα would mean acting according to.'

² A second name in one case at least.

in Phrygia by the writers of one epitaph, not merely by authors of literature. The facts regarding the use of *eta* in different parts of the country are of some interest. Forms with H are used occasionally in poets (also by Eustathius) in the names of the country and the inhabitants. The lady Magna was much better educated than ordinary Phrygians, and though she was not likely to be acquainted with Callimachus IV. 167, yet she may have been familiar with some of the late epigrams and the *Anthology*, in which this quantity is known. At any rate she was sufficiently acquainted with Greek quantities to employ a spelling here that justified her scansion.

1. The second word *μάκαρ* is a poetical variation of the ordinary Christian *μακάριος*, 'the blessed dead.' Compare Euripides *Alc.* 1002 f., *αὔτα ποτε προῦθαν' ἀνδρός, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ μακαίρα δαίμων*. Pagan usage tended rather to prefer *μακαρίτης, μακαρίτις*, than *μακάριος*; the latter became characteristically Christian and the former tended to be pagan (as exemplified in an inscription, No. I., in my article in the recent number of *J.H.S.* 1918): compare Theocritus II. 70, Herondas VI. 55. These examples are suggested by A.W.M., and confirm the tendency to this distinction, which I have stated in the article in *J.H.S.* At the same time this tendency cannot be said to be a law, as exceptions certainly occur.

5. There is some temptation to regard Ambrosios as a second name of the young deceased Kollegas. The construction *μνή[μ]ης παλαιοῖς* seems possible though undoubtedly bold; the reading seemed to us certain. She bore this son to be conjoined in the same family with the ancient members who played a part in history. There is here probably a reference to the ancient descent of this great hieratic family from priest-dynasts and a god, according to the common Anatolian custom (which is illustrated by many examples in the article already mentioned, *J.H.S.* 1918).

7. The word *δέ* breaks the construction, and is probably due to a mere

slip. The mother in 7 is required as the nominative to the verb *συνέφυνε* in the preceding line. The adjective *εὐώδιν* is quoted also from the *Anthology*, from Nonnus, and other late writers. The following adjective *δυσαριστοτόκεια* is a happy quotation from *Iliad* XVIII. 54.

9. I follow here A.W.M., having myself thought of *[εὐ]γενέτη* (for *εὐγενέ-τειρα*) *τοκάς*, which seemed suitable to the text on the stone, but does not offer such good sense, and is a *ἄπαξ εἰρη-μένον*. My restoration involved the error *εὔτε* by the scribe for *εἴτα*.

10. The expression *μέλος ἡδύ* might indicate the metrical epitaph which was placed on the tomb, but there seems no possibility of making good construction if the words are taken in this sense.

11. The Ionic form *ιητρός* is probably used also at Apollonia in a metrical epigram of great interest, but the word there is incomplete, though I have long restored it in this way. Perhaps the Ionic form is due to ancient medical influence from the great schools of medicine attached to the temples on the west coast. Hippocrates used the Ionic dialect in writing.

11-12. It looks as if there were space for something more than TON at the beginning of 12; possibly there was also an I at the end of 11 and *[ἐκ]τον* at the beginning of line 12:¹ but more probably the last line was engraved rather loosely as the space was abundant, and the lady when it came to a matter of numbers was exceptionally careless in her scansion. She might have made a much better line if instead of *ἔτος* she had used the word *ἐνιαυτός* (for she apparently does not attempt to conclude with a pentameter). The twentieth year is rather frequent in this sort of epitaph, and was perhaps used as a pathetic touch without regard to strict accuracy in time; but the lady Magna stands apart from the stock formulae of local metrical epitaphs, and probably would not imitate them even in such a detail.

¹ The text would then be *εἰκοσι ἔκτον*.

In Epitaph I. no reference is made to the mother of the deceased except in the implication of l. 9, that she like the father was living when the son died. The deceased, thirty years old, was married, as might be taken for granted in Phrygia; but his wife is not mentioned. From the second inscription we learn that his wife was called Magna, and the Latin name suggests that she too probably belonged to a family possessing the *civitas*, though this is not certain, for Magna perhaps had passed into the common stock of Anatolian personal nomenclature. We learn also from the second epitaph that she and her husband, the writer of Epitaph I., had another son who died very young. Magna was qualified to make the tomb and the following epitaph for her son, though she does not appear as taking part in the erection of the epitaph of her husband. At first she was not in any sense *κυρία* or *οικοδεσπότης*, but was only a Nympha residing in the family mansion of her father-in-law after the old Phrygian fashion. There she was under a very mild form of *patria potestas*, not like the strict Roman usage but according to the Phrygian custom, on which inscriptions of Phrygian Lycaonia throw much light. See also in *Studies in the History of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 148 ff., 373 f., also 71, 82, 121; *Hist. Comm. on Epist. Galat.*, pp. 338 ff., 352 ff., 374.

It must always be remembered in the study of Anatolian custom that both Pisidian Antioch and Iconium (with the cities of Lycaonia to the north of it) were in the strictest sense Phrygian cities, inhabited mainly by a Phrygian population, amid which the use of Phrygian as a home language lasted till a comparatively late date. Hence the inscriptions of this Phrygian region of Lycaonia throw light on, and receive much light from, the inscriptions of the Tembris valley, a very rustic, uneducated part of north Phrygia, where the true old Phrygian custom lingered longest. On the other hand central Phrygia was hellenised in great degree at a much earlier time, and the epitaphs of the Roman period in that part of Phrygia attest generally a different state of family custom. The gradual hel-

lenisation of Anatolia, proceeding eastward (especially from the Maeander valley) along the great roads, sometimes leaving untouched districts which lay off the lines of communication, necessitates a careful consideration and classification of the epigraphic evidence as bearing upon native custom. All should be studied in the light of Mitteis' *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht* and his other works.

Apparently the two epitaphs were engraved on stones which formed part of a large family mausoleum. One of these has been carried to Oerkenez, and the other to Yalowadj (where it was said to have been brought 'from the fields'). The mausoleum therefore was probably somewhere between these two places; in other words it was not far from Gemen (Γῆ Μηνός),¹ which was (as we infer on various grounds) the district specially connected with the upkeep of the sanctuary of Men, and therefore probably associated with the priestly family. The priesthood had been taken away from this family by Augustus in 25 B.C., but he did not degrade or destroy the family (as has sometimes been falsely inferred from the language of Strabo 577); and probably this was the family to which the mausoleum at Gemen belonged, for the study of medicine was apparently hereditary in the holy family, and closely connected with all great Anatolian religious centres. This ancient hieratic tradition then furnishes a probable explanation of the epithet 'holy' in the second epitaph. Even though the family had become Christian and no longer retained its priestly connection, still the holy and the medical tradition remained in the family.

Among the Christians of the third and fourth centuries the profession of medicine was highly honoured, and a large number of Christian physicians are known. The subject has been fully treated by Harnack mainly on the literary evidence. Basil of Caesareia writes a noble eulogy of the medical profession. 'To put that science at the head and front of life's pursuits is to judge reasonably and rightly' (*Epist.*

¹ Gemen two hours south-east of Yalowadj, two hours north-west of Oerkenez.

189). It is true that the practice of medicine was not purely scientific, but was mixed up with charms, religious incantations, and the prayers of hermits, and also relied on the relics of martyrs as a curative influence (*Epist.* 49);¹ but this does not prove that scientific tradition was forgotten or ignored. The mob laid stress on the religious side of the treatment. It is worthy of note, although possibly it is a mere coincidence, that the great-grandson of Sergius Paullus, governor of Cyprus about A.D. 46, used to attend the medical demonstrations given by Galen in Rome. According to the Acts of the Apostles the governor of Cyprus was, if not converted to Christianity, at least very favourably inclined to it. There seems no possibility that the great-grandson was also Christian; Christianity seems to have died out in the family; but there are many remarkable facts, showing a certain inclination towards serious religious thought and even towards Christianity, and a certain relationship with other noble families suspected of Christianity, which appear among the Sergii from time to time (see the facts collected in my *Bearing of Discovery on the New Testament*, Ch. XII., and later discoveries in an article in the *Expository Times*, April, 1918). To these must be added as deserving registration the medical studies of the great-grandson.

The Roman system of personal names is decaying in the three generations covered by the two inscriptions. The grandfather, C. Calpurnius Macedo, writing Greek, is fully Roman: so also the son, C. Calpurnius Collega Macedon; but in the case of the grandson, if we may judge from a metrical epitaph, Kollegas is treated as not specifically Roman, but merely a hereditary name in the family. The family clung late to the pride of old descent, but gradually forgot the Roman system of the triple name. This marks the middle of the fourth century in Lycaonia.² Probably

the family obtained the *civitas* under Vespasian, when Calpurnius Asprenas and Pompeius Collega were successive governors of the province.³ Macedo became a stock name, which lasted through the centuries after Seleucid times. The Roman name was frequently determined according to the reigning emperor or governor at the time when the *civitas* was attained: sometimes the conjunction of the names of emperor and governor proves the date very precisely. The second *cognomen* was often individual, showing the native origin. There is no reason to connect the second *cognomen* with C. Larcus Macedo, who governed Galatia under Hadrian.

The date c. 350 A.D. is indicated by another consideration. Less stress is laid on the constructor of the tomb and more on the deceased, a characteristic feature of that period: earlier epitaphs in Phrygia began by naming and describing the constructor of the grave: gradually during the fourth century less and less prominence was given to the constructor, and the deceased was mentioned first, while the constructor was described briefly at the end; and at last it became usual to mention only the deceased.⁴ In this change there is involved the transition from the pagan sepulchral custom to the Christian. To the pagan Anatolian feeling the construction of the tomb is a duty of supreme religious significance. It is the construction of a home for the

³ I have conjectured in *Bearing of Research on New Testament*, p. 157, that L. Sergius Paullus governed Galatia between Asprenas and Collega; but left it open as a possibility that Sergius was already governor under Nero. I now believe that the latter alternative is more probable, that Sergius died in office young, and was succeeded by Calpurnius Asprenas, A.D. 68. This supposition suits Tacitus' expression 'provincias regendas permiserat Galba (Asprenati)' (*Hist.* II. 9). When Sergius Paullus died, the governor of Pamphylia was directed to take over Galatia also, and thus exceptionally the Galatian governor ruled the coast that year. Other reasons for suspecting that this Sergius died young are stated in my article on the Sergii Paulii in *Expos. Times*, April, 1918.

⁴ The facts as an argument of date are stated more fully in my paper 'The Fourth Century Church in Lycaonia' (*Luke and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 336 f.).

¹ See the writer's *Pauline and Other Studies in Early Christian History*, pp. 380 f.

² This criterion of date is emphasised in the writer's paper on 'The Church of Lycaonia in Century IV.' (*Luke the Physician, and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 336 f.).

deceased, who at death becomes the god; and thus his home is a temple, and his worshippers meet in his temple to perform the ritual annually in honour of the new god identified with the god of the locality to whom he returns in death.¹ The Christian custom ceases to lay stress on the construction of the tomb, but lays all the emphasis on the deceased, whose body is consigned to

¹ *Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia*, J.H.S., 1884, p. 261, more developed in *Studies in E. Rom. Prov.* p. 271 ff.

the tomb, though his real self is not there. This thought is expressed with exceptional and eminent clearness in the highly educated Epitaph I. Metrical epitaphs were little influenced by custom and law.

[NOTE.—Since this article was printed, the proof that a hieratic family at Antioch bore the name Calpurnius has been strengthened by further epigraphic evidence.]

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE ART OF EURIPIDES IN THE *HIPPOLYTUS*.

I.

IN the *Alcestis* and the *Ion* there are so many apparent deficiencies of composition that Professor Verrall has been led to seek for an explanation and has found a very brilliant and plausible one in the 'rationalistic' idea of Euripides.¹

According to Professor Verrall's argument the plays mentioned cannot be considered the work of anyone but a 'dullard' and a 'botcher,' unless we admit the ulterior motive, the 'moral' which he reads in them, when they become very remarkable *tours de force* of a master hand.

The 'moral' that he reads in them is, firstly, that 'the gods' do not exist; and, secondly, that the prophecies and worship of the Delphic Apollo are a farce.

Professor Verrall's book must be read in order to appreciate how far he has proved his point.

In the *Hippolytus* we find no such apparent lack of cohesion as would lead us to condemn it *a priori* as the work of an inferior artist. The scenes are well composed and the story runs fairly smoothly.

The *ex hypothesi* moral of the story is a warning against extremes in love: woe to those who love so passionately as Phaedra, woe to those who avoid love so entirely as Hippolytus! Moderation, moderation in all things, is best.²

We are going to find that there is probably an ulterior motive in the *Hippolytus*, a second and more subtly pointed

'moral'; but it does not contradict the *ex hypothesi* one. On the contrary, we shall find that the theme of moderation, moderation in all things, is only strengthened and confirmed by it.

Let us now look through the play and see if there is anything to attract our attention away from the *ex hypothesi* moral, and if so, what that may be to which our attention is directed.

The piece begins with a prologue by Aphrodite. She tells the audience who she is, and mentions that while she advances those who respect her power, she destroys whoever does not.³

Follows the story of Hippolytus and of the love for him that she has placed in the heart of Phaedra.⁴

She explains that Hippolytus is to die for his disrespect of her decrees—is to die by the word of his own father, who will call on Poseidon to fulfil, by slaying Hippolytus, one of the three wishes he had granted to Theseus.

She adds that Phaedra, though a noble nature, is to die too:

τὸ γὰρ τῆσδ' οὐ προτιμήσω κακὸν
τὸ μὴ οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτῆς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐμοὶ
δίκην τῶσαύτην ὥστ' ἐμοὶ καλῶς εἶχειν.

She departs, advising the audience of the approach of Hippolytus, all unsuspecting of his impending fate.

And now comes a surprise. Instead of addressing the audience in the usual iambic trimeters, Hippolytus calls in lyric measure upon his attendants to sing

¹ *Euripides the Rationalist*, by A. W. Verrall.

² Ll. 261-6.

³ L. 5.

⁴ L. 28.

a hymn to Artemis, which they accordingly proceed to do.¹

This is the only instance, in all the plays of Euripides that we possess, of a lyrical hymn preceding the entrance of the chorus: for Hippolytus' followers do not constitute the chorus, which is formed of Troezenian women, and is to appear later on.

We cannot admit that Euripides committed such a breach of usual custom without some definite object; but whatever that may have been, and we shall see later, the effect on the audience could be one only—namely, to rivet their attention to what immediately follows.

What does follow is the dedication by Hippolytus of a wreath to the statue of Artemis: not apparently a very relevant incident, except as a continuation of the short ode that his attendants have just finished singing.

It seems curious that the grammarians should have fixed upon this incident to give this play the name—*Στεφανηφόρος*—by which they distinguished it from another Hippolytus by the same author, which they called *καλυπτόμενος*.

One of the followers of Hippolytus now addresses him, in a line containing an apparently unnecessary and almost exaggeratedly reverent reference to the gods. The servant asks him if he would listen to good counsel, and on his assent, asks him if he knows a certain law of men.

ΙΙΙΙ. οὐκ οἶδα· τοῦ δὲ καὶ μ' ἀνιστορεῖς πέρι;

ΘΕΡ. μισεῖν τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν φιλῶν;

Now this is hardly a law, or a rule even. It is at most a way of thinking common to most men.

ΙΙΙΙ. ὀρθῶς γε· τίς δ' οὐ σεμνὸς ἀχθεινὸς βροτῶν;

ΘΕΡ. ἐν δ' εὐπροσηγόροισιν ἔστι τις χάρις;

ΙΙΙΙ. πλείστη γε, καὶ κέρδος γε σὺν μόχθῳ βραχεῖ.

ΘΕΡ. ἥ γὰρ θεοῖσι ταῦτόν ἐλπίζεις τῷδε;

ΙΙΙΙ. εἴπερ γε θνητοὶ θεῶν νόμοισι χρώμεθα.

The follower proceeds to apply this to the case of Hippolytus and Aphrodité, but instead of laying stress, as we should expect, on the proud aloofness of Hippolytus which tends to make him disliked by Aphrodité, he continues to refer to the 'dignity' of the goddess herself.

Hippolytus expresses a very casual sort of adoration for her, and departs with words that might be translated:

'As for that Aphrodite of yours, just give her my love!'²

The man bends in worship before the statue of the goddess, remarking that one must make allowances for youth, and the whole prologue ends with his words:

σοφωτέρους γὰρ χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς.

After the choral ode, at l. 176, the action of the play proper begins.

It is made clear that all Phaedra's efforts at self-control have been rendered useless by the influence of the Cyprian goddess.

When the nurse, under oath of secrecy, reveals her mistress's love to Hippolytus, we have him threatening to denounce her in his righteous anger, till she reminds him of his oath. He then bursts out with the famous line (l. 612):

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἥ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος,

but keeps his promise, nevertheless.

Phaedra hangs herself, and then Theseus arrives. He finds the tablet hanging from her wrist.

ΘΗΣ. Ἰππόλυτος εὐνῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἔτλη θιγεῖν 887
βίβη, τὸ σεμνὸν Ἰηνὸς ὅμῳ ἀτιμάσας.
ἀλλ' ὦ πάτερ Πόσειδον, ὅς ἐμοὶ ποτε
ἀρὰς ὑπέσχου τρεῖς, μὰ κατέργασαι
τούτων ἐμὸν παῖδ', ἡμέραν δὲ μὴ φύγοι
τῆνδ', εἴπερ ἡμῖν ὥπασας σαρφεῖς ἀράς.

The chorus beg him to withdraw these words.

ΘΗΣ. οὐκ ἔστι· καὶ πρὸς γ' ἐξελῶ σφε τῆσδε γῆς,
δοῦναι δὲ μοῖραν θάτερα πεπληῆσται·
ἡ γὰρ Ποσειδῶν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἄιδου πύλας
θανόντα πέμψει τὰς ἐμὰς ἀράς ἐβων,
ἡ τῆσδε χώρας ἐκπεσὼν ἀλγόμενος
ζέην ἐπ' αἶαν λυπρὸν ἀντλήσει βίον.

This is indeed a strange way of calling on Poseidon to fulfil an obligation he has solemnly undertaken! First Theseus adds, 'If the oaths thou swearest be true,' and then, to make sure in case they are not, he pronounces the sentence of exile so that if one punishment does not succeed, the other will. Scant respect for his ocean father, truly!

Hippolytus now enters, and his father's wrath breaks loose upon him. The accusation and sentence of exile are repeated, but not the curse of Poseidon, which, it is worth noticing, Hippolytus himself has therefore not heard, since it was pronounced before his entry on the scene.

² L. 113: τὴν σὴν δὲ Κύπριν πόλλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω.

¹ Ll. 61-72.

He defends himself as well as he can without breaking his oath of secrecy to the nurse. In the midst of his father's invective he remarks (l. 1041):

καὶ σοὺ γε κάρτα ταῦτα θανμάξω, πάτερ·
εἰ γὰρ σὺ μὲν παῖς ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δὲ σὸς πατήρ,
ἐκτενὰ τοί σ' ἂν κοῦ φυγαῖς ἐξημίουν,
εἴπερ γυναικὸς ἡξίους ἐμῆς θυγείν.

This shows quite clearly, should any doubt remain, that Hippolytus had not heard the curse pronounced against him.

Theseus answers that death were too easy an end for such a sinner. He points to the testimony of the tablet. Hippolytus cries (l. 1060).

ὦ θεοί, τί δῆτα τοῦμόν οὐ λύω στόμα,
ὅστις γ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὖς σέβω, διδύλλυμαι;
οὐ δῆτα· πάντως οὐ πίθομαι ἂν οὓς με δεῖ,
μάτην δ' ἂν ὕρκους συγχέαιμι οὓς ὤμοσα.

The dialogue continues. He calls on the very walls to witness for him. Theseus replies (l. 1076):

εἰς τοὺς ἀφώνους μάρτυρας φεύγεις σοφῶς·

and orders the servants to cast him out. With a farewell to his fatherland, Hippolytus departs. We notice that since the beginning of the action at l. 176 the oath of Poseidon has only been mentioned once, in the verses we have quoted above (ll. 887-898).

But now a Messenger arrives, telling how that oath has been fulfilled.

Hippolytus, it seems, was driving along the road to Epidaurus and had reached the shore of the Saronic Gulf, when a great wave from the sea rushed at his chariot, and out of this wave came a bull-shaped monster that kept coming in front of his team, until the horses bolted in a panic, broke one of the chariot-wheels against a stone, and dragged Hippolytus, who had fallen entangled in the reins, until he was mortally injured. The monster then suddenly vanished.

Theseus orders that Hippolytus be brought in. A brief choral song to Eros the terrible and his mother Aphrodite brings us to the epilogue proper.

Artemis appears.

She explains to the astonished and awestruck Theseus how his wife had been enamoured of his son; how she had tried to control her passion, but revealing it to her nurse had been ruined by the well-meant plans of the old woman; how Hippolytus, being sworn to secrecy, had

not disclosed the fact even when reviled by Theseus for a crime he had not committed; how Phaedra had written the lying tablet and had thus ruined Hippolytus by her wiles, succeeding in persuading Theseus of his guilt.

Theseus at this point remarks: 'Woe is me!' Artemis continues, telling him there is worse to come. She reminds him that he had called on Poseidon to fulfil one of the three wishes:

(l. 1318) πατήρ μὲν οὖν σοι πόντιος φρονῶν καλῶς
ἔδωχ' ὕσωνπερ χερῶν, ἐπεὶπερ ᾔνεσεν·
σὺ δ' ἐν τ' ἐκείνῳ κὰν ἐμοὶ φαίνει κακός,
ὅς οὔτε πίστιν οὔτε μάντεων ὅπα
ἔμεινας, οὐκ ἤλεγξας, οὐ χρόνῳ μακρῷ
σκέψιν παρέσχες, ἀλλὰ θάσσον ἢ σ' ἐχρῆν
ἀρὰς ἐφήκας παιδί καὶ κατέκτανες.

She goes on, however, laying the responsibility for all these disasters on Aphrodite.

(l. 1328) θεοῖσι δ' ὧδ' ἔχει νόμος·
οὐδεὶς ἀπαντᾶν βούλεται προθυμία
τῇ τοῦ θέλοντος, ἀλλ' ἀφιστάμεσθ' ἀέλ.

Otherwise, of course, if she had not been afraid to ask Zeus, she would have intervened to save her beloved Hippolytus.

A most interesting glimpse of the internal economy of Olympus this, certainly; but where is the self-respect of a goddess who can thus excuse herself before a mortal?

Hippolytus is brought in and Artemis speaks a few words to him, repeating that Aphrodite is to blame, regretting she may not weep for him, and making a few trite remarks.

Hippolytus turns to his father and says he is far sorrier for him than for himself. Then he suddenly observes:

(l. 1411) ὦ δῶρα πατὴρ σοῦ Ποσειδῶνος πικρά.

Now, as we have seen,¹ Hippolytus cannot know that his father called on Poseidon to slay him, so this reference to the matter in his mouth looks like a very unfortunate oversight—a bad piece of 'botching' on the author's part.

ΘΗΣ. ὡς μήποτ' ἐλθεῖν ὦφελ' εἰς τοῦμόν στόμα.

ΙΠΠ. τί δ'; ἐκτανέες τᾶν μ', ὡς τότ' ἦσθ' ὠργισμένος.

ΘΗΣ. δόξης γὰρ ἤμεν πρὸς θεῶν ἐσφαλμένοι.

Hippolytus expresses a wish that the human race could curse the gods.

Artemis cannot and does not approve of this; she warns him that if he is not careful Aphrodite will pursue him with

¹ Ll. 887-898 and 1041 ff.

her wrath even in Hades, but attempts to console him by telling him that she is planning a nice revenge on the Cyprian, that he, Hippolytus, will always be honoured in Troezen, and that, as long as men make poetry, Phaedra's love for him will not be forgotten.

In view of the efforts of Euripides, Seneca, Racine and D'Annunzio, it may be admitted that as far as the last item goes Artemis has been a true prophetess up to date.

Artemis now departs, for she may not stand in presence of the dead, and, after a brief dialogue, in which Hippolytus forgives his father for causing his death, he passes away, and the play closes with the well-known lines supposed to be commemorative of the death of Pericles (ll. 1459-1466).

II.

We would suggest that the moral of the *Hippolytus* is that 'circumstances alter cases', and that this moral is pointed by two instances, one of a man, the other of a god, who, by neglecting to take this true saying into account, bring about disastrous results exactly contrary to their original intentions and desires.

The man is Hippolytus, the god, Poseidon. Hippolytus, the chaste and true, is loved by his stepmother Phaedra, who confides the fact to her nurse. The nurse, having extracted an oath that he will not repeat it, tells the fact to Hippolytus. Phaedra overhears the pious horror of Hippolytus. Her love for him turns to hate, she fears the dishonour of a revelation, and so hangs herself, leaving a letter in which she accuses Hippolytus of having outraged her. Theseus, her husband, finds the letter, and bitterly upbraids Hippolytus, whom he sends into exile as a punishment for his immodesty and treachery.

Had Hippolytus, after Phaedra's death, only broken his promise and spoken, he could have cleared himself and all would have been well.

This is the story of the man: a purely human story, with no gods in it anywhere.

Now for the other.

The god Poseidon had granted his son Theseus, as a gift, three wishes which he had sworn to fulfil, whatever they might

be. Theseus, on reading the letter falsely accusing his son Hippolytus of having outraged Phaedra, calls on Poseidon to fulfil one of his wishes and slay Hippolytus that very day. Poseidon, having sworn, does so: thus bringing deep sorrow on his own son Theseus.

Had Poseidon, who, as a god, of course knew the truth of the matter, only broken his promise and stayed his hand, all would have been well.

We would also suggest that Euripides had begun by pointing the moral in one story only, that of Hippolytus, leaving out Poseidon altogether: but that he had been rather too outspoken, and the ending, which left Hippolytus still under the accusation, was objected to by the critics.

He accordingly made a few alterations in the play, but to ensure the original point not being missed by the audience, he added the story of Poseidon, grafting it into the original tale and adding a last scene in which Hippolytus is absolved completely of all blame.

The play, thus modified, won the first prize.¹

We do not possess the piece in its original form, which was known to the grammarians as *Ἰππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος*; but a few surviving fragments may serve to give an idea of the standpoint adopted by its author:

ἐγώ γε φημί, καὶ νόμον γε μὴ σέβειν
ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλέον.²

ὁρῶ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγὼ
τίκτουσαν ὕβριν τὴν πάροιθ' εὐπραξίαν.³

φεύ, φεύ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν
φωνήν, ὡς μὴδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λόγοι.

νῦν δ' εὐρύθμοις πιστώσασιν ἀλληθέστατα
κλέπτουσιν, ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν ἀχρὶ δοκεῖν.⁴

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁρθῶς ταῦτα κρίνουνσι θεοί.⁵

The piece as we have it, the *Ἰππόλυτος Στεφανηφόρος*, is, as we have seen, nowhere quite so plain-spoken, but it must have

¹ Hippolytus, ὑπόθεσις.

ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Ἰππόλυτος δεύτερος, καὶ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΑΣ προσαγορευόμενος. ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ὕστερος γεγραμμένος· τὸ γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ διώρθωται τῷ δράματι.

² Fragg. 436 (Nauck). If we read σθένειν for σέβειν with Gomperz, it does not perceptibly alter the sense. The preceding context may have accounted for some apparently missing word.

³ Fragg. 440.

⁴ Fragg. 442. The text given follows that quoted by Stobaeus.

⁵ Fragg. 448.

been quite clear to its hearers that the moral it pointed was the same, and an outcry against such an opportunist view of the sanctity of oaths and promises was the inevitable result.

It was made the main head of an accusation of impiety against the author.²

It is now for us to show how our suggestion would account for the points we have raised in our rapid survey of the play as we have it.

If we remove the lines 887-898, the whole story of Hippolytus is contained in ll. 176-1101; a complete tale; with no mention of the oath of Poseidon in it at all.

If to this we add at the beginning the prologue of Aphrodité slightly modified (of course removing ll. 43-46) and at the end the choral ode following the departure of Hippolytus into exile and the first part of the epilogue spoken by Artemis to Theseus (ll. 1285-1312), we have a play practically complete in itself, with prologue, action, and epilogue.

Something like this may have been the original version.

The fragment (438):

τί δ', ἦν λυθῆς με διαβαλεῖς, παθεῖν σε δεῖ;

sounds just like what Hippolytus might have said to the nurse after the death of Phaedra.

In the play as we have it the nurse vanishes after ordering the servants to lift up the body of Phaedra, which has been cut down from the noose;³ but it would have been only natural for Hippolytus to approach her and ask her to testify in his favour when under the terrible accusation.

As it is, Theseus does not give him the chance of doing so: Hippolytus arrives at the palace, hears of Phaedra's death from Theseus himself, and is called upon to defend himself without preparation of any kind. To have the nurse called in as a witness would be to publish the very thing he had sworn to keep secret, for it would be equivalent to admitting that he—and she also—knew something that was being kept back.

It would appear that in the Ἰππόλυτος

καλυπτόμενος this situation was dealt with otherwise.

Let us now suppose the original story modified and the Poseidon part grafted in—prologue, epilogue, and the lines 887-898. We must admit that thus the whole Poseidon story has been introduced with a minimum of alteration to the body of the original play. The beginning and the end of an Euripidean drama were always notoriously outside the real action and not meant to be taken seriously by the audience, and the addition in the middle is a mere interpolation not involving any change in the scenes either before or after.

Having introduced this story the attention of the audience had to be directed to it, and to the fact that it was in some sort a parallel among the gods of what the rest of the play itself was amongst men. How was this to be effected?

Unless some very drastic step was taken, the Athenian public, now thoroughly used to the methods of their Euripides (it was now ten years since the *Alcestis* had been first performed, we may remember), would certainly give but scant attention to the prologue; looking for the interest to begin after the first song of the chorus. Something had to be done. And it was done.

The arresting lyric we have previously noticed was introduced!

This, which marks the difference between the original *Hippolytus* and this amended version, was therefore fixed upon with reason by the grammarians as a means of distinguishing the two: hence Στεφανηφόρος. The name καλυπτόμενος, assuming that Hippolytus died in the original version as he does in the one we possess, might of course apply to either.

To return to the prologue of our play. The two lines spoken by Hippolytus' follower are calculated to fix the attention even more.⁴ Then comes the mention of a law, a law of men, which we are to notice may or may not apply to gods as well. Now what is this law? It is obviously not the thing the man speaks of: we have already noticed that that cannot be called a law or even a rule, and in any case he proceeds at once to misapply it in a way that does not emphasise its point—if it has one.

¹ Aristophanes, *Frogs*, ll. 102 and 1471, etc.

² Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. 15.

³ Ll. 786-7.

⁴ Ll. 88-9

But then why attract the attention of the audience to it so carefully?

We have probably said enough already for the reader to have realised, what the Athenian public would very quickly discover, that the law referred to is none other than that of the sanctity of oaths and promises, binding to men as to gods.¹

And in interpreting this law, as in other things, σοφωτέρους χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς.²

This last phrase receives great emphasis: no less than that of being the last line of the prologue, before the entry of the chorus.

The line in which Hippolytus professes himself unbound by his oath must have at once made a deep impression on his hearers; and their feelings must have been of unmitigated condemnation, for there is no excuse whatever for Hippolytus to break his word here, except to pose as an unusually pure-minded man—we should say, to behave like a prig.

It is possible that later on in the play, when difficulties hedge him about (l. 1060), the audience will call to mind this sudden exclamation and be perhaps almost inclined to admit that if Hippolytus acted on it then he would be doing well.

Now we come to the point where the finding of the fatal tablet brings up the Poseidon episode. It is this which is going to bring about the death of Hippolytus, but at the same time it must be interpolated so as not to interfere with the story as it stands—with sentence of exile as the punishment imposed by Theseus on his erring son. If Theseus calls on his father Poseidon to perform an oath he has solemnly sworn to him by slaying Hippolytus in fulfilment of one of the three wishes, there is obviously no necessity to pass a sentence of exile on him as well.

But Euripides knows what he is about. This is where the neat thrust

at Poseidon, the god of Delphi, is to come in. He makes Theseus doubt whether the god will keep his word! The masterly skill of this piece of insolence—one can call it no less—is worth considering.

Firstly, it does away at a stroke with the necessity for making any further mention of the oath in the body of the play, even to Hippolytus himself; for why should Theseus take any further notice of an imprecation uttered suddenly in a moment of stress and of whose power to harm he is himself doubtful?

In the second place, it points out in the neatest manner possible the uncomfortable position of Poseidon: for either he stands by his oath, and in that case he is sending to his death a man whom he, as a god, knows to be innocent and to have fallen under the curse owing to a misapprehension on Theseus' part; or else, availing himself of the superior wisdom of a god (σοφωτέρους γὰρ χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς!), he stays his hand, and so doing breaks his own solemn oath.

It is a situation calculated to make the intellectual Athenian chuckle with joy as soon as it dawned upon him: and the doubt expressed by Theseus in so many words was just what was required to make him realise it.

A few moments later we behold Hippolytus in a similar quandary (l. 1060): if he keeps his mouth shut he goes into exile under the accusation, apparently proved up to the hilt by the tablet and practically unanswered by himself, of treachery and immodesty—the two sins of all that he holds to be the worst, as we know; if he speaks, he breaks his oath.

His reflection that even if he did speak he could not convince his father is obviously inserted by Euripides to point out the direct contrary: for was not his father even then discussing the matter with him, and was not the nurse a living witness of the truth? Theseus' words about 'voiceless witnesses' must have sounded very bitter.

With the departure of Hippolytus into exile and the entry of the Messenger and recital of his cock-and-bull—or, rather, wave-and-bull—yarn, the audience must have realised that the human part of the play was at an end.

In fact, Artemis appears.

¹ Paul Decharme, *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théâtre*, p. 101: 'Cette obligation (du serment) passait jadis pour si forte qu'elle enchaînait, disait-on, les dieux eux-mêmes.' He quotes *Theog.* 793 in support, but overlooks the Poseidon episode in the *Hippolytus*.

² Cf. Eur. *I.A.* 394:

οἱ γὰρ ἀσύνετον τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔχει συνέναι
τοὺς κακῶς παγέντας ὄρκους καὶ κατηναγκασμένους.

Her statement of the facts is divided by Theseus' exclamation just at the point where the human story ends and the 'divine' story—the Poseidon part—is about to begin. Attention is thus brought to it again.

The line of action adopted by Poseidon in abiding by his oath and sacrificing the innocent Hippolytus is ironically approved, as is that of Hippolytus in keeping silence and sacrificing himself: the whole blame is for a moment—and most reasonably too—put on Theseus himself for pronouncing the curse in such a hurry in the first place.

But no, after all, it's really Aphrodite's fault, not his, so he needn't worry about it. This is the epilogue, and 'the gods,' as usual, are having a bad time of it. The Athenians are smiling.

Having three times already drawn attention to the Poseidon story by bits of sheer bravado—first in the lyric ode in the prologue, then by making Theseus openly doubt the god's solemn oath, and lastly by making him interpose an apparently casual exclamation in Artemis's discourse, Euripides now gives us what is perhaps the most daring and clever piece of stage work in the whole play.

Hippolytus, who knows nothing whatever of the curse Theseus has called down upon him, suddenly cries out:

ὦ δῶρα πατρός σου Ποσειδῶνος πικρά.

He could not be thinking of the three wishes. What did he mean? The

explanation is really obvious. He has recognised in the wave-cum-bull combination—as who would not?—some device of the sea-god's, and hence his own accident as a 'bitter gift of Poseidon'!

And the remark of Theseus, who, like the audience, thinks at once of the three wishes,

ὡς μήποτ' ἐλθεῖν ὠφελεῖ εἰς τοῦμόν στόμα

comes as a veritable bombshell to him.

He only now realises what Theseus has done.

τί δ' ; ἔκτανές τ' αὖ μ', ὡς τότ' ἦσθ' ὠργίσμενος,

which we would translate:

What? Wouldst thou have slain me? Thou wert then so much angered!

Theseus groans, 'The gods deceived me.' Hippolytus, in the sudden revelation of the injury which has been done, expresses a lively desire to curse the gods at large—and no wonder!

The effect of this culminating scene on the quick Athenians must have been electrical, and the tumult of cheering that broke out at the end, though gracefully taken by Euripides as a tribute to the memory of Pericles, must have been a whole-hearted testimony, confirmed by the bestowal of the first prize, to one of the finest pieces of work of the most consummate artist of the antique stage.

J. A. S.

Capreae, 1918.

THE MEANING OF ΩΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ.

IN Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* (vol. i. p. 21, ll. 17-8, Stählin: 24 Potter), we read, "Ἀρης γοῦν ὁ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὡς οἶόν τε, τετιμμημένος, which the Ante-Nicene Christian Library (*Clem. Alex.* i. p. 37) translates thus: 'Mars, accordingly, who by the poets is held in the highest possible honour.' This is closely related to the Latin version in Migne, 'Mars, qui a poetis summo in honore habitus est,' but it seems clearly wrong. For Ares is not conspicuously honoured in the Greek poets; least of all in Homer, whom Clement has specially in mind at this point, since he goes on to quote

Iliad v. 31 and 385-7, lines which contain the epithets βροτολογιός and μαιφόνος, to which Clement himself adds ἀνάρσιος and the Homeric ἀλλοπρόσ-αλλος. Further, this rendering makes ὡς οἶόν τε the equivalent of ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα. But ὡς οἶόν τε occurs, as a separate phrase, in two other places of Clement, iii. *Strom.* (Stäh. ii. 208, 22-3: 524 P) and iv. *Strom.* (Stäh. ii. 249, 15-6: 564 P). The first of these runs, παραχαράσσοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μάλλον δὲ κατασκάπτοντες ὡς οἶόν τε αὐτοῖς: 'falsifying the truth, or rather, uprooting it so far as they can.' The second is, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων παρα-

τιθέμενοι καὶ ὡς οἶόν τε ἡμῖν διαλύεσθαι πειρώμενοι: 'quoting the opinions even of the heretics and trying, so far as we can, to demolish them.' In each of these passages ὡς οἶόν τε has a limiting force: it suggests the attempt to do something which cannot be done completely, stress being laid rather on what is impossible than on what is possible. There is no need, therefore, to insert a superlative in the rendering, which for our first passage should run, 'Ares, for instance, who is honoured, so far as that is possible, in the poets . . .' Clement is in a satirical mood, and he means that the poets do their best to honour Ares, in spite of his unattractive character.

The phrase is used several times by Lucian, the older contemporary of Clement. In *Imagines* 3 we read: τὸ εἶδος ὡς οἶόν τε ὑπόδειξον τῷ λόγῳ, 'describe (her) form as best you can.' Again, in *Nigrinus* 32: εἰ γάρ τοι, ἔφη, τῇ πνοῇ τῶν ἰων τε καὶ ῥόδων χαίρουσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ ῥινὶ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς στέφεσθαι παρ' αὐτὴν ὡς οἶόν τε τὴν ἀναπνοήν, i.e. the fittest place for garlands would be below the nose, 'as close as you can get to the breath.' So in *Charon* 22 Hermes is asked why men are burning food in front of the tombs. He answers: πεπιστεύκασι γοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεμπομένας κάτωθεν δειπνεῖν μὲν ὡς οἶόν τε περιπετομένας τὴν κνῖσαν καὶ τὸν καπνόν, πινεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βόθρου τὸ μελίκρατον. Fowler translates (*Lucian* i. p. 181), 'But the idea is, that the shades come up, and get as close as they can, and feed . . .' Here the stress is laid on the nearness of the shades' approach; and in fact a μάλιστα has been supplied, because ὡς οἶόν τε is taken with περιπετομένας. It seems, however, to belong to δειπνεῖν, which it limits in the same way as we have seen in the former examples—'the shades come up from below, flit around, and feed as best they can on the steam and the smoke . . .' Hermes feels how odd it is to talk of disembodied spirits feeding,¹ so he adds ὡς οἶόν τε as a reservation. Two other instances from Lucian give the same meaning: *De*

mercede conductis 42—ψιλὴν ὡς οἶόν τε σοι ἐπιδείξω τὴν εἰκόνα—('since I cannot find an Apelles or a Parrhasius), I will sketch the picture for you in outline as best I can': and *Icaromenippus* 11, ὡς οἶόν τε ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν σελήνην . . . συνεπισκόπει τὴν ὅλην τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς διάθεσιν—'do your best to get up to the moon, and join me in surveying all the affairs of earth.'

From Clement, who was steeped in Plato,² and Lucian, a master of Attic Greek, we should naturally expect to travel back to the great classical writers. There is a clear example in Aristotle, *Politics*, ε 1313 A 39: ἔστι δὲ τὰ τε παλαιοὶ λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὡς οἶόν τε, τῆς τυραννίδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπέρ-χοντας κολούειν κ.τ.λ. The Berlin Aristotle attaches a critical note: οἶόν τε] nonne οἰονται?—but the suspicion is needless. Welldon translates (*Politics* viii. c. 11): 'I refer to the measures mentioned in an earlier part of this treatise for the preservation of tyranny, as far as is possible, viz. the practice of cutting off the prominent characters . . .' Jowett gives the same meaning (*Politics*, v. c. 11), 'in so far as this is possible.' Newman, in a note on the passage (*Arist. Politics*, vol. iv. p. 451), says, 'as much as is possible.' Stephanus' Thesaurus refers us to Demosthenes (s.v. οἶος: ὡς οἶόν τε ap. Dem., quod exp. Pro virili parte), but I can find only a single example in him, though ὡς οἶόν τε with a superlative is common enough. The one example is, however, interesting. In the speech *On the Chersonesus* 75 we read: εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν εἶπεν ὡς οἶόν τε τὰ ἄριστα, ὥσπερ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ. Cobet bracketed τὰ before ἄριστα, and S. H. Butcher in the Oxford text (*Dem.* vol. i. p. 108) follows him. But the τὰ is surely needed. λέγειν or εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα or τὸ βέλτιστον occurs no less than five times in the last three pages of this speech, as a description of the orator's work. τὰ ἄριστα is an alternative for this,³ and ὡς οἶόν τε stands

² An illustration of Clement's dependence on Plato will be found in my article on 'Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus* and the *Phaedrus* of Plato' in the *Classical Quarterly*, October, 1916.

³ λέγειν or εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα is common throughout Demosthenes. Apart from the in-

¹ So Charon in the next sentence: 'Εκείνους ἔτι πινεῖν ἢ ἐσθλῆιν, ὧν τὰ κρανία ξηρότατα;

by itself as a limiting phrase. The passage should therefore be rendered: 'if the orator had given, so far as in him lay, the best advice, as in fact he did, . . .' This is supported by the closing words of section 75, of which the general sense (the text is probably corrupt) is thus given by C. R. Kennedy: 'for action look to yourselves, to the orator for the best instruction in his power'; and by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge: 'for the actions you must look to yourselves; from the speaker you must require that he give you the best counsel he can.' Whether this meaning is in the text as it stands—*τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμη λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος*—or whether we must resort to conjecture for it, it seems to correspond exactly to the *εἶπεν ὡς οἶόν τε τὰ ἄριστα* a few lines above.

Turning to Plato, we note a well-known passage, *Rep.* iii. 387 B-C., given as follows in Burnet's Oxford text: *οὐκοῦν ἔτι καὶ τὰ περὶ ταῦτα ὀνόματα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ τε καὶ φοβερὰ ἀποβλητέα, Κωκυτοὺς τε καὶ Στύγας καὶ ἐνέρους καὶ ἀλίβαντας, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τούτου τοῦ τύπου ὀνομαζόμενα φρίττειν δὴ ποιεῖ ὡς οἴεται πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας.* For *ὡς οἴεται* there is a reading *ὡς οἶόν τε*, supported by Bekker's *q* and four inferior MSS. Hertz and Adam expunge *ὡς οἴεται* altogether, as the gloss of some Christian reader, meaning 'as he (*i.e.* Plato) imagines': the author of the gloss wished to show that

he could read such names without shivering. Jowett and Campbell (vol. iii. pp. 111-2) consider *ὡς οἶόν τε* probably genuine, and its meaning to be the same as *ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα* found elsewhere in Plato (*cf. Prot.* 349 E). Liddell and Scott apparently take this view (*s.v. οἶος* iii. 3), and Davies and Vaughan's translation is based upon it: 'the mention of which makes men shudder to the last degree of fear.' But why should *μάλιστα* be omitted? The phrase will stand without it, and bear its usual and well-defined meaning. Plato is not likely to have said unreservedly that the names of certain mythical terrors and monsters make all men shudder. That is their aim and tendency. They do their best to terrify the hearers. In the case of children, whose education is now under consideration, they would certainly terrify, and cause the children to grow up timid. Of course they would not frighten philosophers.

The confusion between *οἶόν τε* and *οἶονται* in MSS. is well known (see Adam on Plato, *Rep.* ii. 358 E, where he refers to Schneider on *Rep.* i. 329 E. See also Isaeus xi. 20, p. 157 Wyse). *οἶονται* would readily change to *οἴεται*, where the sense seemed to demand it. It would be easy to conjecture *οἶονται* for *οἶόν τε* in Clement, *Protr.* p. 21, ll. 17-8 (Stäh.), the instance from which we started; but it is more likely that where *ὡς οἶόν τε*, a comparatively rare phrase, has remained, it represents the original text, than that the plain and simple *ὡς οἶονται* should have been changed to it. The examples of *ὡς οἶόν τε* which I have adduced above from classical Greek are few, but it seems probable that they are far from exhaustive, for others may be found lurking under *ὡς οἶονται* in MSS. They are enough, however, to show that the phrase, though not common, is well authenticated, and that it bears a meaning of its own, quite distinct from that which it has when joined to a superlative.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

stance under consideration, *τὰ ἄριστα* or *τάριστα* occurs four times in the *De Corona*, but not elsewhere. Demosthenes uses it in these places with *πράττειν*, not with *λέγειν* or *εἰπεῖν*. But that the distinction is of the slightest is shown by *De Corona* 57, *πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστα*, which is followed in 59 by *λέγειν καὶ πρᾶττειν τὰ ἄριστα*. In *Chersonesus* 75 Demosthenes may well have departed from his usual custom, both for the sake of variety, and, more especially, because he is here maintaining that the orator's words are a necessary part of the citizens' act (*οὐκοῦν εἶπε μὲν ταῦθ' ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἐποίησατε δ' ὑμεῖς ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐπράχθη*). When words are regarded as deeds, the speaker may fitly adopt for the one the construction that he usually reserves for the other.

A SUPPOSED FRAGMENT OF THEOPHRASTUS.

MODERN editors of the *Nicomachean Ethics* give a quotation from the *Ethics* of Theophrastus, which 'is distinctly an amplification of a sentence in one of the disputed books,' viz. VII. 14, 6 (1154b, 13-14): ἐξελαύνει δὲ ἡδονὴ λύπην ἢ τ' ἐναντία καὶ ἡ τυχοῦσα ἐὰν ᾖ ἰσχυρά (see Burnet, pp. xv and 342; also Stewart, II. p. 258).

But examination of the source of this quotation, viz. Aspasius on *E.N.* VII. 14, 5-6, suggests a doubt. Aspasius is discussing αἰ πονεῖ τὸ ζῶον (54b, 7). He attributes this view to Anaxagoras, and after declaring that it is mentioned here, not as true, but for our information, continues, as the text stands in Heylbut, p. 156,

ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδόκει γε αὐτοῖς αἰ ἐν πόνῳ εἶναι τὸ ζῶον. καὶ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αἰτιᾶται Θεόφραστος ἐν Ἠθικοῖς λέγων ὅτι ἐξελαύνει ἡδονὴ λύπην and so on, as in Burnet and Stewart.

The passage from Theophrastus should, therefore, refute the doctrine of Anaxagoras. But it has, in fact, no bearing on that doctrine at all; while it is just what we might get from Aspasius himself as comment on the text ἐξελαύνει ἡδονὴ λύπην κ.τ.λ. I would suggest, then, that the quotation from Theophrastus has been lost (its purport may be gathered from his *de Sensibus*, §§ 31-33, in Stratton, *Greek Physiological Psychology*, pp. 92-5); and that the passage in Aspasius should be printed with the mark of a lacuna before what is now supposed to be the quotation from Theophrastus:¹ αἰ γὰρ πονεῖ τὸ ζῶον, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ φυσιολόγοι λέγουσιν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀναξαγόρας ἔλεγεν αἰ πονεῖν τὸ ζῶον διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ὡς συγκατατιθέμενος λέγει ἀλλ' ἱστορῶν· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδόκει γε αὐτοῖς αἰ ἐν πόνῳ εἶναι τὸ ζῶον. καὶ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αἰτιᾶται Θεόφραστος ἐν Ἠθικοῖς λέγων ὅτι < . . . > ἐξελαύνει ἡδονὴ λύπην ἢ γε ἐναντία, οἷον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πίνειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ διψῆν, καὶ ἢ τυχοῦσα, τοῦτεστιν ἥτις οὖν ἂν εἴη ἰσχυρά, ὥστε ἐνιότε

πεῖναν ἐξελαύνει καὶ ἀκοῆς ἡδονή, ὅταν ἄσματος ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀκούσμασι διαφερόντως χαίρωμεν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀκόλαστοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι· ἔν' ὅλῳ γὰρ μὴ λυπῶνται μηδὲ ἀλγῶσι, μεγάλας καὶ σφοδρὰς ἡδονὰς ἐαυτοῖς πορίζουσι.

That the words ἐξελαύνει κ.τ.λ., which, as the text is printed, depend on λέγων ὅτι, must be comment of Aspasius, not quotation from Theophrastus, would seem to have been felt by Diels, who proposed (see Heylbut, *ibid.*) to insert ὡς before Θεόφραστος. The meaning would then be (I presume),

'And Aristotle, like Theophrastus in his *Ethics*, censures Anaxagoras, saying that pleasure drives out pain,' etc.

But this reading is open to the same objection as Heylbut's text—it uses the sentence of *E.N.* ἐξελαύνει . . . ἰσχυρά to refute αἰ πονεῖ τὸ ζῶον, a use which is not warranted by logic nor in any way suggested by our text of *E.N.*

No doubt, if ἐν Ἠθικοῖς is correct, Theophrastus did deal with this view of Anaxagoras in his *Ethics*, as well as in the *de Sensibus*; and so the passage in Aspasius, even as I propose to alter it, still testifies to correspondence between the *Ethics* of Theophrastus and this tract (*E.N.* VII. cc. 11-14) on Pleasure. Yet, if there was close correspondence between the *Ethics* of Theophrastus and our *E.N.* and Aspasius had access to Theophrastus's work, it seems strange that he made so little use of it: from Heylbut's index (p. 243) he appears to mention Theophrastus only three times in the extant portion of his commentary. It is true that this may be by no means the full measure of his debt to Theophrastus; and from the same index it appears that he makes less mention of Eudemos and the Eudemian *Ethics*. Still ἐν Ἠθικοῖς may be a blunder, either of the MSS. or of Aspasius, replacing a reference to the *de Sensibus*. The passage in Heylbut, p. 150, 3-30 (on 1153b, 1),

Σπεύσιντι πονεῖν δὲ φασιν οὕτω δεικνύνειν ὅτι ἡδονὴ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ., does not seem to show a great knowledge of the history of the subject.

However this may be, we should, I

¹ See Heylbut's *Aspasius*, p. 156, ll. 13-22. I underline the words that, in my opinion, represent the text of *E.N.*

submit, suppose a lacuna after λέγων ὅτι (Heylbut, p. 156, 17), which has lost us the quotation from Theophrastus; and probably not only this but also the comment of Aspasius on the first part of c. 14, § 6 (1154b, 9-13) ὁμοίως δ'

ἐν . . . εἰσὶν, a passage on which a commentator might reasonably have something to say.

C. M. MULVANY.

*Queen's College,
Benares.*

PHAEDRUS AND SENECA.

THOSE who whether from duty or inclination have to busy themselves with the ragged text of Phaedrus will not consider it superfluous to inquire whether any help may be won from consideration of the writings of one who in respect of age of metre and to a certain extent in subject-matter and tone stands nearest to their author. M. Havet has subjected the treatment of the iambic trimeter by the fabulist and the tragedian to a strict comparison. With this I do not deal. What he has noted outside this sphere will be included in my collections if relevant and distinctive enough for my purpose. I shall submit my material first and reserve comments and deductions for the sequel. Its illustrative value will thus be unimpaired, and its evidential force in no way prejudged.

The agreements between Phaedrus and Seneca that I shall register are firstly those of substance, that is of thought or subject-matter; and secondly those of form, that is of expression and vocabulary. The few in which there is agreement of both will naturally come in between. On the agreements to which an asterisk is attached something more will be said below.

Phaedrus I. xxiii. 3 sq. 'nocturnus cum fur panem misisset cani | obiecto temptans an cibo posset capi.'

Seneca *de Constantia Sapientis* 14. 2 'illum, quisquis erit, tamquam canem acrem obiecto cibo leniet.'

Phaedrus III. viii. 14 sqq. "Cotidie" inquit "speculo uos uti uolo; | tu formam ne corrumpas nequitiae malis; | tu faciem ut istam moribus uincas bonis," cf. *ib.* 1 'praecepto monitus saepe te considera.'

Seneca *N.Q.* I. 16. 4 'inuenta sunt specula ut homo ipse se nosset, multa

ex hoc consecuturus, primum sui notitiam, deinde ad quaedam consilium; formosus ut uitaret infamiam, deformis ut sciret redimendum esse uirtutibus quicquid corpori deesset' e.q.s. (*Imitatus fortasse Phaedrum Seneca, Havet ad loc.*).

Phaedrus III. xv. The subject of this fable, the Lamb in quest of its foster-mother the Goat, is 'facit parentes bonitas, non necessitas' (v. 18).

Seneca *de Beneficiis* III. 29. 3-31 examines in the same spirit and with the same results the view that the mere gift of life is no claim upon the gratitude of a child.

Phaedrus III. xviii. and Appendix ii. 5 sqq. enumerate the characteristic excellences of various animals. The moral is that we should be content with what is assigned to us by Providence.

Seneca *de Beneficiis* II. 29. 1 sq. (cf. *Epist. Moral.* 124. 22) has a similar enumeration; and his moral is the same.

Phaedrus III. epil. 10 'nam uita mortis propior est cotidie.'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 120. 17 'nihil satis est morituris, immo morientibus. cotidie enim propius ab ultimo stamus.'

*Phaedrus IV. vii. 9 'fabricasset Argus opere Palladio ratem.'

Seneca *Med.* 365 sqq. 'non Palladia | compacta manu regum referens | inclita remos quaeritur Argo.'

Phaedrus IV. 10. 1-3 'Peras imposuit Iuppiter nobis duas: | propriis repletam uitiiis post tergum dedit, | alienis ante pectus suspendit grauem.'

Seneca *de Ira* II. 28. 8 'aliena uitia in oculis habemus, a tergo nostra sunt.'

Phaedrus IV. vii. 25 sq. 'hoc illis dictum est qui stultitia nausiant | et, ut putentur sapere, caelum uituperant.'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 107 fin. 'at contra ille (animus) pusillus et degener

qui obluctatur et de ordine mundi male existimat et emendare mauult deos quam se.' For the 'querellae nausiantis animi' see *de Constantia* 10. 2.

Phaedrus IV. xvii. fin. 'Parce gaudere oportet et sensim queri, | totam quis uitam miscet dolor et gaudium.'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 110. 4 'si sapis, omnia humana condicione metire: simul et quod gaudes et quod times contrahe.'

*Phaedrus IV. xxii. (xxiii.) 14 "mecum" inquit "mea sunt cuncta" (cf. 25 sq.), the words of Simonides.

Seneca *de Constantia Sapientis* 5. 6 'Megara Demetrius ceperat cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. ab hoc Stilbon' (should be Stilpon) 'et philosophus interrogatus num aliquid perdidisset; "Nihil;" inquit "omnia mea mecum sunt," and so again in *Epist. Moral.* 9. 18 sq. at somewhat greater length (compare Diogenes Laertius 2. 11. 4).

Phaedrus *ibidem* 14 sq. 'tunc pauci enatant | quia plures onere degrauati perierunt.'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 22. 12 'nemo cum sarcinis enatat.'

Phaedrus IV. epil. 3 sq. 'Sed temperatae suauis sunt argutiae, | immodicae offendunt.'

Seneca *de Constantia Sapientis* 16 fin. 'iocis temperatis delectamur, immodicis irascimur.'

Phaedrus V. vi. 1 sqq. 'Inuenit caluus forte in triuio pectinem. | accessit alter, aequae defectus pilis. | "Heia!" inquit "in commune quodcumque est lucri."'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 119 init. 'Quotiens aliquid inueni, non expecto donec dicas "in commune:" ipse mihi dico.'

Phaedrus *Appendix Perottina* ii. 1 sq. 'Arbitrio si Natura finxisset meo | genus mortale, longe foret instructius.'

Seneca *Oedipus* 882 (903) sq. 'Fata si liceat mihi | fingere arbitrio meo.'

*'alte cinctus' Phaedrus II. v. 11. So Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 33. 2, 92. 35.

'auocare' 'distract' Phaedrus *App.* P. xiv. 26. So Seneca *ad Polybium* 17. 6 and elsewhere.

'delicium' Phaedrus IV. 1. 8. 'delicium' and 'delicium' Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 12. 3.

'fatigare caelum' Phaedrus IV. xx.

(xxi.) 24. Seneca 'fatigare deos' *Epist. Moral.* 31. 5.

'immolare = occidere' Phaedrus IV. vi. 9. Seneca *N.Q. l.c.* § 9.

'inuoluere ingenium' Phaedrus IV. vii. 14. Seneca 'cor inuolutum' *N.Q. I. Praef.* 6.

'*meliusculus' of good looks Phaedrus *App.* xv. 7. Seneca *de Beneficiis* I. 3. 9.

'nasutē' or 'nasutē' Phaedrus IV. 7. 1. 'nasutē' Seneca *de Beneficiis* V. 6. 6.

'persto' of slaves kept standing at their posts Phaedrus *App.* P. xviii. 8. So Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 47. 8.

'petra' Phaedrus *App.* xx. 2. Seneca *Agam.* 468.

'*prospicere' 'catch sight of' 'get a glimpse of' Phaedrus *App.* xiii. 16. Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 79. 12, 83. 1.

'retorridus' Phaedrus IV. ii. 16. (*Met.*) Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 12. 2 and other places (Summers *ad loc.*).

'*strigare' Phaedrus III. vi. 9. Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 31. 4.

'strophā' Phaedrus I. xiv. 4. Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 26. 5.

The tragedies of Seneca present in two or three instances iambic lines which in expression and structure recall senarii of Phaedrus. M. Havet cites 'irato impetu' ending a verse in Phaedrus III. 11. 14 ('horrendo impetu' in I. xi. 10) and Seneca *Troad.* 1159. Similarly 'scelere funesto domum' III. 10. 50 and 'caede funesta domum' Seneca *Phaedra* 1275. Also III. prol. 58 'qui saxa cantu mouit et domuit feras' and Seneca *Medea* 229 'qui saxa cantu mulcet et siluas trahit.' Another correspondence is noticed below.

The following observations arise out of the material. In IV. vii. 9 'opere Palladio' has been changed by L. Mueller and others to 'opera Palladia' on the ground that Pallas is not generally represented as working at the Argo. M. Havet has defended the text by Claudian *Bell. Pollent.* 18. The parallel from Seneca is nearer.

Consideration of IV. xxii. (xxiii.) raises an interesting question. The dictum 'omnia mea mecum sunt' is given by the fabulist to Simonides and by the philosopher to Stilpon. Is this

due to independent use of different sources or is the philosopher consciously correcting a predecessor? This would certainly be in the Annaean manner; compare what is said about Lucan in my Introduction to Book VIII. p. xxxvi, n. 4. The true authorship of the *mot* it is not very easy nor vastly important to determine. The poet may be right in ascribing it to a poet, and the philosopher to whom the philosopher assigns it may have borrowed or repeated it. It is not altogether irrelevant to add that Seneca shows himself aware of the difference between two notabilities, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Demetrius Phalereus, whom our author has confused in a passage corruptly given in our texts. V. I. 1 sq.:

Demetrius qui dictus est Phalereus
Athenas occupavit imperio improbo.

Even with the present reading of ver. 1 the blunder (the converse form of which appears in Aelian *Var. Hist.* 9. 9, so that it may have been taken over by Phaedrus from some Greek) is undeniable; compare in addition to ver. 2 the 'tyrannus' of ver. 14 and the 'qua sunt oppressi manum' of ver. 5. But it comes into clearer light when that verse is corrected. The vulgate reading is faulty on two accounts. In the first place, it neglects an important part of the MS. evidence. 'Demetrius qui' is the reading of the *Pithoeanus* and the Perottine MSS., but in the lost *Remensis rex* was added after 'Demetrius,' and that this is no corruption is shown by its appearance in the heading of the poem in the *Pithocanus* 'Demetrius Rex et Menander Poeta.' In the second place the scansion *Phalerēus* (from Greek *Φαληρέως*) is unexampled in Latin verse.

Professor Housman on Manilius I. 350 has already disposed of all the examples by which M. Havet (*ad loc.*) has sought to defend it; and it only remains here to write in conformity with the indications of the MSS.:

Demetrius rex qui Phalereus dictus est.

Changes of the order of words to one more easy or more familiar are common enough in the tradition of Phaedrus.

'Altincinctis' is the received reading at

II. v. 11 'ex *altincinctis* unus atriensibus.' It is however weakly supported by the MSS.; for both P and R divide it 'alti cinctis' and the MSS. of Phaedrus confuse *e* and *i* perpetually. Apart from this the word has nothing to rest on except a gloss of uncertain origin and value '*ἀνεσταλμένος*, altincinctus' *Corp. Gl.* II. 226, which can hardly be set against the consistent usage of Horace, Seneca, whom I cite because M. Havet says 'sic *metro* coactus Hor. S. II. 8. 10,' and Petronius. Phaedrus shows no liking for such compounds as *altincinctus* as we may infer from his 'sus memoris cultrix' II. iv. 3 by the side of Catullus's 'cerua silicultrix . . . aper memoriuagus.'

IV. vii. 14 'saeuum ingenium uariis inuoluens modis' has been altered in various ways, Guyet and Heinsius conjecturing *euoluens* and M. Havet *conuoluens*. But Seneca's phrase seems to show that it may stand, though *dolis* (Heinsius) would be an improvement on *modis*.

Aph. xv. 7 'adeone per me uideor tibi meliuscula?' M. Havet's *uenustula* is elegant and has proved attractive. But that it is not necessary on the ground of metre he admits himself, and *meliusculus*, like *bonus* (Catullus 37. 19; cf. Propertius II. 28. 12 and elsewhere) was colloquially used of 'good' looks.

In *Aph.* xiii. 16 'paulum reclusis foribus miles prospicit' the usage of Seneca, and especially that in *Ep.* 83. 1 'tamquam aliquis in pectus intimum prospicere possit,' leads me now to doubt my 'perspicit,' although accepted by Dr. Gow and commended by Professor Housman (C.R. XIV. p. 467).

In II. v. 23 'tū sic iocata est tanta maiestas ducis' Pithou's *tanti* has been widely accepted without sufficient reason, as we may see from Seneca *Herc. F.* 721 sq. 'in quo superbo digerit uultu sedens | animas recentes *dira maiestas* dei' (with Leo's repunctuation); cf. for the metrical turn *Phaedra* 915, 'ubi uultus ille et *ficta maiestas uiri*.' M. Havet's citation of 'tanto duce' from Martial XI. 8. 6 by no means shows that in a writer with Phaedrus's weakness for abstract nouns *tanta* cannot agree with *maiestas*.

III. vi. 9 *tricandum* is the reading.

generally adopted from PR, but the meaning of 'shirking' is neither properly attested nor sufficiently appropriate to the passage, nor again does it explain the *tardandum* of N (an explanation of *strigandum*) nor the *saltandum* of V. It appears to be simply a corruption easy enough of *strigandum* (the conjecture of Gruter and Salmasius) for which compare *App. Vergiliana Catal.* 10 (8) 19.

On *sine mercede* in IV. ii. 8 'hoc ne locutus sine mercede existimer, | fabelam adiciam de mustela et muribus' which has driven the commentators to most contorted interpretations. I briefly wrote in the *Classical Quarterly* of April, 1918, p. 91: 'Sometimes the gloss may be detected by its senselessness. So "sine mercede" IV. 2. 8 which should be *gratuito*.' My view was that Phaedrus here meant to say he would show in his accustomed manner by means of a fable that the dictum 'appearances deceive' was no uncalled-for and idle utterance, and that the *gratuito* which he used in the sense of 'causelessly', 'without motive', 'unwarrantably' (cf. Sallust *Cat.* 16. 3 '*gratuito* potius malus atque crudelis erat,' '*gratuitum* odium' Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 105. 3 and '*gratis* anhelans' of the officious and uncalled-for attentions of the *atriensis* in II. v. 3) was misinterpreted by some scribe; whose infelicitous comment 'without fee' or 'remuneration' had crept into the text. This might well have happened. But that Phaedrus may here have deviated from his practice and have represented the following fable as a 'fee' or payment for attention to his moralising seems also possible when we compare a curious procedure of Seneca in the first three books of his *Moral Epistles*. At the end of all but every letter he adds an 'aureum dictum' as we might call it, some pithy or weighty saying which he frequently calls its 'mercedula', 'peculium', 'munus' or 'munusculum.' It is enough to quote 8. 7 'sed iam finis faciendus est et aliquid, ut institui, pro hac epistula dependendum,' 10. 5 'ut more meo cum aliquo munusculo epistulam mittam,' 12. 10 'sed iam debeo epistulam includere. sic' inquis 'sine ullo ad me peculio ueniet,' 15. 9 'una mercedula et

unum graecum ad haec beneficia accedet, ecce insigne praeceptum' e.q.s.

Having thus set out not indeed the whole but probably the greater and most noteworthy part of the correspondences between Seneca and Phaedrus, and having considered their value to an editor of the fabulist, we may turn to the question of their inner significance. We may note two facts to begin with. They are almost all to be found in the books that follow the first. We cannot indeed assign to their proper places the fables contained in the Perottine Appendix; but thus much we know, that the imperfect manuscript from which they were drawn contained no fable earlier than II. vi. Next the similarities in diction seem to be largely colloquialisms, and as such might be due to Seneca and Phaedrus using a common style. Are we to stop here and neither assert nor deny that they indicate that the Fables were known to the philosopher? Before we can decide we must consider the other factors in the question.

Martial was aware of Phaedrus III. 20. 5 'an aemulatur improbi iocos Phaedri?' Our conviction that this verse refers to our Phaedrus is not shaken by the astounding declaration of Friedlaender, *ad loc.* that the Fables are neither 'ioci' nor in any sense 'improbi.' That the Fables were not 'ioci' to Friedlaender is a matter of no importance; we know that Phaedrus thought them such; Prologue to Book I. 'duplex libelli dos est quod risum monet | et quod prudenti uitam consilio mouet . . . | fictis iocari nos meminerit fabulis.' And if some of his pieces are not 'improbi' *Ag.* I. xviii., xxix.; III. iii. xi.; IV. xv. xviii. with others, it is hard to see what sense attaches to the word. But indeed there is no necessity to argue the question; for Martial according to a custom by no means rare in the literary references of Roman poetry has pointed his allusions to the works of Phaedrus by using words *iocus* and *improbis*, that his readers would recognise as special favourites of that writer.¹ Of this 'semi-quotation,' as

¹ *iocus* with its congeners occurs some eleven times, *improbis* (with *improbitas*) some seventeen times in the extant Fables.

we may call it, Statius has more than one example; *Silvae* I. 2. 252-255 (of Propertius and Tibullus) and several passages in II. 7 (the birthday ode to Lucan).

Quintilian will be our second witness. For we can hardly doubt that the *poeta* of *Inst. Or.* I. 9. 2 who composed 'Aesopi fabellas . . . sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente' and whose 'gracilitas' is to be reproduced in the school exercises was Phaedrus.¹ The Fables then, or rather a selection from them, were a schoolbook at Rome towards the end of the first century A.D. When they attained to this deadly distinction we cannot say. For some forty years previously there is no mention of them or sign of their existence. In this dearth of data the hungry critic has turned to a well-known passage in one of the *Dialogi* of Seneca addressed to Polybius, the powerful freedman of Claudius, in the hope that he would use his influence to get the philosopher permission to return to Rome. The words are 'non audeo te eo usque producere ut fabellas quoque et Aesopeos logos, intemptatum Romanis ingeniis opus, solita tibi uenustate conectas' 8. 3. This has been rightly held to show that Seneca, writing from Corsica circa 43, the probable date of this 'dialogue,' either did not know the Fables or chose deliberately to ignore them. What we know from the Fables themselves about the times of their composition may be summed up in a sentence: Phaedrus had written fables which, if not published, had obtained such currency as to bring him under the notice of Seianus some time before the fall of the Prefect in 31; and he continued to do so till after 37, the year of Tiberius's death. It is possible that he was writing under Claudius, as IV. xiv. (a fragment in our MSS. of which the Paraphrasts have preserved the continuation) is naturally taken to

refer to Caligula. But we cannot point to anything that proves he was writing later than 41, the year of Seneca's banishment. The theory then that to this exile should be ascribed Seneca's seeming ignorance of his work lacks all solid foundation. An earlier absence in Egypt, the date of which cannot be determined, might be used to explain the paucity of coincidences with the first book of Phaedrus; but that in 43 the philosopher should have been wholly ignorant of the existence of the Fables is undeniably strange. If he were not, the statement that Aesopean Fable was a form of literature 'un-essayed by Roman talents' is hardly less astonishing. Does it mean that to Seneca Phaedrus, in spite of his pretensions (II. epil. 9), did not count because he was not a native Roman?² An odd argument for an immigrant from Spain to address to a Greek or Asiatic freedman! Or is it a conscious perversion of fact to open the way for a compliment to the powerful favourite? It would not then be out of keeping with the adulations of the Empress Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius, which we are told by Dio Cassius (61. 10. 2) Seneca afterwards out of mere shame did his best to suppress (ἀπὸ λειψέον).³

To sum up, it seems antecedently very improbable that Seneca should have remained without knowledge of all the five books of the Fables from the time of their publication to the end of his life, and the resemblances between the fabulist and the philosopher are, so

² There is little in the idioms or diction of Phaedrus to suggest the foreigner. His use of abstract nouns is certainly pushed beyond the Latin norm. Of *mehercules* in the mouth of Minerva, III. xvii. 8, M. Havet writes with reason *satis mira uox in ore et femineo et diuino*, Gell. XI. 8. 3 (Gellius says it is not so used 'apud idoneos quidem scriptores,' but he might perhaps have excused it from an undoubted virago). *Grus* for *grus* I. i. 7 offends us more. It would certainly have made Priscian 'gasp'; cf. Neue-Wagener *Formenlehre* I. p. 278. One is sorely tempted to suggest 'tandem persuasumst iure iurando gruz.'

³ The questions arising out of the passage of Seneca have been carefully and soberly discussed in W. Isleib's *de Senecae Dialogo Vn-decimo*, a Marburg degree dissertation of 1906.

¹ No argument can be based on the use of the common instead of the proper name. The use is both natural (cf. ὁ ποιητής in Greek) and appropriate. Phaedrus himself called his fables Aesopiac, and as only a selection from them would be included in the school anthology, there was no special call to give his name.

far as they go, not inconsistent with this conclusion. On the other hand our data are so meagre and elusive that we are not warranted in assuming that

when he wrote to Polybius in 43 he was already aware of their existence.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Liverpool.

NOTES

ΙΜΑΝΤΕΛΙΓΜΟΣ.

AT our fairs and racecourses we may make acquaintance with certain arts and mysteries of great subtlety and immense antiquity, though of this antiquity we have all too little actual proof. A learned mathematician showed us very lately that the gipsy trick of fitting five round discs on to a little round table (I saw it only the other day at our ancient fair of St. Andrews) is a matter involving very complicated geometry, and this geometry (I believe) is closely akin to that of problems which perplexed Pythagoras. I shouldn't wonder at all if the professors of thimble-rigging and the three-card trick had their little side-shows at the Olympic Games, just as at Epsom; and there is at least one of their mysteries of which we know what the Greeks called it. Its name is *ιμαντελιγμός*, and we find it in the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux. Many of us are quite familiar with the pastime (if I may so call it), and yet the word would seem to be little known and less understood by classical scholars. The expert lays upon a table a loop or doublet of thin strap-leather, and then, folding and winding it into flat labyrinthine coils, he invites the curious to 'prick the tape'; that is to say, to insert a pin or little pointed stick (*παττάλιον*) amid the coils in such a manner that it shall be found entangled in the loop when the coils are resolved. It would seem that little skill were necessary for so doing, and that the chances of success were at least even; nevertheless, it is found on trial that, when experience twists the tape and innocence directs the pin, the tape *invariably* comes away loose without implicating the pin. Pollux's description is lucidity itself: *ὁ δὲ ἱμαντελιγμός, διπλοῦ ἱμάντος λαβυρινθώδης τίς ἐστι περιστροφή· καθ'*

ἣς ἔδει καθέντα παττάλιον τῆς διπλῆς τυχεῖν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ λυθέντος [? λυθέντι] ἐμπεριέληπτο τῷ ἱμάντι τὸ παττάλιον, ἡττήτο ὁ καθεῖς. It is noteworthy, however, that the lexicographer throws no light upon the secret of successful operation.

The subject is alluded to by Eustathius as *διπλοῦ ἱμάντος σκολία τις εἰλησις* and is briefly discussed by Meursius and by Bulangerus in their well-known treatises *De Ludis Græcorum Veterum*; but neither the Leyden Professor nor the Jesuit Father show any personal acquaintance with the subject, and Bulangerus goes obviously astray when he interprets *παττάλιον* as 'clavum vel pessulum ligneum, qui indebatur ut solveret complicationem.' Nor does Hemsterhusius come nearer to the point: 'hic mihi venit in mentem nodi Gordii, qui simili modo forsitan fuit involutus, similique solvendus?' Liddell and Scott give the brief and unsatisfactory definition '*rope-twisting, a game*'; from which we may surmise that these authors also had never been invited to 'prick the tape.' They consequently fail equally, I think, to appreciate the meaning of the derivative *ιμαντελικτής*, in Plutarch, which word they define as a '*twister of ropes*, or, metaphorically, a *knotty sophist*.' That is all very well; but I imagine that the epithet, as one sophist used it of another, was more caustic and less polite. It is indeed possible that the one philosopher only meant to tell the other that he was a maker of paradoxes; but I very much fear that he had it in mind to call him a low gipsy vagabond, a card-sharper, and a thimble-rigger. Regarding which latter mystery, by the way, I take it that scholars are sufficiently informed.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

St. Andrews.

ANTH. PAL., BOOK V., No. 6.

Λύχνε, σέ γὰρ παρεούσα τρίς ὤμοσεν Ἡράκλεια
ἤξειν, κούχῃ κει· λύχνε, σὺ δ' εἰ Θεὸς εἶ,
τὴν δολίην ἀπάμυνον· ὅταν φίλον ἔνδον ἔχουσα
παίξῃ, ἀποσβεσθεὶς μηκέτι φῶς παρέχε.

THE σέ of line 1 is clearly the accusative of the thing sworn by. The δολίῃ swore by the lamp, and Asclepiades, stung by the ἐπιτορκία, calls upon this same lamp, if it really is a god and can be sworn by, to take vengeance upon her.

This is satisfactory enough, but what does παρεούσα mean? Mr. Paton in the Loeb edition translates 'in thy presence,' as though the participle governed, or half governed, σέ. This, of course, it cannot do, and παρεούσα taken alone (the only way it can grammatically be taken) can only mean that the lady was present when she swore—a fact which no one would be likely to dispute.

The only object of whose presence there is any question is the lamp. 'She swore in thy presence' is exactly the meaning we should like to extract from the line, and if for παρεούσα we read παρόντα, this is exactly the meaning we get.

The frequent confusion between υσ and ντ scarcely needs a mention.

M. PLATNAUER,
B.E.F.

[Stadtmüller reads πτάραντα from VI. 333. 1.—ED. C.R.]

ANTH. PAL. XII. 3.

Τῶν παίδων, Διόδωρε, τὰ προσθέματ' εἰς τρία πίπτει
σχήματα, καὶ τούτων μάνθαν' ἐπωνυμίας.
τὴν ἔτι μὲν γὰρ ἀθικτον ἀκμήν *λαλου ὀνόμαζε:
*κωκωτὴν φυσᾶν ἄρτι καταρχομένην.
τὴν δ' ἤδη πρὸς χεῖρα σαλευομένην [λέγε] σαύραν·
τὴν δὲ τελειωτέραν, οἶδας ἂν χρῆ σε καλεῖν.

In line 4 the right reading would seem to be κώπην τὴν φυσᾶν. κώπην τὴν became κωτὴν by haplography, and then κω was doubled to fill up the line.

There is a similar use of κώπη by Automedon in Anth. Pal. XI. 29 τὴν κώπην μηκέτ' ἔχων ἐρέτης. Cf. the use of δίκωπειν in Aristophanes, Eccl. 1091, and the double entendre in Ran. 197, κάθιζ' ἐπὶ κώπην.

“[Mentulam] clauum nauis uocant

Itali paedicones, il temone' (Menag. Addit Chardo); "Hodie quidem reggere il timone, guider le gouvernail" (Dübner, Anth. Pal. Vol. II. p. 431).

There is little doubt that λαλου conceals the first name of the προσθέματα, but no satisfactory emendation has been made. Faute de mieux I would propose σωλῆν' ὀνόμαζε, which has little to recommend it palaeographically, but gives good sense. The ου of λαλου may be merely a duplication of the ου of ὀνόμαζε, and with λαλ we have little to build upon.

‘σωλῆνες . . . τάσσεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μορίων.’
(Hesych.)

F. A. PROCTOR.

Corpus Christi College,
Oxford.

SOPH. ANTIGONE, 471-2.

[Chorus, interposing in Creon-Antigone Dialogue.]

471 δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ' ὦμὸν ἐξ ὠμοῦ πατρὸς
472 τῆς παιδὸς· εἰκεν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς.

THE insertion of a period (.) at the end of the first line without any other change in the text would remove (1) the intolerable difficulty and harshness of the first sentence, with which all the commentators have wrestled. (2) The strained use of δέ, where, with the traditional punctuation, the reader expects γὰρ or καί.

τῆς παιδὸς· becomes an exclamatory genitive, 'Poor child!' to which τῆς δοσσεβείας (!) in Euripides' Bacchae 263, affords a sufficiently close parallel. We may point the two lines as follows:

471 δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ' ὦμὸν ἐξ ὠμοῦ πατρὸς.
472 τῆς παιδὸς! εἰκεν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς.

yielding the very satisfactory meaning, suitable to the attitude of the Antigone Chorus, and avoiding the scarcely Sophoclean anacoluthon of the commonly accepted renderings:

The uncouth offspring shows its uncouth parentage.

Poor child! but she is all unskilled to bow before calamity.

(Cf. νεάτον γέννημα, l. 628.)

AESCHYLUS, *EUMENIDES* 864-5.

θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μὲν τις παρών,
ἐν ᾧ τις ἔσται δεινός εὐκλείας ἔρωσ.

THESE lines are generally taken as an encouragement of *foreign* (as distinct from *civil*) war, to provide an outlet for the martial spirit of the citizens: *i.e.* 'Let there be foreign war, and let it come without stint, for those who feel the grim desire of glory,' ἐν ᾧ being equivalent to ἐν ἐκείνῳ ᾧ and that phrase a poetical singular for plural, and the epithet δεινός a mere literary or conventional one. I should like to delete the comma of the Oxford text at παρών, to take ἐν ᾧ as *while*, and translate 'Let there be foreign war, which comes readily enough so long as men feel the grim desire of glory.'

R. B. APPLETON.

RECUA.

CHARISIUS (*Gram. Lat.* I, 6, 7, 11) mentions the diminutives *nubecula* (nubes), *specula* (spes), *recula* (res). The last may occur in the *Moretum* (65), where Simylus' small garden-plot is described: nec sumptus erat ullius [opus] sed recula curae, *i.e.* 'it was a little holding that involved no expenditure of money but only of diligence.' The MSS. have *regula*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

MARTIAL XIV. XXIX. 2.

THE maxim of the fifteenth and sixteenth century scholars in transcribing or collating a MS. was 'divinare oportet, non legere, *i.e.* 're-cast as you write.' We rightly prefer the apograph for such purposes. And even in editing a text our maxim is 'Stick to the MSS.' All maxims are bad if they turn the human mind into a roasting-jack that does not know when to stop. But, to vary the metaphor, the limpet-tactics have approved themselves in the case of the Martial text—a text for which we have the evidence always of two, and often of three, ancient editions. Professor Housman has vindicated the traditional reading of III. xciii. 20, 'prurire quid si Sattiae velit saxum?

(*C.R.* 22, 46); Professor Heraeus that of XII. lxxxii. 11, 'fumosae feret ipse προπεῖν de faece lagonae' (*Rhein. Mus.* 70, 1). What of XIV. xxix. 2 (accompanying the present of a sunshade hat or bonnet), for which we have the evidence of three ancient texts (*α, β, γ*)? The couplet runs:

in Pompeiano tecum (tectus γ) spectabo theatro.
mandatus (nam ventus γ) populo vela negare solet.

Mandatus may be right. 'The magisterial order (*mandatum*?) has an irritating habit of forbidding the use of the huge roof-awnings on windy days when they are likely to be damaged.' 'When planning a visit to the theatre one is usually annoyed to find a notice (in a newspaper or on a bill) "No awnings to-day. By order."' But—to defy another maxim and explain 'obscurum per obscurius'—I would at least call attention to a gloss in the Cyrillus Glossary (*C.G.L.* II. 346, 38) 'Κάτοχος: mandalus.' The word (of unknown scansion) was used of the fastening of a door (*C.G.L.* III. 190, 61). May it not also have been used of the catch which, when released, allowed the awnings to be spread? The populace would owe it a grudge.

W. M. LINDSAY.

PLAUTUS CAS. 416, 814.

THAT *mala crux* was practically (like *male factum*) a single word in Latin is seen from the treatment of the phrase by Plautus, who allows an Iambic Senarius, etc., to end with *mālām crūcēm*, and often adds a qualifying adjective, *e.g.* *maxumam malam crucem*. Was there an actual compound *mala-crucia*? There is some trace of it in *Cas.* 416 (in the Scene where the lots are drawn). Olympio, when Cleustrata draws his lot and thereby assigns Casina to him, exclaims *mea <ea> est* 'she (*i.e.* Casina) is mine.' If the MSS. are right, Chalinus, his defeated rival, caps his exclamation with *mala-crucias <t> quidem*, 'the gibbet is yours,' just as Olympio had capped Chalinus' exclamation at v. 382: *Ch.* quod bonum atque fortunatum sit mihi —*OL.* magnum malum, etc. Some

may think the 'riposte' would be sharper if Olympio got no further than *mea ea* and the *est* of the minuscule MSS. were an error. (The palimpsest is not in evidence.)

The second half of *Cas.* 814 was made an 'aside' of Chalinus (dressed up as Casina) in C.R. XIX. 110. The objection (*ibid.* 315), that a new Scene would not begin in the middle of a line, cannot stand. Beside this line:

LY. di hercle me cupiunt servatum. (Sc. iv.)
CH. iam oboluit Casinus procul,

we may place such Greek lines as:

Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 414:

MEN. φίλους τ' ἐπ' ἄλλους. ΑΓΓ. ὦ Πανελλήνων
ἄναξ,

Menand. *Epitrep.* 165:

ΣΤ. βάλλ' εἰς τὸ προκόλπιον. ΟΝ. μάγειρον βραδύ-
τερον,

and in Plautus:

Truc. 914:

PH. accipe hoc atque auferto intro. STRAB.
ubi mea amica est gentium?

In all these examples a new-comer appears and (by convention) a new Scene begins at the middle of a line. Of course the division of an Act into Scenes is, in the case of ancient dramatists, an arbitrary, editorial thing, done for the convenience of readers. Often it is more of a hindrance than a help (see the Oxford Plautus, vol. I. p. iii of Preface), as in another passage of the *Casina* which may be added to our list (vv. 278-280):

LY. propter eam rem magis armigero dat
operam de industria;
qui illum di omnes deaeque perdant! CH. té
uxor aiebat tua—
me vocare. LY. ego enim vocari iussi. CH.
eloquere quid velis.

If we put the Scene-heading ('Sc. iv.' of Act II.) at *qui illum*, we interrupt the flow of Lysidamus' invective. If at *te uxor*, we spoil Chalinus' 'riposte.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

METONYMY IN HORACE, ODES, BOOK I. XI.

EDITORS of Horace have amused themselves by speculating why the lady to whom this ode is addressed bears the name of Leuconoe. (It is assumed

that the name is not the real name of a real person.) There appears to be a general agreement that it is a compound of *λευκός* and *νοῦς* (corresponding to a masculine *λευκόνους*). There is nothing impossible about the form (cf. *Πραξινοά*). But there is a difference as to whether the compound means (a) *clara* or *candida mente* or (b) 'empty-minded,' and whether it was intended to be complimentary or the reverse. No parallel to the sense of *λευκός* required by either view has been adduced, and it is as difficult to understand what would be meant by the compound as if such a poem was addressed in English to 'Miss Wan-wit' or 'Miss Blank-wit.'

I have never come across either *Λευκονόη* or *Λευκόνους* as personal names, nor the adjective either as masculine or as feminine. But there is a masculine adjective which is variously spelt as *Λευκονοιεύς* or *Λευκο-νοοεύς* (the latter being pretty certainly the correct Attic form). It was not exactly a proper name, but an Attic *δημοτικόν* (and, therefore, of course with no corresponding feminine form). There are some interesting points connected with it. Harpocration *s.v.* says that the name of the deme was *Λευκό-νοιον*; so Dindorf prints it, but adds in his note (without any reason) '*Recta nominis forma esse videtur Λευκονόη*.' Cobet (*Collectanea Critica*) points out—in my opinion correctly—that the name should be printed *Λευκόν Οἶον*—i.e. that it is one more case of *Οἶον* as part of the name of an Attic deme. If this is right, it is probably that Leuconoe too has nothing to do with *νοῦς*.

The *δημοτικόν* is best known in Greek literature as that of the justly respected uncle—by marriage—of Demosthenes, Demochares the son of Laches, and it is because of this that it occurs in the lexicon of Harpocration. But there is one other person—and, as far as I know, the only other—to whose name in Greek literature this *δημοτικόν* is attached, viz. the geometrician or astronomer Meton, the son of Pausanias, the well-known reformer of the Attic calendar (B.C. 433/2). He is familiar to us from his appearance in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, but where his deme is not mentioned, the scholiast on l. 997 quotes two lines

from the Μονότροπος of Phrynichus (which was acted in the same year as the *Birds*, B.C. 414), in which he is called Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεύς. It is at least a singular fact that he shared with Horace's Leuconoe an interest in astronomy. Might we venture to go further, and connect his forebodings about the failure of the Sicilian expedition with his astronomical interests? Is it in any case not more probable that by Leuconoe Horace meant not 'Miss Blankwit' but 'Miss Newton'?

But as a further flight of fancy, where controlling facts are so few, it occurs to me to suggest the possibility that the young lady is herself a myth, and that the original readings were *Leuconoeu* (i.e. Meton) and (consequently) *credula*. The invitation *vina liques* seems not very appropriate as addressed to a young lady. But why should Horace have addressed his advice to that ancient mathematician? Without attempting to explain this, I may be permitted to call attention to the singular parallel of I. xxviii. Perhaps in both cases Horace is translating or imitating a Greek original. This seems not unlikely where he is experimenting with rather uncommon metres. Do not phrases like οὐ θεμιτόν and . . . Λευκονοεὺ, μὴ Βαβυλωνίου | ζητήσης ἀριθμούς almost shine through the Latin? There are curious parallelisms with the language of the poems of Alcaeus in the greater Asclepiad poems (δακτύλος ἀμέρα, ἔγχεε κίρναϊς κ.τ.λ.). Of course Alcaeus cannot here be Horace's direct original (more probably Callimachus?).

But that way perhaps madness lies.

J. A. SMITH.

Magdalen College, Oxford.

VIRGIL AND GREGORY OF TOURS.

Greg. Turon., *In Gloria Martyrum*, Praef., p. 448, Arndt-Krutsch: Taceo Cupidinis emissionem; non Ascanii dilectionem, hymenaeosque lacrimas vel exitia saeva Didonis, non Plutonis triste vestibulum, non *Proserpinae stuprosum raptum*, non Cerberi triforme caput, non revolvam Anchisae colloquia, non Ithaci ingenia, non Achillis argutias, non Sinonidis fallacias; non ego Laocoontis consilia, non Amphitryonia-

dis robora, non *Iani conflictus fugas vel obitum exitiabile (m) proferam*.

THE Preface of Gregory from which I have excerpted these sentences (correcting in passing the odd spelling of the saint—or of his most recent editors) is often quoted or referred to in works upon scholarship where it is desired to illustrate the mediaeval attitude towards secular literature. This may be my excuse for directing the attention of the readers of this journal to an author more often read (or so it is supposed) by the historian than by the scholar. The two clauses which I have italicised have caused difficulty to Gregory's editors. Arndt and Krutsch are at a loss to find any passage of Virgil in which there is mention of the rape of Proserpine. But *which* rape? They suppose Gregory to have had in mind, not any passage of Virgil, but Ovid, *Met.* V. 395, though of knowledge of Ovid he shows nowhere else any trace. In any case Pluto was not the only personage of ancient mythology who was guilty of a *raptus Proserpinae*; nor do I know that he was ever charged with a *stuprosum raptus*. The really discreditable *raptus Proserpinae* was that of Theseus and Pirithous; and to this crime Virgil does refer unmistakably at *Aen.* VI. 397-402, and 601.

Our editors' other difficulty is also, I think, lightly resolved. The *Aeneid* contains no word about any *conflictus, fuga* or *obitus* of Janus. They accordingly suggest *Turni* as a correction of *Iani*. But they do not tell us what they then understand by *conflictus*. Surely the true correction of *Iani* is indicated by the reference in the preceding clause to 'Amphitryoniadis robora.' Surely Gregory wrote, not *Iani*, but *Caci*.¹ What *conflictus*, then, means may be seen from *Aen.* VIII. 259-261.

H. W. GARROD.

'QUIS AQUAM NILI . . .'

THOSE to whom, like myself, the war has brought correspondence from Egypt may have been puzzled, as I

¹ Ribbeck quotes from Probus, *Inst. tantum* for *Cacum* at *Aen.* VIII. 259. For the confusion of *C* and *I* cf. *Aen.* V. 453, *iasu M¹* for *casu*.

have been, by the motto of Shepherd's famous hotel at Cairo. On all note-paper and envelopes, under a design of lotus blossoms, it runs: '*Quis aquam nili bibit, aerum bibet.*' No classical authority available here could throw any light on the meaning of *aerum*, and it was not until I came across a proverb in one of Mr. Algernon Blackwood's tales of Egypt that the solution was obvious: 'He who has drunk of the water of the Nile shall return to drink of it again!' Therefore *iterum* was the word intended, and a little experiment will show that with either a plain capital or cursive *i*, it may be made closely to resemble *a* if the upright stroke of the *t* is short, and the cross continued backwards. It is strange that none of the scholars who must constantly visit the hotel should have pointed this out—not to mention the doubtful *quis*—for as it stands the motto is nonsense.

DINA PORTWAY DOBSON.

AEN. XI. 45 f. AND 152 f.

It is difficult to add anything to what Dr. Warde Fowler has said of Aeneas' relationship to Pallas and Evander (*Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, on VIII. 520-524, especially pp. 87 f. on *contubernium* and 90 f. on *hospitium*). But two passages in Book XI., which he has not touched upon, so strongly confirm what he there says, that it seems worth while to consider them in this connexion:

Aen. XI. 45:

non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti
discedens dederam. . . .

Ibid. 152:

non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti,
cautius ut uelles saeuo te credere Marti.

The verbal correspondence between these two passages can hardly be accidental. One might even expect something of the kind: in both cases the words are those wrung by grief and pity from older men who are looking on the dead boy Pallas—from Aeneas, as he bids farewell to the body on the field, and from Evander as he receives it home.

But far more significant than the likeness is the difference—the far-reach-

ing, Virgilian difference made by the substitution of *dederas*, addressed as it is to Pallas, for the *dederat*, referring to Aeneas, which might have been expected: for Aeneas had, with characteristic chivalry, taken upon himself (*dederam*) precisely the responsibility which Evander here refuses to attribute to him.

All that has gone before tends to make this change the more remarkable. The fact that Aeneas was, in a sense, responsible for Pallas, and certainly felt himself to be so and was so regarded by others, has been repeatedly brought home to us—*e.g.* where Evander entrusts his son to Aeneas' care and guidance, and says he is to learn

sub te tolerare magistro
militiam et graue Martis opus (VIII. 510).

and where Turnus, after slaying Pallas on his first day of battle, bursts out with the truth in its most brutal form:

haud illi (sc. Euandro) stabunt Aeneia paruo
hospitia (X. 491).

Above all, Aeneas himself, even before the death of Pallas is known to him, is represented as strangely, not to say abnormally, preoccupied with the thought of the household in whose lives he played so fateful a part:

Pallas, Euander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas aduena primas
tunc adiit, dextraeque datae (X. 515).

This deep-seated sense of responsibility on Aeneas' part suddenly finds poignant expression in the lines quoted above (XI. 45) and in their continuation

hi nostri reditus, expectatique triumphi?
haec mea magna fides?

It was a masterly stroke which, in using the very words spoken in self-accusation by Aeneas, converted them, on Evander's lips, into the tenderest of reproaches to the dead, for whom, in truth, such a reproach could only be another form of praise.

There could be no more perfect expression whether of Evander's trust in Aeneas, or of the exquisite nobility of feeling, on both sides, which made such a trust possible. It is something of a quite different order from the merely outward and formal considerateness of his words to the Trojan strangers standing by

nec uos arguerim Teucrici (*ib.* 164)

and from the more deliberate tribute he pays to Aeneas later on

quod uitam moror inuisam, Pallante perempto,
dextera causa tua est (*ib.* 177).

It was, we are told, largely from Classical writers that the mind of the Renaissance drew its conception of perfect courtesy, or 'courtlinesse,' as 'a happy cheyne of vertues' in which, 'besides greatnesse and courage, there are also lincked liberalitie, sumptuousnesse, the desire to save a man's estymation, pleasantnesse, courtesie in talke,' and withal 'a soft and lovelye kindnesse' (Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, translated by Hoby, 1561).

Virgil's Evander deserves, no less than his Aeneas, to have been among the types that inspired such an ideal.

M. A. B. HERFORD.

Manchester.

VIRGIL, AEN. I., 460.

sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.—Virg. *Aen.* I. 460.

HAS any line of poetry, ancient or modern, been so often quoted or so completely misunderstood? Dr. Mackail, in his *Latin Literature*, writes: 'In the most famous of his *single* lines he speaks of the "tears of things."' Professor Wight Duff, in his *Literary History of Rome*, translates it: 'Tears haunt the world: man's fortunes touch man's heart.' Professor Tyrrell, in his *Lectures on Latin Poetry*, speaks with admiration of 'Dr. Henry's refined and scholarly interpretation of the word "rerum" as meaning "in the world": "there are such things as tears in the world"; "tears are universal, belong to the constitution of nature, and the evils of mortality touch the heart": and then goes on to suggest a meaning "far more definite, weighty, and distinguished,"

viz. 'E'en things inanimate can weep for us, and the works of men's hands have their own pathetic power.' Such a version as 'this is a vale of tears' is by no means unusual, and may indeed be taken as fairly representative of the sense in which this most quoted line of Virgil is usually understood. The most cursory glance at the context proves that all these interpretations are wide of the mark.

en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi,
sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.
solve metus: feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.

'This is a vale of tears, therefore be not afraid!' The writer is reminded of a friend, a scholar and a man of first-rate ability, who had by constant repetition hypnotised himself into the conviction that the greatest thought in *Hamlet*, if not in the whole of Shakespeare, was 'Denmark's a prison!' Can there be any question that in our passage a comma only should be printed after 'laudi,' and 'hic etiam' carried on to the following line? Apart from the requirements of sense, the double 'sunt' forces it on the ear. Aeneas, shipwrecked on an unknown shore, comes with his companion to the newly-built Carthage, and on the doors of the temple sees depicted scenes from the siege of Troy. These he points out to his companion with the reassuring remark that they are *evidently in a civilised country*, where 'men can weep for human sorrows.' Alas for Professor Tyrrell's '*Rerum* is the lonely word in which flowers all the charm of all the muses.' We are driven to the unhappy choice of either dethroning Virgil's 'greatest line' or charging him with writing great nonsense.

H. WILLIAMSON.

REVIEWS

VAN LEEUWEN'S *ENCHIRIDIUM*.

Enchiridium Dictionis Epicae, scripsit J. VAN LEEUWEN, J.F. Editio altera aucta et emendata. One vol. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. xx+431. Lugduni Batavorum: A. W. Sitjhoff, 1918. Fl. 6.50.

THE first part of the first issue of this handbook was noticed by Professor Platt in *C.R.* VII. 359. Those who have been aware for some time that a second edition was in preparation will perhaps be disappointed with it in one respect. Some of them had hoped that it would be a largely expanded treatise, embodying the principal discussions which have appeared of recent years, such as Witte's papers in *Glotta* on the versification, Wackernagel's on the Atticisms, Mr. Drewitt's on the Augment, and many, many others. Dr. van Leeuwen has, however, kept to his original object, to provide a *librum iuniorum praesertim philologorum manibus destinatum*, so that *strictim tangenda quae spissa sibi poscerent volumina*. Too much was expected. If ever a comprehensive treatise on the subject is planned, it will have to be encyclopaedic like Pauly-Wissowa's *Lexikon*, but men now living need not hope to see such a Thesaurus completed.

The changes in detail in this new edition are, if I may judge from the sections tested, mostly unimportant. Thus, in the list of digammated words, though there are numerous trifling alterations, testifying to the care with which the revision has been done, the only difference worth noting seems to be the omission of *Feλεῖν*. In fact there appears to be no modification of the author's attitude, except in the *Praefatio*, where, as one had anticipated, his conversion to the Unitarian faith rendered the recasting of parts of his statement *de origine et compositione carmindrum epicorum* inevitable. He maintains his conclusions with the confidence of a master. Of controversy there is comparatively little, though

some theorisings of Fick, Cauver, and others are sharply exposed.

Detailed criticism, however tempting, of the contents of the book is here impossible, and it is difficult to criticise them even in a general way without touching fundamental questions which are discussed incessantly by the experts, τέλος δ' οὐ πῶ τι πέφανται. As is well known, its author's efforts, through many laborious years, have aimed at the production of a Homeric Library *in parvo*. He has edited both poems twice; in his *Commentationes* he has provided a *Wegweiser* on the Homeric Question and interesting papers on other Homeric matters; and in the present work he constructs a basis for his text. His object here is to get as near as possible to that text in its original form, and that of course requires copious emendation of the *textus receptus*. The limits of such procedure are debatable, and have indeed been much debated by editors. He himself is among the thoroughgoing purgers. But these all go too far, and make trouble for themselves. A *Fe* or a *F'* is inserted which is not quite consonant with Homeric practice, and even, it may be added, unnecessary, considering the marked freedom with which Homer omits a pronominal form, or a fourth trochee is abolished and replaced by what proves to be only a 'Wernicke.' And then the digamma; there is surely too great readiness to improve what are called 'neglects' of *F*. They cannot all be easily and acceptably emended; you can only work away till you reach a point when you have to say the rest are in lines that are spurious, or corrupted in a way that cannot be discovered, and that is a thoroughly unsatisfactory conclusion. But are they neglects—the work, that is, of a generation who knew not the digamma? That has still to be decided. Take the class, numbering more than a third of the total, of cases in which the combination *ν* (very susceptible to modifi-

cation), ς (mobile, weak, and easily degenerating into the aspirate), or ρ (with *δύναμις φωνήεντος*), plus F (only a semivowel and not in its first youth), fails to make position. Need we wonder at this, when a short vowel at times is not in position, with little or no discernible excuse, and without rousing suspicion, before a combination of consonants such as $\chi\lambda$ or $\tau\rho$? And in the one case as in the other there is no ground for objection to the many occurrences in which there is a pause in the line or sense. But it is even possible that, in all these three combinations, assimilation produced FF , which became vocalised into a simple v , as in *εὐαδε, ἀνέρυσαν, κανάξαις*. Such forms, Monro has suggested, were probably more frequent in the text at one time. There is something to be said for that view, and more still against the ultimate condemnation of passages, which the mere mixture of observances and neglects forbids. The cases of elision in spite of F , which are more numerous, present even less difficulty. In the third class the 'neglects' are few. Of course much depends on the degree of vitality to be ascribed to the F of Homer's day. As to that, one of the two extreme views is Jebb's, quoted by Dr. van Leeuwen, that it was a mere *soni umbra*. The other is his own, that it was *sonus vegetus et florentissimus*, but surely that is in conflict with the facts that many words had already lost the sound, and that it was weak in compound and derivative words, in proper names, in initial δF , and generally inside words. The *Verwitterungsepoche* or *Uebergangsstufe*—what Mr. Agar calls the 'in and out'—theory of other authorities seems to be the safest. It cannot be said that it is successfully refuted in the present treatise. For all the learning that has been bestowed on it, the Homeric digamma is still, in the words of the epitaph made for Joshua Barnes, *expectans iudicium*. Meanwhile, that it was, whether vigorous or senescent or quite moribund, the same to all the bards of the critics, their latest as well as their earliest, is one comforting result of recent research.

Another all-important matter for the constructor of a pristine text is that of

Contraction and Synizesis. How far is he to resolve contracted forms? Dr. van Leeuwen is all for resolution, and starts from the position that, as the original form of *γένεος* was *γένεσος*, therefore *γένους* or *γένευσ* was *alienum a priscis carminibus*. But that, even admitting the sequitur, does not help, for the *prisca carmina* were separated by a long interval from the two poems with which we are concerned. All we seem to be justified in saying is that, in this as in other respects, Homer's age was one of 'overlap.' Contracted forms were well established, but the old open forms had still a preference, with the to us very pleasing result that for every spondee there are three dactyls. There is too much abhorrence of contraction and synizesis. It seems to be a matter in which Ludwich's dictum that *Möglichkeit ist nicht Nothwendigkeit* should be borne in mind. It is interesting, by the way, to note the perplexity of those who amend freely, when they are 'up against' a harmless, necessary line such as *καί μιν φωνήσας' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα*, and find themselves between the devil of a digamma and the deep sea of synizesis.

There are, as is well known, a number of other points on which a straining after complete uniformity has proved a weakness of Homeric linguistic inquiry. The remark might be extended to include Homeric criticism also. A practice or rule is detected or assumed, and attempts are made to show that it is absolute and subject to no exception. These never succeed without a free use of the obelus for a residuum of passages that resist inclusion in the formula. Such a desire to effect perfect consistency has not been confined to Homeric research; it has been noted and condemned in the province of language generally.

Apart from such matters, the value of the book and the debt which all *φιλόμηροι* owe to its author are to be warmly acknowledged. The pains bestowed on making the contents complete and accurate are everywhere apparent. The references to the Homeric text are abundant, the cross-references within the work itself are extremely numerous, and the discus-

sions, always clear and sure, are greatly strengthened by constant quotations from the inscriptions and by indications of development in later Greek. An enormous amount of matter has been compressed into the volume, but its bulk has been, by various means, considerably reduced. The sections are numbered as before, so that the quotations of them, which are so useful a part of the author's editions of the poems, are not affected. The Index is not as full as the book deserves. In the old edition it sometimes failed me when hunting for a word or form.

But the book is an excellent one on a most fascinating subject. It is written, this examination of the dry bones of a language, in a style so bright and enjoyable, that I have known a Homeric student read it, not for the first time, for pure pleasure, as well as profit, in a summer vacation. That says something for its author's style and method, as well as for the charm of the marvellous language and verse of Homer. Happy the poet who had such instruments at his command, and happy we who have 28,000 lines of his matchless poetry on which philologists can work! Had only a single episode of the *Iliad* survived, or no more than

the *Menis*, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, what a puzzle the language and verse would have remained, and what masses of volumes would have been devoted to the elucidation of the problems presented by the meagre materials! οὐδ' ἂν νηὺς ἐκατόζυγος ἄχθος ἄποιτο. And they would have left us little wiser. As it is, the student is well provided, though he would give his ears for a few fragments of pre-Homeric Greek, and surrender even more for a well-grounded assurance that that was the tongue the Minoans spake. Scholars have done their duty. The schoolboy has excellent summaries of the grammar and versification in the editions of the poems prepared for his use. At college he finds a most admirable introduction in the late Professor Seymour's *Homeric Language and Verse*, and he passes on to the *Homeric Grammar* and the *Enchiridium*. In his riper years he will, if he has the hardihood to 'wallow beneath such thorny shade,' find a lifetime's occupation in the philological journals, and will end his days, as he ought to strive to end them, by having, to use our author's words, *Homerum ut digitos suos cognitum*.

A. SHEWAN.

SELECTED ESSAYS OF PLUTARCH.

Selected Essays of Plutarch. Vol. II. Translated with Introduction by A. O. PRICKARD. Pp. xx + 336. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. 3s. 6d. net.

THIS is a companion volume to that published by Professor Tucker in 1913, and it deserves a hearty welcome. It is to be feared that Plutarch has not many readers nowadays, and few from this small company penetrate beyond the *Lives*. Yet the *Moralia* are in many respects, as was recognised by Southey in the quotation which Mr. Prickard places on his title-page, the more valuable half of Plutarch's writings. Their value is to be attributed not so much to their literary merit, although many of these essays are pleasing

examples of skilful composition; nor to their scientific and philosophical significance, although they are among the most important authorities which we possess for our knowledge of the later Greek schools, and especially of the Stoa, as to the vividness of the picture which they present of the state of Graeco-Roman culture in the first century of our era. Plutarch himself is the best possible representative of his age. Born of a good family, he had received the most thorough education which was open to him; and he had a broad and liberal intelligence, as well as some practical experience in the administration of affairs. The variety of his interests is exhibited in the many-sidedness of the *Moralia*, whose title is justified only in so far as a considerable

proportion of its contents treats of ethical subjects.

The present volume contains several of the most interesting of the essays, including three specimens of imaginative myths inserted in the course of a dialogue, in which proceeding Plutarch followed the example of his master Plato, without copying his workmanship in detail. The dialogues in which these myths occur are the most important, as well as the most attractive in the volume. In the first, *On the Genius of Socrates*, the discussion of the *δαίμωνιον* is incidental to the main subject of the dialogue, a dramatic narrative of the conspiracy of patriotic Thebans which led to the recovery of the Cadmeia. The dialogue on *Delay in Divine Punishment*, in which Plutarch himself undertakes the rôle of chief exponent, is a defence of the workings of Providence directed against the ridicule of the Epicureans. The version of the tract *On Superstition*, which may be regarded as an appendix to the last-named dialogue, is followed by a reprint of the short discourse on the same subject by John Smith of Emmanuel and Queen's Colleges, an almost forgotten associate of the Cambridge Platonists. The third of the above-mentioned dialogues, *On the Face which appears in the Orb of the Moon*, is of a somewhat different character. It mentions a variety of opinions concerning the substance and movements of the moon and its relations to the other heavenly bodies, and may be summarily described as an Academic assault on the Stoic conception of the structure of the Cosmos. Finally, we have the three Delphic dialogues, in which Plutarch's attitude towards the traditional religion is determined by practical common-sense combined with reverence for old-established belief.

The difficulties which attend a translation of Plutarch's *Moralia* arise not only from complexity of style and obscurity of subject-matter, but chiefly perhaps from the undoubted corruption of the text. Unfortunately the critical basis has not yet been surely laid, notwithstanding the labours of Wytttenbach and Bernardakis, and the contributions in detail of other workers in the same

field. So far as his material permitted, these difficulties have been successfully overcome by Mr. Prickard. His translation is at once clear and idiomatic, as well as scholarly in method. The reader of the dialogues who uses Mr. Prickard's book will be grateful to him for the clearing up of many dark passages, for the explanatory matter of the Introductions and Notes, and for the uniformly candid presentation of his own doubts.

Mr. Prickard has used Wytttenbach's text as his basis, and professes to record all deviations from it in his footnotes. But sometimes this has not been done, as may be seen at 589F, 559D, and 933A, where the conjectures of other scholars have been rightly preferred. I regret that in *de anim.* 2 (p. 214) Wytttenbach's *καμπῆς* has been accepted without question in place of *κάμπης* (*καθάπερ ἐκ κάμπης τινὸς ἀνείσης οἶον ἐξάττειν καὶ ἀναθεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν*), with the quaint translation 'the soul darts out and runs upward, as though a bent spring had been released' (my italics). The question recurs at 611F, where also the critics strangely adhere to *καμπῆς*. I have already defended *κάμπης* in *Journ. Phil.* XXX. 214, by showing that the release of the soul from the body is compared to the escape of the butterfly from the chrysalis into which the caterpillar has passed. It should be added that the parallel of 636C, where the butterfly *Psyche* is mentioned, puts Plutarch's meaning beyond all doubt.

I will conclude with some suggestions on points of detail. 580F: perhaps 'insight' rather than 'wit.' 591A, B: this passage is unintelligible without a note, and the translation is not clear. The course of the Styx is circular (*ἄνω κάτω*), and *κορυφῇ* is to be explained by *Il.* 8. 369, *Hes. Theog.* 786. 593B: *χαράξαντες* not 'extracting' but 'marking off' (branding). 549D: why is *τῷ αὐτομάτῳ* rendered by 'an automaton' rather than by 'chance'? In 549E (and again in 920F) the force of the proverbial *ἀφ' ἐστίας ἄρχεσθαι* is not brought out. 556C: *προβάλλονται* ('censure') is over-translated by 'spurn their own life away.' 563E *αὐγὴν τόνον ἔχουσιν*: 'ray of a tonic force' requires explanation for a reader who is not

acquainted with the Stoic theory of tension. 389c n.: it is very unlikely that Heraclitus spoke of διακόσμησις and ἐκπύρωσις. p. 214 (*de anim.* 1): εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία means not 'unless, of course,' but 'but indeed,' as in 670E and elsewhere. 167D: the translation requires correction. The moon is treated not as the claimant, but as the object of litigation (ἐπίδικος). 926D: ἐν ταύτῳ is hardly 'in a moment's flight' but 'unchanged' = κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. 928C: the words περὶ εἰαυτὴν ἀναδίδωσιν ('ad se extollit') are very strangely rendered. 941E: ἐπιεικῶς is not 'quietly,' but, as often in Plutarch, = *severe*. 942D: the words 'latter' and 'former' appear to have been accidentally transposed,

bringing confusion into the passage. 943B: the reference to Plat. *Tim.* 31B is irrelevant. It should have been explained that μονογενής was a current ἐπὶ κλησις of Persephone (Apoll. Rhod. 3. 848), and that it is here mystically interpreted.

Plutarch is full of quotations and reminiscences, expressed and concealed, and many of the references are supplied. But more use might have been made of the collections of Diels and von Arnim, as e.g. at 922C, 925B (where Panzerbieter's reading is much better than the text adopted), and 929C. Sometimes the references given require correction: see pp. 193₂, 289₁, 302₂.

A. C. PEARSON.

THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

The Greek Anthology. With an English Translation by W. R. PATON. In five volumes: Vol. IV. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, MCMXVIII. Vol. V. the same. The Loeb Classical Library.

THESE two volumes complete Mr. Paton's task, and it is the pleasing duty of a reviewer to congratulate him and his publishers on its uninterrupted progress and its rapid completion. Vol. IV. contains Books X., XI., XII. of the *Anthology*; Vol. V., Books XIII. to XV., including in a miscellaneous collection the curious arithmetical puzzles and riddles of Book XIV., the epigrams of Nicarchus, whose tone reminds one of Martial, the *Τεχνοπαίγνια*, and the Planudean Appendix.

Some passages in the difficult *Τεχνοπαίγνια* may be considered. In Simias' *Αἰας* 4 (*A.P.* XV. 24) Mr. Paton prints with the editors πάντα δὲ Γᾶς εἴκε φραδαῖσι λυγραῖς, but l. 3 τᾶμος ἐγὼ γάρ γενόμαν, ἀνίκ' ἔκραιν' Ἀνάγκα would be inconsistent with this. Should we not read here πάντα δὲ τᾶς κ.τ.λ., 'to her decrees,' i.e. to Ἀνάγκα? In ll. 9, 10 there is no need to accept the two emendations of Wilamowitz ὠκυπέτας οὐδ' Ἄρεος for ὠκυπέτας δ' ἀέριος of Pal., and πραῦλόγῳ δὲ πειθοῖ for πραῦνω of

Pal.; all that is wanted here is *πραῦνόφ*, as Bergk saw.

In Dosiadas' *Ara* (*A.P.* XV. 26) 11 and 15, instead of the corrupt ἀνύξας and αἰεὶ λινεύντ' which Mr. Paton prints, we may accept Salmasius' αἰν' ἰύξας and Hecker's αἰλινεύντ'.

Corrections seem necessary also in Dosiadas' *Ονυμ.* L. 12 is incomplete with ἔχει θεῶν τὰν παναίολον Πιερίδων μονόδουπον αὐδάν: perhaps τὰν should be altered to γὰν, and παρθένων may have fallen out after it from its similarity to θεῶν. And certainly Jacob's ὁμόδουπον is preferable to μονόδουπον.

In l. 16 βλαχαὶ δ' οἶων . . . ἔβαν, βλαχαὶ must go the way of the 'bloody bleatings' in Aesch. *Sept.* 335; as Verrall restored βλαχᾶ there, so Mr. Edmonds rightly restored βλαχᾶ here. Mr. Paton's translation 'with a bleat' has nearly led him to the same correction.

In the same line τανυσφύρων ἐς ἀν' ἄντρα Νυμφῶν both prepositions cannot be right: neither is in Pal., and perhaps ὑπ' is better than either.

In l. 20 something has gone wrong: κλυτός is translated but κλυτᾶς stands in the text. The metre too seems to require ταῖς δὴ δαίμων κλυτὸς ἴσα θεοῖς.

Mention should be made of a special feature in this concluding volume. It is enriched by eighty illustrations from

marble and bronze statues, reliefs, paintings, and coins, selected by Dr. Salomon Reinach and drawn by Made-moiselle J. Evrard. It was a happy thought to draw upon the wealth of Greek art and apply it to the *Anthology*, which affords a great variety of subjects fitted for illustration from these sources.

The previous volumes of Mr. Paton's *Greek Anthology* have been reviewed in *C.R.* XXXI. 142, XXXII. 33, 186.

Additions to the 'List of Addenda to the "Greek Anthology,"' C.R. XXXII. p. 187.

To sect. 3 add the pentameter in *Etymol. Gen.* p. 237:

Τὶς νικᾷ Παφίην ἐνθάδε λουομένην ;

Miller *ad loc.* suggests that this may be added to the Epigrams on the same subject after *A P.* IX. 608.

Sect. 5. 3. Dr. Rouse published this Epigram in 1906 (four years before Crönert in *Rhein. Mus.*), *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVI. p. 178. His punctuation makes much better sense than Crönert's in ll. 1, 2; but in l. 3 Crönert is perhaps right in correcting *μνήμης* *τι* to *τε*. With the subject of the Epigram *A.P.* XI. 8, Kaibel *Epigr. a Lap. collecta* 646b, and Strato *A.P.* XI. 19, may be compared.

Sect. 3. 1. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion* 219, wishes to see in an epigram in a Coan inscription (Paton and Hicks, 218), where the name of one Philiscus occurs, apparently the author of the Epigram, the Philiscus mentioned in this section. But if his name has now been shown to be Philicus, how can he there call himself Philiscus?

J. U. POWELL.

St. John's, Oxford.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO.

The Geography of Strabo. With an English translation by HORACE LEONARD JONES, A.M., Ph.D. (Loeb Classical Library). Vol. I. 6½" × 4¼". Pp. xlv + 531, 1 coloured map and diagrams. London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam's Sons, 1917. 5s. net.

ON one obvious ground this edition of Strabo's *Geography* is welcome. So far as geographical research is concerned, the temperament of English-speaking peoples has expressed itself, until quite recent years, in the direction rather of exploration and discovery than in that of historical or analytical research. The results of this tendency are visible in the publications of our own Royal Geographical Society and others of its kind. They are also illustrated by the full bibliography furnished in the edition under notice. Among the names of textual critics, commentators, and students of Strabo's work, there are extraordinarily few British or American names: the vast majority are German.

This in itself is a commentary on an outlook over geographical study which

is of quite recent growth even in Germany and Austria, but is still younger, and as yet less fully developed, in Britain and America. It is a broad view of the subject which appraises its value not merely in the direction of the discovery of lands, but in that of assessing their worth when discovered, in collecting evidence of the effects of natural environment upon human activity, and in applying the knowledge gained in one region of the world to the elucidation of the problems of another. And this broad view is Strabo's. In his introductory paragraphs he insists at length upon the importance of geography to rulers, politicians, and soldiers, as well as its educational value for all men—lessons which circumstances are teaching us insistently at the present moment—and he also recognises the relations of geography to cognate sciences more fully than many a modern geographer has understood it.

This aspect of Strabo's work is touched upon (though not elaborated) in a short introduction, in which also the translator summarizes the career of the geographer and historian, and among other points, decides in favour of the

earlier of the two dates for the publication of the Geography, which have been so warmly discussed. As for the translation of the work itself, it deserves great praise, and when completed it will be a very notable addition to English texts. It preserves a certain air of meticulous nicety in the choice of words which seems to permeate the original, as if the writer was one whose pen was none too ready, and whose manner of speech was slow and precise. Strabo's criticism, as for instance of Hipparchus, seldom generates more than a gentle heat: his enthusiasm, as for Homer, does not lead him to extravagance of language, and the translation closely follows his mood.

Dr. Jones carefully records divergencies of reading in the different texts, and is often at pains to explain the exact shade of meaning of words whose equivalents in English are imperfect. He also briefly elucidates geographical problems which arise, and an excellent feature is supplied by the diagrams which illustrate Strabo's arguments concerning distances as estimated by Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, and other points. Great care has been exercised by the translator in adapting modern terms to Strabo's usage. Only

once, so far as has been observed, his results are perhaps open to criticism, when in the passage . . . σφαιροειδῇ μὲν τὸν κόσμον, σφαιροειδῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς the epithet is rendered 'spheroidal,' with an explanatory note that the literal sense, 'sphere-shaped,' is intended, and not the geometrical. But the geometrical figure of the spheroid is so intimately associated with the study of the figure of the Earth after Richer's observations towards the close of the seventeenth century, that for the rendering of a text seventeen centuries older the term might have been better avoided.

The present volume contains two out of the seventeen books of Strabo's geography, and the translation is to be finished in eight volumes. For their excellence of appearance no less than for the scholarly work of the translator the complete series will be very welcome. It should be added that Dr. Jones points out that the introduction and bibliography in the present volume remain substantially as they were left by the late Professor J. R. S. Sterrett, who originally undertook the work, and that the translation of the two books contained here owes much to him.

O. J. R. HOWARTH.

H. SJÖGREN: *M. TULLII CICERONIS EPP. AD ATTICUM*, I-IV.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Epp. ad Atticum, I-IV. By H. SJÖGREN. Pp. xxviii + 198. Upsala, 1916. Kr. 4.25. *Tulliana*, IV. (*ex Erani*, vol. xvi., *seorsum expr.*).

THE eminent Swedish scholar, Dr. Sjögren, has already won a great reputation for his work upon the *Corpus* which contains Cicero's Letters to Brutus, to his brother Quintus, and to Atticus. His previous publications have been *Commentationes Tullianae* (1910), *Epp. ad Brutum* (1910), *ad Quintum Fratrem* (1911), accompanied by three articles, *Tulliana*, I., II. III., printed in *Eranos*, and also issued separately. He has now published a first instalment of the Letters to Atticus, together with a fourth article.

The Letters to Brutus and Quintus

are not deficient in problems for the textual critic, but in point of general interest they do not appeal to the reader in the same way as those to Atticus. Sjögren, therefore, after traversing a somewhat arid zone, has now reached the most interesting part of his subject.

Previous editors of these Letters have been handicapped by the fact that the MSS. had never been properly collated. Sjögren in his *Commentationes* remarks, *neque exstat editio critica neque adhuc potuit perfici*. Until recently only one MS. had been thoroughly collated, viz., *M.* (= *Laur.* XLIX. 18), and it was looked on as the chief authority for the text. A great step forwards was made by C. Lehmann,¹ who distinguished

¹ *De Ciceronis ad Atticum Epistulis recensendis et emendandis* (1892).

between two groups of Italian MSS., viz. Δ , to which *M* belongs, and Σ , the chief member of which is *E*, the oldest MS. now extant, having been written at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Both Σ and Δ , however, were shown to be inferior to a Transalpine family of MSS., the chief members of which were *C* (*Codex Cratandri*) and *Z* (*Tornae-sianus*). Our knowledge of *C* is derived from the marginal readings in the edition of Cratander, a printer of Bâle (1528), while the tradition of *Z* survives in the citations of Turnebus, Lambinus (1565), and Bosius (1580). *C* and *Z* are both lost, and we have only a few leaves from a MS., cent. xi./xii., now at Würzburg (*W*), to represent this family.

Lehmann's work, broken off by his premature death, was taken up by Sjögren, who has recollated the MSS. and proved the truth of Lehmann's contentions. His publications have been received with universal approval. Thus Dr. Purser, the best of judges, says of him: 'The critical edition of the Epistles which he has now well in progress seems as if it would be almost the last word to be said in the settlement of the text, so careful, learned and ingenious is the author.'¹ Such generous praise, coming from one who has himself done so much for the study of Cicero's Letters, must have awakened in Sjögren's breast the joy of which Naevius speaks in Cicero's quotation (*Fam.* XV. 6. 1) *Laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro*.

The new instalment of *Tulliana* contains a short discussion of various symbols prefixed to readings given in the margin of the *ed. Lambiniana*, published in 1573, after the death of that great scholar, followed by an elaborate dissertation upon a number of passages in *Att.* I.-IV. Sjögren shows conclusively that a number of readings to which *L* (*i.e.* Lambinus) is prefixed are taken from MSS., and are not conjectures. The passages which he proceeds to treat are chiefly interesting to students of grammar, *e.g.* the use of *ne* in prohibition, the subjunctive of command, addressed to an individual (*cures ut sciam*), the future in exhortation (*non retexeris*), usages of *dices*, *inquis*, *inquies*,

of *asyndeton bimembre*, of *denique* after two substantives, of *ut et . . . et* for *et ut . . . et*, of *veni* as the perfect of *eo*, etc. His discussion is marked by great learning and subtlety, and his collections of similar passages are always valuable. As a rule he inclines to defend the reading of the MSS., where most editors have accepted an emendation.

Sjögren's methods as a critic have already been discussed in the pages of this *Review*,² and I will only indicate a few passages in which his conservatism seems excessive. Some are taken from his *Tulliana*, others from the notes to his text.

I. 1. 4. *Vides enim in quo cursu sumus et quam omnes gratias non modo retinendas verum etiam acquirendas putemus MSS., Sjögren*. Editors generally read *simus*, a simple correction, which seems demanded by *putemus*. Sjögren defends *sumus* by *Att.* II. 10, where he reads, with most MSS., *nunc fac ut sciam quo die te visuri sumus* (*simus* edd.). Here, however, we have not the evidence given by the subjunctive *putemus* which follows in I. 1. 4. Also, the important MS. *E* and two other MSS. of the Σ group have *simus*.

I. 3. 3. *expertus est . . . meum studium nec tibi defuisse MSS., Sjögren*. Here editors generally insert *nec sibi* before *nec tibi*. The omission of words between *nec . . . nec*, *aut . . . aut*, *partim . . . partim*, etc., is extremely common. Thus in *Verr.* V. 121 we have the variants *neque illis neque tibi V: neque tibi dett.: neque tibi neque illis R*.

I. 20. 2. *nullam rem tanti existimassem MSS., Sjögren*, who explains by an ellipse of *esse*. Editors generally read *destimassem*. The confusion of *aestimo* and *existimo* is constant in MSS.

III. 8. 2. *scribis . . . audiri fore ut acrius postularet MSS., Sjögren*.

The reference is to a pending prosecution of Q. Cicero. No prosecutor is mentioned, so previous editors read *postularetur*. Sjögren explains *ut . . . postularet* (*Clodius*). The name of Clodius, however, does not occur in the letter.

IV. 15. 4. *nos verbum nullum, verita*

¹ Tyrrell and Purser, ed. iii., 1914.

² *Classical Review*, XXV. (1911), pp. 149-154.

est enim pusilla, quae nunc laborat, ne animum Publi offenderet MSS., Sjögren. Previous editors correct to *offenderem*. Sjögren explains by an ellipse, *si ego in hac causa verba dixissem*.

The problem is without doubt difficult. It is indisputable that the Latinity of Cicero in his Letters differs from that employed in his speeches and philosophical treatises, especially in the use of ellipse, archaisms, and colloquialisms. On the other hand it is to be remembered that the MS. evidence for these Letters is weak. We have no old MSS. except the few leaves of *IV*, and all our MSS., including *C* and *Z*, are descended from a single archetype, which Lehmann calls *X*. In most of the great *cruces* *C* and *Z* fail to help. The existence of this common archetype is definitely proved by dislocations common to all the MSS. in the Letters to Brutus, in Book II. of those to Quintus, and in *ad Atticum* IV.¹ Such an archetype must have had *proprii errores*, and we must always bear this possibility in mind. The solution which a particular critic will adopt in cases of doubt is largely a matter of temperament, and Sjögren is above all things cautious.

Some interesting remarks are made about double readings in the archetype, e.g. II. 18. 2, where the MSS. vary between *laute* and *recte* (p. xix). In IV. 17. 3 the MSS. give

de ea re ita censuerunt comitia primo quoque tempore haberi censere.

Sjögren says, '*fort-censere ut glossema delendum*.' It seems probable that *censere* = *censuere*, a variant for *censuerunt*, which has got into the text in the wrong place. I would suggest a similar explanation in II. 21. 6, where the MSS. give

spero nos aut certe cum summa gloria aut etiam sine molestia discessuros.

Most editors read *aut cum . . . aut certe*. Sjögren accepts the explanation of Süßle that *certe* belongs to both clauses (= *jedenfalls entweder . . . oder wenigstens noch*). It is simple to suppose that the archetype had *aut cum* ^{certe} *. . . aut etiam*, and that *certe* was inserted after the first *aut*.

I now take a notorious passage, II. 1. 5. Most editors print as follows:

inconstantiam eius reprehendi, qui Romae tribunatum pl. peteret, cum in Sicilia aedilitatem se petere dictitasset.

There is great confusion in the MSS. The most important variants are *hereditatem sepe hereditasset* (*M*¹), *aedilitatem sepe dictitasset* (*M*², *plerique*), *heraedilitatem* (*Z*). Lehmann read with *M*¹, explaining that Clodius by changing his *gens* had lost his right to receive inheritances from *gentiles* who died intestate (cf. Dom. 35 *iure hereditatum relicto*), an ingenious, but far-fetched explanation. Sjögren gives *hereditatem saepe dictitasset*, i.e. 'had frequently talked about an inheritance,' which seems very obscure. The corruption in *Z* is clearly due to a conflation of *hereditatem* and *aedilitatem*, which must have been variants in the archetype. Also, *hereditasset* and *dictitasset* seem to be doublets. The ordinary reading, that of most MSS. with the simple correction *se petere* for *sepe*, gives an admirable sense.

I conclude this notice with a few disjointed remarks.

Fresh light has been thrown upon the provenance of *C* by a recent discovery. Previously it was supposed to have come from Lorsch. Sabbadini, however, now assigns it to Fulda.² The evidence is supplied by a new document, viz. Niccolo Niccoli's memorandum, written about 1430, in which occurs

In monasterio Fuldensi. . . M. Tullii Ciceronis volumen epistolarum ad Atticum quod incipit Cum hec scribebam res existimatur esse, etc., finit: Cicero Capitoni.

The symbol *c*^s prefixed to certain marginalia in *M*, ascribed by Schmidt to Coluccio, has been much discussed. Schmidt's explanation that it stands for *Colucius* is impossible, since it occurs elsewhere, e.g. in the transcripts of Asconius made by Poggio and Sozomenus. It is generally taken to stand for *corrigas*, while Sjögren mentions with approval a suggestion of Leo that it = *codices*. Light is thrown upon the point by a plate in Steffens' collection

¹ Cf. Sternkopf in *Hermes* XL. (1905), XLVI. (1911).

² *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci*, vol. ii., p. 214 (1914).

of facsimiles (No. 75), taken from a MS. of Seneca, cent. xi./xii., in which *ce* (= *corrigere*) occurs five times. Sjögren has not used the Ravenna MS. (*Rav.*), since he considers that its tradition is adequately represented by *V* (*Vat. Pal.* 1510), a MS. written at the end of the fifteenth century. I see on comparing my collation of *Rav.* with the readings of *V* given by Sjögren that the two MSS. are closely connected: thus both omit IV. 5—13, and 15, and a passage in IV. 1. 2. It is, however, clear that *Rav.* is prior to *V*. Thus in IV. 18. 2 *nemo enim in terris*, most MSS. absurdly insert (after *enim*) ΔΕΠΠΙC, a word which occurs in XIX. 1. Sjögren says '*fort. librarius archetypi duo folia verterat, post primam vocem scriptam se erravisse sensit.*' *Rav.* has a lacuna after *enim*, while *V* omits the lacuna. So II. 24. 3. *qui cum emisisset*, *Rav.* has *qui quum* for *qui cum*, while *V* has *qui* before a lacuna.

As I once made a hurried collation of *E*, I venture to add a few readings taken from my notes which do not figure in Sjögren's Apparatus. Only two of them are at all important, viz.:

I. 13. 2. *ipse parvo animo et pravo tamen cavillator genere illo moroso.* For *tamen* many read *tantum* with *ed. Iens.* *E* has *tñ* (i.e. *tantum*), not *tñ* (= *tamen*).

IV. 10. 2. *ea quae Cyrea sint, velim . . . invisas.*

For *sint* Wesenberg reads *sunt*. *E* has *st'*, which should represent *sunt*, not *sint*.

The other cases are:

I. 3. 1. *verita sit*] *veritas sit*, 2 *ad alios*] *ad alias*, 3 *de te*] *ad te*, 8. 2. *Megaricis, ut tu ad me scripseras, curavi.* *Hermæ tui Pentelici cum capitibus aeneis, de quibus ad me scripsisti, iam nunc me*] *megaricis et cum iam me nunc med. om., ib. velim*] *velis*, 14. 6. *fecit*] *facit*, 16. 1 *spectatorem*] *inspectatorem*, 3 *umquam*] *usquam*, 5 *refferetur*] *refferretur* (*sic*), 18. 2 *tuum discessum*] *discessum tuum*, 19. 4 *quid emerit*] *quid est*, 6 *invidia*] *invidiam*, 10 *facilius*] *om., ib. praetermittatur*] *intermittatur*, ii. 24. 4 *Q. Considi*] *om. iii. 15. 2 scindam*] *sentiam*.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

THE ECLOGUES OF FAUSTUS ANDRELINUS AND IOANNES ARNOLLETUS.

The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Ioannes Arnolletus. Edited, with introduction and notes, by WILFRED P. MUSTARD, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press, 1918. Price \$1.50.

DR. MUSTARD has made the pastoral poetry of the renaissance his peculiar province. To his two scholarly editions of the *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (1911, reviewed C.R. XXVII. 241) and the *Piscatory Eclogues of Sannazaro* (1914) he now adds one of those of Andrelinus of Forlì and Arnolletus of Nevers. Mantuanus and Sannazaro are recorded in the second volume of Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*; these two lesser lights, now rescued from oblivion, must be included in a new edition of that work. Of the

two writers the Italian Andrelinus is more interesting than the Frenchman Arnolletus. A pupil of Filelfo and protégée of Ludovico Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, he went early in life to France, where he became popular both as a humanistic teacher and as a poet, and was for many years professor at Paris, enjoying the patronage of the King and Queen. He was moreover a friend of the illustrious Erasmus, who calls him '*vetus congerro meus*,' and speaks highly of his character and attainments. Erasmus addressed to him the amusing letter in which he praised the beauty and amiability of the young women of England, and especially their pleasant fashion of kissing on all occasions. The twelve eclogues of Andrelinus are written in smooth and fluent verse. They show descriptive power and poetical feeling,

especially in passages relating to the beauties of nature. This work of Andrelinus, published at Paris in 1496, and the eclogues of his imitator Arnolletus, published at Paris in 1524, derive special interest from the fact that both authors show familiarity with Calpurnius and Nemesianus, at a time when those poets were little read, having been first published shortly before in the *editio princeps*, which appeared at Rome in 1471. The fifth eclogue of Andrelinus is modelled on the fifth eclogue of Calpurnius; and Dr. Mustard's commentary gives evidence of careful study of the two Roman bucolic poets throughout. There is a good deal of autobiographical matter in the poems; there are many complaints of the difficulty of making a living by literature and of securing noble patronage. Perhaps the most interesting, if the least agreeable, of the eclogues of Andrelinus is the eleventh, an invective against a rival Italian scholar Hieronymus Balbus, who, having been befriended by Andrelinus, had perfidiously requited him by accusing him of apostacy from the Christian faith, in those days a serious charge. The worthy humanist in this eclogue retaliates with an energy and scurrility more suggestive of Juvenal or Claudian than of the soft bucolic singers. There are direct reminiscences of Juvenal, not noticed by Dr. Mustard, in XI. 52 *et casu volvete vices nulloque moveri aeternos rectore polos*, Iuv. XIII. 87 *et nullo credunt mundum rectore moveri*, XI. 82 *maiori faenore dicunt offensi dilata dei tormenta venire*, Iuv. XIII. 100 *ut sit magna, tamen certe lenta ira deorum est*. In this connexion I notice that X. 25 *vano in corde senescit* recalls Iuv. VII. 52 *aegro in corde senescit*, and Arnolletus ecl. IV. 214 *Franciscus cervi Clivensis tempora vivat* is inspired by Virg. Ecl. VII. 30 *vivacis cornua cervi* and Iuv. XIV. 251 *longa et cervina senectus*. The style of Andrelinus,

though vigorous, is sometimes obscure, sometimes even ungrammatical; thus VII. 68 *passum laborem* seems to be intended to mean 'labour that has been endured.' The prosody of Andrelinus is generally correct, though he carelessly shortens the final *o* following the later Latin parts. Occasionally he lapses into false quantities, as in IX. 2 *agresti maiora statu*; XI. 37 *pingui saginata popina*; XII. 118 *extinguibilis arte*. But as regards prosody he contrasts favourably with his imitator Arnolletus, some specimens of whose blunders I append: III. 19 *contrivi tempus apinis*; IV. 22 *si datus ūs rerum*; *ibid.* 146 *cottidie muletram*, 152 *huius in acerbam*, 156 *nostrā scatentia*, 183 *essē scelestum*, 184 *plebs et ignobile vulgus*, and this last contained in one of the worst hexameters ever concocted; IV. 105 *mortuus est Xerxes, et mortuus ille Darius*. The scansion IV. 115 *Stymphälidas vicit volucres* (IV. 115) is excusable, being borrowed from Ausonius, *Monosticha de aerumnis Herculis*, p. 106. 5; Peiper, *Stymphälidas pepulit volucres*. I note in passing that the whole of the passage IV. 104-126 is modelled on that poem of Ausonius, which Dr. Mustard might have pointed out in his notes. The eclogues of Arnolletus have been added by Dr. Mustard 'as a sort of appendix.' They are poor stuff. Their author was a schoolmaster of Nevers, whose accuracy was not equal to his piety. His vocabulary is as questionable as his prosody, being disfigured by forms and expressions such as *indubie*, *faustiter*, *clarorum doxa vivorum*, *paediae dulce levamen*, *ventripotens*. It would have added to the value of this edition if Dr. Mustard had examined and criticised the prosody and language of these two poets; who fall far below the standard of such great Italian Latinists as Politian, Sannazarius, Flaminius, and Vida.

S. G. OWEN.

Christ Church,
Oxford.

JUVENAL AND PERSIUS.

Juvenal and Persius. With an English translation by G. G. RAMSAY, LL.D., Litt.D., late Professor of Latin in the University of Glasgow (Loeb Classical Library). London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. 6s.

THIS translation is a useful addition to the convenient series of which it forms a part. It is the work of a skilful scholar, who is a master of English style. Those who know little Latin, or have partially forgotten what they once knew, are provided with a version which is masculine and vigorous, and which passes easily from the grand to the colloquial manner, that constant and baffling characteristic of the Roman satirists' style. The brightly-written introduction summarises what is known of the lives of the two satirists, and contains a brief history of Roman satire and some information about the manuscripts of the two authors. Some of the views adopted are rather obsolete. Thus the statement on p. xiii that Juvenal's 'satires were originally published in five books' is open to misconception, since Friedländer's elaborate examination of the chronology of the satires establishes that the five books were published separately in chronological order. Also the brilliant hypothesis of Leo, advanced originally in two papers in the *Hermes* and employed by him as the basis of his revision of Bücheler's text (1910) makes it probable that the first four books were published by the poet in his lifetime, which same books, as revised by the poet himself, with the addition of the unfinished fifth book, were published as a second edition by his executors after his death. This acute theory satisfactorily accounts for the presence in the Oxford manuscript of the strange passage discovered by Mr. Winstedt in *Satire VI.*, and, besides shedding light on the numerous double equally probable variants, helps incidentally to settle other difficulties, such as the repetition of the name Corvinus in VIII. 5, 7. Juvenal's memory could not have been so poorly stored as to force him to use Corvinus twice over as

a type in his catalogue of worthies when he could have avoided the tautology by introducing Fabricius (found actually in some manuscripts) or plenty of other personages. But if our text is complete, and exhibits here the two editions side by side, the riddle is solved. On the same page the statement that *Satire I.* 'was written last, or at least after the rest of Book I.' seems to imply that *Satire I.* may have been written last of all the sixteen satires, which is for many reasons impossible. Also the statement (p. xxxix) that 'the earliest form of *satura* was of a dramatic kind' takes no account of the researches of Hendrickson and Leo, who seem to have succeeded in proving that the supposed dramatic *satura* never had any existence at Rome, but is due to an hypothesis of some early Roman critic, possibly Accius, which was designed to bring the history of the Roman drama into conformity with that of the Greek, and which was incorporated by the uncritical Livy into his history.

The translation, excellent in style, is not always quite faithful. Thus Juv. I. 36 *a trepido Thynele summissa Latino* the meaning of *summissa* is 'despatched' rather than 'made over.' I. 75 *criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas* not 'high commands' but 'palaces' is the meaning of *praetoria*. II. 37 *ubi nunc, lex Iulia? dormis* 'What of your Julian Law? Has it gone to sleep?' renders not *dormis* but *dormit*, a conjecture of the late Mr. H. Richards. III. 32 *siccandam eluviem* means not 'for cleansing drains' but 'for draining flood-water.' III. 94 *Dorida nullo cultam palliolo* means not 'the nude Doris' but Doris, the *ancilla*, dressed in *tunica* alone, without the *pallium* worn over it by her mistress. III. 193 *urbem tenui tibicine fultam* is strangely translated 'propped up by slender flute-players,' explained in the note as 'statues used by way of props.' This seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Paul. Diac. 366 M. quoted by Mayor. The *tibicen* was a support to prevent the wall from falling outwards. Ov. F. IV. 695 *stantem tibicine villam*. III. 249 *nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo*

cannot mean 'see now the smoke rising from that crowd which hurries for the daily dole,' as the presentation of the *sportula* in the form of food was at that time obsolete. IV. 45 *cumbae linique magister* 'the master of the boat and line' mistranslates *lini*, which means 'net,' as in V. 102 *temeraria lina*, which Dr. Ramsay translates 'the daring fisherman.' V. 143 *viridem thoraca* probably means a child's tunic, made after the cut of that worn by an *auriga* of the fashionable 'green' *factio*. I do not know Dr. Ramsay's authority for translating 'cuirasses of green rushes.' VI. 515 *cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt, plebeia et Phrygia vestitur buccatiara* is translated 'before him the howling herd with the timbrels give way; his plebeian cheeks are covered with a Phrygian tiara.' This is the ordinary stopping and rendering. I now think that the comma should be removed after *cedunt* and placed after *plebeia*. The *tympana plebeia* are the inferior herd of timbrel-players who are subservient to the chief Gallus. Cf. Ov. *Ibis* 81 *plebs superum fauni satyrique laresques*. VI. 606 *hos favet omni involvitque sinu* 'she fondles them all and folds them in her bosom' renders not *omni*, the reading in the text, but *omnes*, the variant which Professor Ramsay apparently intended to have printed in the text. But *omni* has been sufficiently defended by Friedländer and others. VII. 15-16 *faciant equites Asiani [quamquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni,] altera quos nudo traducit Gallicatalo*. It is not explained why l. 15 is enclosed in brackets, for which there is no cause. The words are translated 'Leave that to the Knights of Asia, of Bithynia, and Cappadocia—gentry that were imported bare-footed from New Gaul.' This is open to serious objections. Knights from Cappadocia, which lay inland south-east of Galatia, and from Bithynia, which lay on the sea-coast north of Galatia, could hardly be said to be imported from Galatia, which lies inland in the centre of Asia Minor. *Traducere*, in Juvenal at any rate, does not mean 'to import.' *Altera Gallica* could hardly stand for Galatia, though *altera Gallia*, the reading of most manuscripts, might mean that. The reading

gallica, spelt without a capital, seems to be correct and is capable of explanation. VII. 219 *cede Palaemon* means 'submit Palaemon' not 'never mind Palaemon.' VIII. 105 *inde Dolabella atque hinc Antonius, inde sacrilegus Verres* is rendered 'But after that came now a Dolabella, now an Antonius, and now a sacrilegious Verres.' But the series *inde hinc inde* cannot mean 'now, now, now' though *inde inde inde* might mean that. Also *Dolabella* with the final *a* lengthened in hiatus involves a false quantity requiring emendation, of which various sorts have been proposed. VIII. 195 *finge tamen gladios inde atque hinc pulpita poni* rendered 'And yet suppose that on one side of you were placed a sword, on the other the stage' misses the force of *gladios*, which signifies 'execution.' VIII. 240-241 *tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi nominis ac tituli, quantum in Leucade*. Here the reading *in* retained in the text involves a false quantity; various remedies have been suggested. Also though *Leucade* (without *in*) 'at Leucas' might signify 'at Actium,' the battle of Actium cannot be said to have been fought 'in Leucas' (so Dr. Ramsay translates), which was an island in the vicinity of Actium. X. 94 *vis certe pila cohortes egregios equites et castra domestica* is rendered 'You would like, no doubt, to have Centurions, Cohorts, and Illustrious Knights at your call.' *Pila* does not mean 'centurions' but the 'pikes' with which the Praetorian cohorts were armed. It is difficult to see how Sejanus, the prefect of the Praetorian guard, could be said to have 'Illustrious Knights' at his call, though the troopers of the Praetorian cavalry being under his command might be so described. XI. 137 *Trypheri doctoris* 'the learned Trypherus' insufficiently indicates that Trypherus was a teacher of cookery. XI. 139 the English for *Scythicae volucres* is 'pheasants' rather than 'Scythian fowls.' XIII. 28 *nona aetas agitur* is adopted instead of the better supported *nunc aetas agitur*. The meaning of the latter is simple, that of the former barely intelligible. It makes Juvenal announce 'We are living in a ninth age.' Ninth from what point of view? the reader asks, and Dr. Ramsay

has no note to answer the question, though fanciful answers have been given. The obvious series of ages are the five of Hesiod (*Op.* 109) or four of Ovid (*M. I.* 89), but neither of these throws any light on a 'ninth age.'

I have left little space for Persius, the translation of which is on the whole closer than that of Juvenal, though in some places it might be improved, as III. 3 *indomitum Falernum* means rather the 'fiery' than 'indomitable Falernian' wine. III. 73 *disce, nec invidias quod multa fidelia putet in locuplete penni* is rendered 'learn these things, and do not envy your neighbour because he has a jar going bad in a larder well stored with gifts.' *Multa* is omitted; with *invidias* should be supplied *discere*, i.e. 'grudge not the trouble of learning.'

As with Juvenal, Dr. Ramsay's text of Persius is based on Bücheler's edition of 1893; why he should not have based it on Leo's improved edition of 1910 I do not understand. But in choosing readings he exercises his own discretion, in doing which perhaps more weight might have been given to P as against AB. In III. 44-47, for instance, P has

*saepe oculos, memini, tangebam parvus olivo,
grandia si nollem morituro verba Catoni
dicere non sano multum laudanda magistro*

as I printed in my Oxford text. AB have *morituri—Catonis discere et insano*. Dr. Ramsay combines the two readings *morituri—Catonis dicere non sano*, for which there is little to be said. The one set of readings or the other should

be accepted entire. Now the passage as preserved in P means 'I used often, I remember, as a boy to smear my eyes with oil if I did not want to deliver a grandiloquent speech to the dying Cato which should be greeted by the applause of my idiotic master.' This is preferable to the tradition of AB, which means 'to learn the speech of the dying Cato,' for the reason that the pupils in the school of rhetoric (from which the poet when a boy represents himself as playing truant) were concerned not so much with learning and repeating speeches of worthies long dead, as with themselves composing and delivering speeches addressed to departed worthies in particular situations, conveying advice to them. Such were *Suasoriae*. Thus Juvenal 'counselled Sulla to retire from public life.' I. 15 *et nos consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum dormiret*. The dative *morituro Catoni* is more appropriate than the genitive *morituri Catonis*, for Cato is the recipient of the advice.

There are some misprints, thus Leeper's translation, described as 'Strong and Leiper' (p. v) is published not by the Clarendon Press but by Macmillan (p. lxxix), Jahn's edition of Persius was published in 1843 not 1845 (p. lxxx). P. 4 *Syllae* should be *Sullae*. P. 33 *Saburra* should be *Subura*; *Umbrius* should be *Umbricius*. P. 317 note C.R. should be C.Q. S. G. OWEN.

*Christ Church,
Oxford.*

SHORT NOTICES

THE PLATONISM OF PLUTARCH.

The Platonism of Plutarch. By ROGER MILLER JONES. One vol. Large 8vo. Pp. 153. The Collegiate Press: George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1916.

So far as I know but little has been done in the way of published work on the philosophy of Plutarch since the *Studies* of Volkman and Gréard some

fifty years ago. There is plenty of room, therefore, for special investigations such as this of Mr. Jones. Dividing his dissertation (written for a Doctor's degree at Chicago) into three chapters, Mr. Jones discusses first the general character of Plutarch's thought, and secondly the more particular question of his method of interpreting Plato; while the last chapter supplies what purports to be a complete list of parallels between Plutarch and Plato. The most

important section of the first chapter is that which deals with the eschatological myths, with special reference to the views of Heinze, Hirzel, and Adler, though there are useful observations also on Plutarch's relation and attitude towards other schools—Aristotelians, Stoics, and Neo-Pythagoreans—as well as to the national religion. For Plutarch's reference to the derivation of the name Apollo from ἀ-πόλῳς as the negation of plurality, Mr. Jones might have cited the similar derivation in Plato, *Cratyl.* 405c, as well as Chrysippus and the Neo-Pythagoreans. In the beginning of his second chapter Mr. Jones has a good deal to say about that difficult passage in the *Timaeus* (35a ff.) which describes the composition of the world-soul, and ends by adopting Professor Shorey's view, which regards 'the most general categories cognised by the soul as the constituents of the substance of soul,' so that Plato here 'takes account only of the cognitive faculties, not the motive.' This interpretation seems unlikely *a priori* in face of the favourite definition of the soul as the 'self-movent.' This chapter contains also some acute criticisms of Altmann's theory that Posidonius is the source of the doctrine of the soul's nature set forth by Chalcidius, as well as of Heinze's ascription of Plutarch's creation-theory (in the *de Iside*, etc.) to Xenocrates. In the collection of parallels between Plutarch and Plato it may be noted that the text of the new parallels (not indicated by Wytténbach or Bernardakis but unearthed by the author) is set forth at length.

Altogether, Mr. Jones's production is a very good specimen of its type; it is clearly and methodically composed, and gives evidence of independent judgment and careful study of the literature of the subject. It contains but few obvious misprints, but, like most dissertations, it lacks the convenience of an index.

R. G. BURY.

PLATO'S GEOMETRICAL NUMBER AND THE COMMENT OF PROCLUS.

Plato's Geometrical Number and the Comment of Proclus. By A. G. LAIRD. One vol. Large 8vo. Pp. 29. Wisconsin: The Collegiate Press, Menasha.

IN twenty-nine pages Mr. Laird gives us, first, a discussion of Proclus in *Plat. Rem Publicam*, pp. 36-7 (Kroll), and, secondly, an interpretation of the notorious passage in Plato, *Rep.* 546B, C, describing what Mr. J. Adam termed 'the Nuptial Number.' The most concise way to indicate the results of Mr. Laird's dissertation will be to reproduce his rendering of the *Republic* passage: 'For a human creature (there is a number) in that figure in which first products that are squares and rectangles, equaling and being equalled, if arranged in a proportion with 3 intervals and 4 terms, the terms being sides of the squares and sides of the rectangles, both if they are increasing and if they are decreasing, showed all in proportion and rational to one another; of which the 3·4·5 type, if the numbers are made solid, furnishes 2 harmonies, the one a square with its side multiplied by 100, the other equal in area to the former but oblong, one side of 100 squares of rational diameters of 5, each lacking 1, or of irrational diameters, each lacking 2, the other side of 100 cubes of 3.' This translation will be seen to differ considerably from Adam's (*Rep.* II. pp. 205 ff.). *E.g.* Mr. Laird rejects the view that αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύόμεναι can mean 'root and square increases, *i.e.* cubings,' arguing that δυναστεύόμεναι means rectangles. While accepting Adam's solution ($3600^2 = 2700 \times 4800$), he maintains that 'his method of reaching the 3600^2 is wrong, and his interpretation of the sentence ἐν ᾧ πρῶτῳ . . . ἀπέφηναν as far from the truth as it well could be. This sentence, instead of containing a number, contains a general definition of the geometrical truth of which the second sentence with its $3600^2 = 2700 \times 4800$ gives a particular example. It states that if a square is equal to a rectangle, then the side of the square is a mean

proportional between the sides of the rectangle, *i.e.* if a^2 is equal to bc , then $b : a$ equals $a : c$. Thus ἐν ᾧ πρῶτῳ and ὧν are both taken to refer to a figure such as that in *Euclid* VI. 8. On Mr. Laird's view, the number 216, on which Adam set such store, seems to disappear, and with it, apparently, much of the pertinence of the whole passage to the subject of 'better and worse births.'

While one may hesitate to subscribe hastily to any solution of this *locus vexatus* as a whole, the views here put forward deserve serious consideration from students of Greek mathematics.

R. G. BURY.

TEUCER AND THE TEUCRI.

Teukros und Teukrer : Untersuchung der homerischen und der nachhomerischen Ueberlieferung. Von Dr. J. J. G. VÜRTHEIM. One vol. 10" x 7". Pp. 44. Rotterdam : L. and J. Brusse, 1913.

DR. VÜRTHEIM has made a special study of the Ajaxes. In 1907 he published his *De Aiakis origine, cultu, patria*, the object of which was to show that

the two Ajaxes and the Teucer of the epic were originally one, and the mythological offspring of a primal daemon of Locris. The present work is an article for Roscher's *Lexikon*, with much additional matter that could not be compressed into the space assigned. It is an expansion of the chapter on Teucer in the earlier work, and seems to include everything that is known at present about him and the Teuceri. The information is conveniently arranged, and the copious references to the original authorities will make the two publications very useful to students of the careers of the sons of Telamon. Teucer is a hero who was πολυπλάνητος κάρτα, and the facts relating to the various localities in which he appeared are separately tabulated accordingly. His name, variously derived, is said to be a title borne by priests of a great god. The Teuceri are pronounced to be Lelegian, but that, like all else connected with the Leleges, requires further investigation. In such research ethnological and other enquirers must find exhaustive monographs like the present one extremely handy for reference.

A. S.

NOTES AND NEWS

AT last a beginning has been made of the study of Byzantium and Modern Greek. This year a Koraes Chair is to be established at University College, London, endowed by subscription and supported by a grant from the Greek Government. The professor has not yet been appointed; but lectures are to be given by Mr. L. Oeconomos on the Modern Language and Literature, and

courses of public lectures by Professor Menardos of Athens (Modern Greek Poetry), Professor Diehl of Paris (Les Causes de la Grandeur de Byzance), and Mr. J. Mavrogordato, M.A. (Modern Greek History). Mr. Oeconomos will also lecture on Religious Life in the Byzantine Empire of the twelfth century. Admission to the public lectures is free, without ticket.

JUSTICE.

ΔΙΚΑ.

TRANSLATED AND REPRINTED WITH THE
KIND PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR,
MR. RUDYARD KIPLING.

*Across a world where all men grieve
And grieving strive the more,
The great days range like tides and leave
Our dead on every shore.*

*Heavy the load we undergo,
And our own hands prepare,
If we have parley with the foe,
The load our sons must bear.*

Before we loose the word
That bids new worlds to birth,
Needs must we loosen first the sword
Of Justice upon earth ;
Or else all else is vain
Since life on earth began,
And the spent world sinks back again
Hopeless of God and Man.

A people and their King
Through ancient sin grown strong,
Because they feared no reckoning
Would set no bound to wrong ;
But now their hour is past,
And we who bore it find
Evil Incarnate held at last
To answer to mankind.

For agony and spoil
Of nations beat to dust,
For poisoned air and tortured soil
And cold, commanded lust,
And every secret woe
The shuddering waters saw—
Willed and fulfilled by high and low—
Let them relearn the Law.

That when the dooms are read,
Not high nor low shall say :—
' My haughty or my humble head
Has saved me in this day.'
That, till the end of time,
Their remnant shall recall
Their fathers' old, confederate crime
Availed them not at all.

That neither schools or priests,
Nor Kings may build again
A people with the heart of beasts
Made wise concerning men.
Whereby our dead shall sleep
In honour, unbetrayed,
And we in faith and honour keep
That peace for which they paid.

Πᾶσα γὰρ πολὺ στένει,
μυρίοις δ' ἐνὶ στόνοισι
μᾶλλον ἀγῶν δέδωκε· νεκρῶν δὲ κλύζεται
πτῶματ' ἀμῶν ἐπὶ
ραχίας ποντίας, κλύδωνι λαμπρῶν φορούμεν'
ἐργμάτων.

στρ. α'

' Ἄλλ' ὕψιστάμεσθ' αὖ-
χθος κακῶν πορίζομεν τ'
αὐτόχειρες δύας, πρὸς ξυναλλαγὰς λόγων
εἰ καλεῖν μέλλομεν
δαΐτους ἀνδρας, ἐκγόνοισι τ' ἀμοῖς μεταυτίς οἰστέας.

ἀντ. α'

' Ἀλλὰ μὴ τελεσφόρον
ῥῆμ' ἴτω νέαν βροτοῖς
ἐκλόχουσιν ἀμεράν,
πρὶν Δίκας ἀορ λυθῇ
κυρίας ἐπὶ χθονί,

στρ. β

μὴ κέν' ἦ τὰ πάνθ' ἀφ' οὗ
βλάσταν ἐμπνέων γένῃ,
καὶ παρεμμένοι ῥέπωσ'
ἀμπαλιν βροτοὶ περὶ
σφῶν θῶν τ' ἀνέλπιδες.
Ξυνώμοσεν γὰρ λεῶς δυνάστα
παλαὶ κρατυνθεῖς ἀμαρτίαισιν,
τίσεως τ' ἄτρεστος ἐνδοίκου
κακουργία πάνθ' ὄρον παρέκβα.
Παροίχεται δ' οὖν ὁ τῶνδε καιρὸς,
δικαφόρος θ' ἀμερὰ πέφανται,
παθοῦσιν δ' ἰδεῖν πάρεσθ'
ἀμὲν ἐναργέ' Ἄταν
κρινομένην δικάσσαις
ἐθνεσιν ἐν πρόπαισι.

ἀντ. β

' Ἀποῖνα δ' ὠδίνος ἀρπαγὰς τ' ἐ-
-θνέων δσ' ἄρδην κατεσποδήθη,
— πέδον δὲ γὰς κατήκισαν,
νόσησε δ' ἀήρ πνοαῖσιν ἰοῦ,
σφρίγα τ' ἀθέρμανθ' Ἰβρις κελευστά,
πάθη τε ῥίγησε κρυπτὰ πόντος·
πρόμοι δ' ἔται τε βου-
λαῖσι βία τ' ἔκραναν,—
τῶν χάριν ἀμμαθόντων
τὰς μεγάλας θέμιστας·

ἀντ. γ'

' Ὅστε μὴτ' ἀγὼν λέγειν
μήτε δημόταν, ἐπεὶ
τὰν τετιμημέναν κρίσιν κλύῃ,
τὸν μὲν ὡς ὑπερκόποις
τὸν δὲ μετρίαις φρεσὶν
τὰ πᾶσιτιμ' ἐκφύγοι
τὰς δίκας ἀπαλλαγίς·
τοὺς δὲ τῶν λελειμμένων
εἰς ἀπαντὰ δὴ χρόνον
μνᾶσθιν ἴσχειν ὅπως κακουργίαι
τὰς ξυνώμοσαν οἱ προγενν-
-ήτορες τὸ πάλαι τελεῖν
ἀρκέσειαν ἄρ' οὐδέν·
' Ἀλλὰ πάντ' ἀπεννέπειν
ἐς τὸ λοῖπον, ἦν τις ἦ
τῶν σοφῶν, ἦν τε μαντικὰν νέμων
ἢ τυραννικὸν κράτος,
μὴ τρέφειν λεῶν φύσει
χρώμενον λύκων, πρὸς ἀν-
δρας δ' ἄλωπέκων τρόποις·
τοὺς δὲ φίλτάτους καθεύ-
δόντας ἐν τάφοισιν ἡ-
μιας τίειν καρδίᾳ φερεγγύῳ,
πίστιν δ' αἰδομένους σέβειν
Εἰρήνης ὅπιν εἰσαεῖ
τάνπερ οἷδ' ἐπρίαντο.

στρ. δ'

ἀντ. δ'

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Conway (R. S.) *The Venetian Point of View in Roman History.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 22. Manchester: University Press, 1918. Paper boards, 1s. net.
- Enk (P. J.) *Gratti Cynegeticon quae supersunt.* Part I.: Prolegomena and Text. Pp. 102. Part II.: Commentary. Pp. 154. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Zutphen: W. J. Thieme, 1918.
- Foster (F. M. K.) *English Translations from the Greek: a Bibliographical Survey.* 8" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxix + 146. Oxford University Press for Columbia Press, 1918. Cloth, 6s. 6d. net.
- Freese (J. H.) *The Octavius of Minucius Felix.* Translations of Christian Literature, Series II. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 102. London: S.P.C.K. 1909. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Goad (C.) *Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century.* Yale Studies in English. LVIII. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 641. Oxford University Press for Yale University Press, 1918. Paper, 12s. 6d. net.
- Groot (A. W. de) *A Handbook of Antique Prose Rhythm. I. History of Greek Prose-Metre: Demosthenes, Plato, Philo, Plutarch, and others, Bibliography, Curves, Index.* Wolters (J. B.) Groningen, the Hague, 1918. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii + 232. [No price given.]
- Holtzhauser (Clara A.) *An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius Life of Tiberius.* Philadelphia, Pa., 1918. 48 pp. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".
- Laird (A. G.) *Plato's Geometrical Number and the Comments of Proclus.* 9" x 6". Pp. 32. Wisconsin: Madison, 1918.
- Laurand (L.) *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines.* Fasc. I.: Géographie Historique: Institutions Grecques. Pp. xii + §§ 187 + 8. Fasc. VI: Grammaire historique latine. §§ 651 + pp. 41 - 48. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Paris: A. Picard, 1918. Fr. 3.50 each.
- Leopold (H. M. R.) *De Spiegel van het Verleden.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 82. Rotterdam: W. L. and J. Brussee, 1918.
- Loeb Library. Pausanias. Vol. I. (W. H. S. Jones.) Pp. xxviii + 457.—Plutarch's Lives. Vol. VI. (B. Perrin.) Pp. ix + 478.—Virgil. Vol. I. (H. R. Fairclough.) Pp. viii + 552.
- Boethius. (H. F. Steward and E. K. Rand.) Pp. xiv + 420.—Cicero's Letters. Vol. III. (H. E. Winstedt.) Pp. xii + 456. London: W. Heinemann, 1918. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Lüfstedt (E.) *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Tertullians Apologeticum.* Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 24. 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 120. Lund: Gleerup, 1918.
- Messer (W. S.) *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy.* 9" x 6". Pp. x + 105. Oxford University Press for Columbia Press, 1918. Cloth, 5s. 6d. net.
- Munz (R.) *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu Strabo's Geographie (Doctor's dissertation).* 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 64. Basel: E. Birkhäuser, 1918.
- Nilsson (M. P.) *Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalendars.* Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 21. 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 66. Lund: Gleerup, 1918.
- Persson (A. W.) *Die Exegeten und Delphi. Vorstudien zu einer Geschichte der attischen Gesetzgebung, I.* Pp. 86. 9" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Lund: Gleerup, 1918.
- Rivista di Filologia. Vol. XLVI. Fasc. 4. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 385-464. Torino: G. Chiantore, 1918. L. 5 per number.
- Rowland (W. T.) *On the Position of ne and ut in certain Latin Documents.* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 44. Oxford University Press for Columbia Press, 1918. 4s. 6d. net.
- Shirreff (A. G.) and Panna Lall. *The Dream Queen, a translation of the Svapnavasavadatta of Bhasa.* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. v + 55. Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1918. 12 ans.
- Verrua (P.) *Un Sepolcro auspicato nei Sepolcri del Foscolo (Extract from Rivista Abruzzese).* 10" x 7". Pp. 16. Teramo: A. de Carolis, 1918.
- Zander (C.) *Versus Saturnii: tertiis curis collecti et recensuit et examinavit C.Z.* Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 23. 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 64. Lund: Gleerup, 1918.

ERRATUM.

P. 172, col. 1: Read 'Daniel' for 'David' Wytttenbach.

The Classical Review

MAY—JUNE, 1919

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

GRAECO-ROMAN OSTRACA FROM DAKKA, NUBIA.

IN 1909 the ancient cemeteries in the neighbourhood of Dakka, the Graeco-Roman Pselcis, were explored by Mr. C. M. Firth and his colleagues of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia.¹ Apart from the Egyptian and indigenous remains discovered, these excavations produced results which may be of some interest to students of Roman military affairs. In the first place a considerable part of the wall of the Roman fortress at Pselcis was cleared. As Mr. Firth reports, 'the wall of the Roman camp [fortress] which protected the temple [of Dakka] on its south and west sides was cleared, and the south and west gates opened. These latter were protected by bastions, in the lower stories of which were rooms. . . . The legionary corn-mill (?) and part of a military inscription were recovered from the south gate.' A proof (for which I have to thank Mr. Firth) of the plan of the fortified enclosure shows, however, that the southern gate-house was flanked by solid bastions, with a semicircular projection beyond the face of the curtain-wall. The western gate is much better preserved, and shows a small guard-chamber in each of the flanking bastions, with an entrance giving upon the interior of the fortress and not upon the gate-passage. In this case, however, the projecting semicircular bastions have been converted by the later addition of a heavy external casing into rectangular towers.

The fragmentary inscription mentioned by Mr. Firth reads as follows:

. . . LIV [. . .
SVB O Ç [VR . . .
Q O RAMM [. . .
MIL A LEG O III [. . .
ET • COH [. . .

The legion referred to can hardly be other than that known as *Cyrenaica*, which was transferred after long service in Egypt to Bostra under Trajan.²

Nearer the Nile, and some 500 metres north of the Temple of Dakka, Mr. Firth was led by the character of the brick-work to examine a small mud-brick building which Muslim piety had transformed into a sheikh's tomb. When cleared, this structure proved to be a two-roomed building 'with a staircase leading to a small upper platform.' To the west, 'was a huge mass of Roman pottery. . . . There were two hundred or more amphorae, both broken and unbroken, together with pots and jars of other shapes, and a number of bowls of fine blue-glaze. It is possible that the small building represents a customs-house or store at which cargoes were disembarked.' From this structure and from the neighbourhood of the temple about 300 Greek ostraca were recovered.

The nature of the ostraca found suggests that the building was rather the office, and presumably store-house of an official charged with the issues of certain supplies to the troops at Pselcis. Nearly all the fragments which Mr.

¹ See the *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, No. 5 (Cairo, 1910), pp. 7 f. I do not know whether Mr. Firth's definite report has yet been published.

NO. CCLXXIII. VOL. XXXIII.

² Cp. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History* (Ser. I.), p. 225.

Firth handed over to me for publication are receipts or 'chits' handed in by soldiers in return for wine issued to them. Many are so small as to show no more than a few syllables of the stereotyped formula, and therefore not worth printing; the remainder are here reproduced by way of supplement to the ostraca found at Pselcis by Gau in 1819,¹ and edited first by Niebuhr,² then by Franz,³ and more recently by Wilcken.⁴

I should express my very deep indebtedness to Professor B. P. Grenfell who deciphered one badly worn but important piece (No. 2), reread several others, and aided my inexperience by supplying a number of references. Sir Frederic Kenyon also was good enough to check my copy of No. 1.

The present series contains only two non-military pieces. The first of these (No. 1) is unfortunately incomplete, but is important as recording a *sitologos* of Pselcis (?) and the upper toparchy of the Dodekaschoinos—a region hitherto regarded as not organised on civil lines as a nome.⁵ The second (No. 2) is a list of payments of *κολλόροβου*—i.e., 'gum-plants,' which is at least interesting as containing a word unknown to lexicographers.⁶

All the remaining examples are military receipts. These, with two exceptions (Nos. 16, 19), are epistolary like the receipts of the earlier series found by Gau; but whereas Gau's ostraca are addressed to an *optio* and relate almost entirely to dry rations (corn), Mr. Firth's examples introduce another, and hitherto almost unknown, official, the *cibariator*, and acknowledge

the issue of wine or its equivalent. The bare formula used in these documents is as follows: 'A, soldier (or trooper) in the century (or squadron) of B, to C, the *cibariator*, greeting. I received from you out of the *cibarium* x (quantity) of wine, value y denarii, z obols. Year a, month β.' Except in certain necessary cases (see below) this formula is only twice varied *ὁμολογῶ εἰληφέναι* (No. 3), and *ἔσχον* (No. 4) being substituted for the normal *ἔλαβον*.

The soldiers who wrote these receipts seem to have been mostly Graeco-Egyptian and Hellenistic, names like Besarion (No. 7), Dioscoros (No. 4), Nilos (No. 6), Ammonios (No. 9) being the most usual; in some instances a Roman name is prefixed (Nos. 6, 7, 8). Naturally most of the writers are privates (*στρατιώτης*) or troopers (*ἵππεύς*); but other ranks are sometimes mentioned, such as a *custos armorum*,⁷ in No. 8, a *tesserarius* in No. 6, a *signifer* in No. 9, an *optio*⁸ in Nos. 10, 11, a *dromadarius*⁹ also twice occurs (Nos. 12, 13).

Unfortunately the names of the units stationed at Pselcis are never mentioned in the ostraca, individuals being identified merely by the century (usually abbreviated x; once z, occasionally in full *κεντουρία*) or the turma (always symbolized by T) to which they belonged; the officer's name being always added. Officers appear to have been sometimes of western origin—if the names Sabinus (Nos. 5, 11, etc.), Antonius (No. 7), Longinus (Nos. 12, 13), are any guide—and sometimes Hellenistic or Graeco-Egyptian—e.g., Glycon (Nos. 13, 17), Hermeinos (No. 14), Alexander (No. 8).

The official addressed was styled *κιβαριάτωρ*, a title representing a Latin *cibariator*; neither form is to be found

¹ *Neu entdeckte Denkmäler von Nubien*, pls. viii., ix.

² *Ap. Gau op. cit.* pp. 18-20.

³ *C. I. G.*, III. 5109, 1-37.

⁴ *Griechische Ostraka* II., Nos. 1128-1146. Wilcken's conjecture that 1265 came from Dakkeh seems to be confirmed by the re-appearance of Petronius the *cibariator* in the present series.

⁵ Milne, *Hist. of Egypt under Rom. Rule*, p. 23.

⁶ What is meant by τὸ κολλόροβον which Sagittarius holds in his right hand (Hipparchus, *ad Phaen.* I. 16 *ap.* Migne, *P. G.* XIX. 1037 A) is not clear: Sophocles doubtfully suggests 'club.'

⁷ Cp. Bates, *Rock Inscr. near Dakka* (in *Bull. of the Arch. Survey of Nubia*, No. 5), Station 1, Nos. 6-7 *Λυρηλῖς | Ερμεινια|νος αρμορο | κονστορ στα|τιωναρῖς*. Also *P. Hamb.* 39. p. 175; *B. G. U.* 344, 14; and Lesquier, *L'Armée Romaine*, p. 229, and App. I., Inscr. 13 (=Maspero, *Ann. du Service des Ant.* IX. 267 ff.).

⁸ Cp. Wilcken's Nos. 1130 ff.

⁹ Cp. *Eph. Epigr.* VII. 463; *P. Oxyr.* 1652 (unpublished); *B.G.U.* 696, 14, 30. and 827 verso.

in the Lexica.¹ In the present series there is a good deal of variance as to the orthography of the Greek form, which is spelt (in the dative) *κιβαριατορι* (No. 6), *κιβαριατορι* (No. 9), *κειβαριατωρι* (No. 8), *κιβαρειανορι* (No. 7), and once *κι]βαριατων[ι*. The second *ι* is represented in all examples save one (No. 5), and Wilcken² therefore appears to be mistaken in judging that *κιβαράτωρ*—*cibayator* are the true forms. Similarly the department administered by this official is variously rendered (in the genitive) *κιβαριου*, *κιβαρειου*, and *κειβαριου*, reproducing the Latin *cibarium*. The function of the *cibariator* was to issue wine (or money for the purchase of wine, see below) to troops from whose pay the price was deducted.³ In No. 10 he is distinguished from the *optio*, who was responsible for 'dry rations.' Yet from No. 14 it appears that he also dispensed salt, lentils and vinegar—the last named article being also mentioned in No. 16.

The amount of wine issued is determined (a) by its value alone (see Nos. 4, 9), or by the vessels in which it was contained, the value being added in this case also. Two such vessels—obviously of standard capacity—are mentioned: (1) The *τρικέραμον*⁴ (abbreviated *τρι*, see Nos. 15, 19), always a neuter noun (Nos. 10, 11), seems to be otherwise unknown; for the form *cp. τρήχυρον, τριμάτιον, τριχοίνικος*. As the *διπλοκέραμος*⁵ was equivalent to two *κέραμοι* or *κεράμια*, so the *τρικέραμον* had the capacity of three *κέραμοι*. Its value seems to have fluctuated; in No. 10 it is worth 3 denarii and 20 obols, while in No. 13 two *τρικ.* are valued at 5 denarii and 9 obols. (2) The *κολοφώνιον* (abbreviated *κολ*, see Nos. 7,

16) again had a definite capacity, as Wilcken⁶ after some hesitation recognises. Once more the value is uncertain; in No. 5 two *κολοφώνια* are worth 4 denarii and 15 obols, in No. 7 one *κολοφώνιον* is priced at 3 denarii, in No. 8 at 2 denarii and 2 drachmæ, in No. 17 at 3 denarii and 6 obols.

In some instances (Nos. 14, 18, 20⁷) the receipt is not for wine, but for a sum of money paid over by the *cibariator* to soldiers to purchase their own supplies; in others (Nos. 6, 6^a, 11, 22) the issue is in kind, but the price is left undetermined 'until the value is fixed.'

Where the recipient was illiterate, his receipt could be written for him by a comrade, who usually added his own name and the unit to which he belonged (No. 7 is exceptional), sometimes stating that the author of the receipt 'did not know letters' (Nos. 8, 21).

The receipt ordinarily closes with the date, in terms of the regnal year (L= *ἔτους*) of the ruling Emperor,⁸ followed by the day of the (Egyptian) month.

Certain subscriptions often follow the main text, such as the formulæ *συνενδοκῶ* (No. 23⁹), *σέσημειῶμαι* (Nos. 4, 21¹⁰), the countersignature *διὰ . . .*¹¹ (Nos. 17, 19, 20); the directions *τοῖς λιβραρίοις* (No. 18), *τοῖς κουράτορσι* (Nos. 15, 19?). Finally the amount of wine issued, or the value, are frequently summarised below, no doubt to facilitate reference (Nos. 16, 18-21).

I. Πετεησις Πελλίου σιτολογος [Ψελ-
κεως?
και ανω τοπου της ιβ σχοινου [δια . . .

¹ I., p. 764; *cp.* No. 1265 (in No. 1166 *κολ* perhaps = *κολοφώνιον*). No doubt the term originally denoted a peculiar type of wine vessel exported from Colophon; but this restricted sense is quite absent in this ostraca. An exact analogy is provided by the term *κνίδιον οἶνου* in an anecdote concerning the Egyptian monk Sisoës (see *Apophth. Patr.*: Sisoës VIII.): *cp.* Wilcken I. 765.

² *Cp.* Wilcken, Nos. 1142, 1265.

³ The persons named in this and the earlier Dakka series are often the same. Presumably therefore Wilcken's dating (I. 705) for the earlier series applies equally to the later.

⁴ See Wilcken, I., p. 83: *B.G.U.*, 834, 24.

⁵ See Wilcken, I., p. 83, Nos. 1131, 1132.

⁶ For the significance of this, see Wilcken, I. 128.

¹ The word has not previously occurred except in Wilcken's Nos. 1142, 1265.

² *Ib.*

³ Rations were issued to troops; but unlike the modern rations their value was deducted from the soldiers' pay. John the Baptist (St. Luke iii. 14) may therefore have had reason to advise the soldiers to be content with their rations (*ἀρκείσθε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν*).

⁴ In Wilcken's No. 1129, l. 4, *τρικέραμον κοπτικόν* is probably to be read. Presumably it was a vessel of standard shape and size manufactured at Coptos (the modern Kift, some distance north of Luxor).

⁵ See Wilcken, I., p. 759.

νυχου Πετεφίλου <ε> γχιδοντος [τινα
μερη?
της σιτολογιας εμετρησεν Ουχατι[s
νουφισιν υ(περ) ονοματος Ψενπαν[
τιαπι<ο>ς υ(περ?) Μετακωλυσεως[
ιε L κα[]χ .[

2 τόπον = τοπαρχίας.

3 = εγγειρίζοντος.

5 νουφισιν (sic).

6 Μετακωλυσεως (sic): Grenfell suggests a place-name.

2. Απολλως Απολλωτος και α-
δελφος κολλοροβοι ε
Αρεωτης αλιευς υπερ ναυ-
λου κολλοροβον α
Τοχαμανις Πετερμουθου
και Τανουβις Αθασιδος
κολλοροβοι ε
Παμις Απολλωτος κολλοροβοι γ
Πασεφαυς Ασκληατος κολλο-
ροβοι γ.

A list of payments of κολλοροβοι (otherwise unknown) or 'gum-plants.'

3. [. . .] επτι α[δης? στρα-]
[τιω] της ρ Ποσ[ειδω-]
νιου κιβαρει [ατορι]
χαιρειν* ωμολογ[ω ειλη-]
φηναι παρασιν ε[κ του]
[κιβ]αρειου οινου [. . .
[] υν[. . .

2 ρ^χ = κεντουρίας.

4. Διοσκορος Δ[
Πετρωνιω [χαιρειν*]
εσχον παρα σ[ου απο]
τιμης οινου δηναρι-
α δυο L ιη
[] ιβ
εσημιοσομνη
7 See Wilcken, I. 83, and cp. No. 21 (below).

5. Ιουλιος Γερμανος στρατιω(της)
ρ^χ Σαβεινος Πετρωνιω κιβαρατορι
χαιρειν* ελαβον παρα σ(ου)οινου
κολοφονια δυο δηναριων
τεσσαρων οβ(ολων) ιε L × δ οβ. ιε
L ιζ // Επαγωμενω(ν) δ Πασιον.

2 κιβαρατορι (sic): cp. Wilcken, No. 1265.

5 L = γίνεταί, 'total.' × = δηναρίων.

6. Ιουλις Νιλος ιππ[ενς]
× Λουγινω Αλε[ξανδρω]
κιβαριατορι χαι[ρειν* ελαβον]
παρασιν οινου κ[ολοφωνιον εως]
συντιμιθη β.[. . .
τεσσεραριο[s εγραψα υπερ αυτου]

- 6^a. . . .]ης ιππευς × Γεμελλου
κ[ι]βαριατωρι χαιρειν
ελαβον πα[ρα σου εκ του κιβαρ-
ιου οινου] κολοφωνιν εν εως συν[υ-
τιμιθη] L ιη // Φαωωφι κ
]εγραψα

7. δρασα ε
λεων Βησαριων
ιππευς × Αντωνι(ου)
Πετρωνιω κιβαριατορι
χαιρειν* ελαβον παρα σου εκ του
κιβαρειου οιν* κολ' εν × γ
L ιζ // Μεχειρ ια
Πρισκος Αμμο-
νιανος εγρα-
ψα.

6 = οιν(ου) κολ(οφωνιον) εν (δηναριων) (τριων).

8. Μ Αuryηλις Ασκληπιαδης Ερμιν . .
ρ^χ Αλεξανδρου Πετρωνιου (sic) κειβα-
ριατωρι
χαιρειν* ελαβον παρα σου οινου
κολοφονιν
εν δηναριων δυο δραχμας δυο Μαρκ
[ος?]
Αυρηλιος Ωριων Σαραπιων αρμωρω
(ν)
κουστωρ εγραψα υ(περ) αυτου μη
ιδωτος
γραμματα L κ // Μεσορη ιβ
9. Αμμωνις Αμμωνις σημε-
αφορος Αλεξανδρω κιβαρια-
τωρι χαιρειν* ελαβον εκ του
κιβαριου οινου δηναρια
οκτω οβολ(ων) οκτω × η οβσ^λ η
Ερμειν [.] Αντιοχου
. . . εγαψ[α] L ιη Παοινι ιδ

10. Νεφερωσ Νεφερωτος
οπτιων Αλεξανδρω κει-
βαριατορι χαιρειν* ελαβον
παρα σου οινου τρικεραμον
εν × τριων οβολων εικοσι
L ιη // Φαμενωθ κ.

11. [] διανος ρ^χ Σαβινου
[. . . κιβαριατ]ορι χαιρειν* ελαβον
[παρα σου οινου τρι]κεραμον εν αχρι
συν-
[] L ιζ // Φαμενωθ ια
[] . εινευς οπτιων εγραψα

3 αχρι συν-[αρσεως? (cp. Wilcken, No. 1135;

5. αχρι λογου συναρσεως).

12. Αντωνις Ἰεραξ δρομαδαρ(ιος) ≠ [Λον-
γεινου]
Πετρονιω κιβαριατορι χαιρ[ειν·
ελαβον]
παρα σου εκ του κιβαριου[]
και τρικαιραμον ε[ν δηναριων τριων?]
οκτω οβολ[ων
· · [
13. Αντωνιος Ιεραξ δρομ[αδαριος]
≠ Λονγεινου Πετρων[ιω κιβαρια-
τορι]
χαιρειν· ελαβον παρα [σου εκ του]
κιβαριου οινου τρικερα[μα β̄ (?)
δηνα-]
ριων πεντε οβο(λων) θ̄ []
ιιδης στρα(τιωτης) ρ̄ Γλυκ[ωνος
εγραψα]
14. Πρισκος Παυλος ιππευς
≠ Ερμεινου Απολλοτι κει-
βαριατωρι χαιρειν· ελαβον
παρα σου απο τιμης φακου
και αλος και οξεος δηναρι-
α τεσσερα οβολοι
οκτο L γ̄ ≠ Τυβί γ
γρα (sic)
15. εγραψα] ιδια χιρι
δι Ερμινος Τυρανος
κουρατ̄ τρι^κ ᾱ
κουρατ̄ τρι^κ ᾱ
3·4 = κουρατορσι (curatoribus) τρικεραμον εν.
16. Πετρωνις χιριστη-
ς κο^λ ᾱ οξειδιν
α
2 οξειδι <ο>ν, a jar of vinegar.
17. [. . .] δοντης στρατιωτης [X]
Γλυκωνος Πετρωνιω τω
κιβαριατωρι χαιρειν· ελαβον
παρα σου εκ του κιβαριου οινου
κολοφωνιον εν δηναριων
τριων οβολ(ων) ξ̄ αυτος [εγραψα]
L ιᾱ ≠ Επειφ
δι Ερμ[εινου?]
18. Διδυμος Παχωμ[ιου?]
Αλεξανδρω κιβαρια[τορι χαιρειν·
ελαβον]
[παρα] σου απο τιμης οιν[ου δηναρια
δ̄ (?)]
- L ιη̄ ≠ Τυβι ῑ εγρα[ψα ιδια χειρι?]
τοις λιβραριοις
θ̄ δ̄
5 Second hand.
6 = δηναριων? τεσσαρων (third hand),
19. Ποσιτος κοινωδισ
τοις L^{ον} τρι^κ α
δια Πισαν (second hand)
α
2 Perhaps = τοις κουράτορσι : cp. No. 15.
20. Ερμεινος θ̄ [. . .] στρατιωτης]
x̄ ρ̄ Τρουνηνιου [. . .] κιβαρια-]
τωρι χαιρει[ν· ελαβον παρα]
σου υπ(ερ) τιμ[ης οινου δηνα-]
ριων δυο οβ[ολ . . .]
Διοσκορος Παλ[
δια Τρουνην<ν>ιου
θ̄ β̄
8 (Second hand) = δηναριων δυο . cp. No. 18.
21. [. . .]ωνι Ερμεν[
ρι χαιρειν· ελαβον π[αρα σου
εκ του κιβαριου . . .]
οινου ≠ β̄ Ερμινω
υιος αυτου εγραψα υπ[ερ αυτου
μη ειδ(οτος) γραμματα
[L] ιε̄ Παωναι δ̄
≠ β̄
σεσημιο-
με (sic)
9·10 = σεσημειώμαι : see Wilcken, I., p. 83,
and cp. No. 4.
22. []πελ̄ []
[Αλεξ]ανδρου κι[βαριατορι χαιρ-]
[ειν· ελα]βον παρα σου οιν[ου]
[τρικερα] μον εν L ιθ̄ ≠
[.] ς̄ εως συντιμηθην (sic)
] . . .
23. [κιβαριατο]ρι χ[αιρειν· ελαβον παρα
σου
[οινου κο]λοφωνι(ον) εν δ[ηναριων
τεσ-
[σαρων L] Επιφ̄ κ̄ Ιουλιος []
[συνε]νδωκω και εγραψα []
[. . .]ης συνενδωκω κ[αι εγραψα
[. . .] Ιεραξ̄ κι (sic)
κ̄ κο^λ β̄. Αυρηλις Ερμ[
θ̄ δ̄
HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE.

ON THE DATE OF THE *HERAKLES* OF EURIPIDES.

THE *Herakles* of Euripides is one of those plays concerning the date of whose first performance the grammarians are silent,¹ but study and conjecture have done much to remedy this defect,² placing the date almost certainly between 425 and 418³ and probably between 423 and 420,⁴ one editor at least giving it as his opinion, 'if a definite year is to be named,' that the play was first performed in 423.⁵ We would submit a series of considerations tending to confirm these conjectures, and to place the date of the performance of the *Herakles* in 422.

Firstly, the opening scene shows us the suppliants at an altar—the altar, we are definitely informed, of *Zeὺς σωτήρ*;⁶ the locality, though not in Thebes itself, is in the territory so called,⁷ and the spot represented is an open space in front of the present home of Herakles and his family.

Now in the territory of Thebes there were probably several sanctuaries and images of Herakles in the fifth century B.C.; there certainly were many in the time of Pausanias;⁸ but of images of Zeus the Saviour in that region there is, as far as I know, only mention of one—namely, that at Thespieae.⁹ At Thespieae there was also, in Pausanias' time, a sanctuary of Herakles,¹⁰ and if the image and sanctuary existed in the fifth century, the combination of the two would have been calculated, we may reasonably suppose, to bring Thespieae to the minds of the audience who attended the performance of the *Herakles* in the theatre of Dionysus.

Now we submit that the fact that Pausanias not only states the existence of an image of Zeus the Saviour and of a sanctuary of Herakles at Thespieae, but goes at some length into their respective *raisons d'être* is enough to justify a strong presumption that the image and sanctuary were of some renown and of considerable antiquity in his time.

It is true that the altar to Zeus the Saviour, at which Amphitryon is a suppliant, is said by him to have been raised by Herakles in thanksgiving for his victory over the Minyans;¹¹ but of this altar, if such a one ever actually existed, we appear to have no historical record, whereas the image at Thespieae was apparently well known in later times.

Now in the summer of the year 423, 'Θηβαῖοι Θεσπιέων τείχος περιείλον, ἐπικαλέσαντες ἄττικισμόν, βουλόμενοι μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ, παρῆστηκός δὲ ῥᾶον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μάχῃ ὅ, τι ἦν αὐτῶν ἄνθος ἀπολώλει.'¹²

The battle referred to is the engagement at Tanagra in 424, in which the Thespians suffered most severely: 'ὑποχωρησάντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν παρατεταγμένων, καὶ κυκλωθέντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ, οἵπερ διεφθάρησαν Θεσπιέων, ἐν χερσὶν ἁμυνόμενοι κατεκόπησαν. καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διὰ τὴν κύκλωσιν παραχθέντες, ἠγγρόσαν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους.'¹³

If the Thebans had long wished to punish the Thespians for atticism, we must assume they had some reason for doing so, especially in view of the brave stand the latter had made at Tanagra; in other words, the Thespians must at some time have given help to the Athenians. It would, under the circumstances, be only natural for a strong feeling to prevail at Athens that the Athenians ought to march out against the Thebans and help the Thespians, who at some previous time had given succour to the Athenians and thus incurred ruin on their account.

¹ The Hypothesis may have contained these particulars, but it is not complete in the MSS.

² See especially Miss Grace McCurdy's *Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides* and Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, I². p. 134 ff.

³ Euripides, *Heracles*, with introduction and notes by O. R. A. Byrde, M.A. Oxford, 1914.

⁴ *Euripidis Fabulae*, ed. G. Murray, Vol. II., *Heracles*.

⁵ O. R. A. Byrde, *op. cit.* ⁶ l. 48.

⁷ *Four Plays of Euripides*, by A. W. Verrall, p. 142.

⁸ Paus. IX. 11. 4 and 6; IX. 24. 3; IX. 25. 4; IX. 26. 1; IX. 27. 6 and 8; IX. 32. 2 and 4; IX. 34. 5; IX. 38. 6.

⁹ Paus. IX. 26. 7. ¹⁰ Paus. IX. 27. 6.

¹¹ l. 49.

¹² Thucydides, IV. 133.

¹³ Thuc. IV. 96.

Signs are not wanting to show that the *Herakles* may well have been a play with a partly political motive—namely, the encouragement of the feeling against the Thebans and in favour of the Thespians.

Reading the lines 217-235, we see they might well have been spoken by some aged Thespian, powerless to defend his city from the dishonour imposed upon it by Thebes:

ὦ γαῖα Κάδμου· καὶ γὰρ ἐς σ' ἀφίξομαι
λόγους ἀνεδιστήρας ἐνδοτούμενος·
τοιαῦτ' ἀμύνεθ' Ἡρακλεῖ τέκνοισί τε;
ὃς εἰς Μινύαισι πᾶσι διὰ μάχης μολῶν
Θήβαις ἔθηκεν ὅμυ' ἐλευθέρον βλέπειν.
οὐδ' Ἑλλάδ' ἦνεσ'—οὐδ' ἀνέξομαι ποτε
σιγῶν—κακίστην λαμβάνων ἐς παῖδ' ἐμὸν,
ἣν χρῆν νεοσσοῖς τοῖσδε πῦρ λόγχας ὅπλα
φέρουσαν, ἐλθεῖν, ποντίων καθαρμάτων
χέρσου τ' ἀμοιβάς—ὦν ἐμόχθησας χάριν.
τὰ δ', ὦ τέκν', ὑμῖν οὐτε Θηβαίων πόλις
οὔθ' Ἑλλάς ἀρκεῖ· πρὸς δ' ἐμ' ἀσθενῇ φίλον
δεδόρκατ', οὐδὲν ὄντα πλὴν γλώσσης ψόφον.
ῥώμη γὰρ ἐκκλέλοιπεν ἦν πρὶν εἴχομεν,
γῆρα δὲ τρομερὰ γυῖα κάμαυρόν σθένος.
εἰ δ' ἦ νέος τε κἀπὶ σώματος κρατῶν,
λαβὼν ἂν ἐγγὺς τοῦδε τοὺς ξανθοὺς πλόκους
καθημάτωσ' ἂν, ὥστ' Ἀτλαντικὴν πέραν
φεύγειν ὄρων ἂν δειλῖα τοῦμὸν δόρυ.

Other passages of this nature are not wanting in our play.¹

It may be objected that the Athenians would hardly wish to help men

who, like the Thespians, had fought against them, and fought bravely and well. To this the latter part of our play may perhaps furnish some answer: 'The moment's madness when Athenians fought against Thespians (aye, and Athenians against Athenians too!) on the field of Tanagra, is past! Thespieae has paid for it, and paid dearly, by the loss of the flower of her sons! Shall Athens let her go down in utter ruin, that Thespieae who helped her in other days? Surely it is inconceivable.'

We think we are justified in seeing some trace of such an idea in the play before us, and in applying it in support of the contention that the *Herakles* was performed at the City Dionysia of 422.

Another slight indication, apparently pointing in the same direction, may perhaps be found in ll. 1303-1310, and in other slighting references to the goddess Hera, *passim*, in view of the fact that the temple of that goddess at Argos was burnt down in the summer of 423;² but this is more likely to be a chance coincidence.

J. A. SPRANGER.

Florence, 1919.

¹ E.g., ll. 312-326, 498-502.

² Thuc. IV. 133.

ADDITIONS TO THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

PROFESSOR GRENFELL has kindly given me some further references to Greek Papyri, which complete the additions to the *Greek Anthology* up to the present time. See the classification in *Classical Review*, XXXII. 187, and XXXIII. 36.

Additions to Class 1: P. Petrie ii. XLIX. (b), p. 158, ed. Mahaffy. Of the third century B.C.; in the Bodleian; the first of the series of Anthologies which have been discovered. It contains fragments of four-lined poems by writers named [Sosi-?]phanes, Aristarchus, [Pol-?]ydamas, (or [Ast]ydamas, Grenfell), Cratinus: this is more likely than that the poems are addressed to these persons.

Additions to Class 3: P. Freiburg; W. Aly in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg Akad.*

1914. Fragments of two anonymous Epigrams in which Erginus, the helmsman of the *Argo*, is mentioned, and also under the title of Ἡρακλεώτης, Idmon; see Schol. Ap. Rhod. ii. 845. Aly quotes *Callim. Fr.* 197, Ἐργίνος Κλυμένου ἔξοχος ἐν σταδίῳ, and since Ἐργίνος in the Papyrus stands as the first word in a pentameter, and the next and only letter is a doubtful σ, he sees an 'attractive coincidence,' and thinks that this may be a fragment of Callimachus.

Revue de Philologie, XIX. 177 = P. *Brit. Mus.* 256, by F. G. Kenyon; Papyrus of the first half of the first century; H. Weil, *ibid.*, p. 180. An anonymous elegiac poem of fourteen lines on the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, and in commemoration of the battle of Actium. Since the title Σεβαστός ap-

pears, the epigram was not composed before 27 B.C. The author was probably a Greek of Alexandria. The poem contains some bold and striking expressions, such as *εἰρήνης εὐώπιδος*, and *αἰῶνος στόμασιν βεβοημένε*.

A Papyrus at Hamburg, published by Wilamowitz in *Sitzungsb. preuss. Akad.* 1918, p. 736, of the middle of the third century B.C. Seventeen mutilated lines of an elegiac poem giving the account of the interview of an envoy with a king. Since *θεῦρος ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης* is mentioned, with a description of the Gauls' hardy life, the poem seems to have narrated some incident of the Gauls' invasion of Asia and their settlement. These references point to Attalus I., and, if one may conjecture the name of the author, it might be Musaeus of Ephesus, who, according to Suidas, wrote poems on Eumenes and Attalus (not necessarily Attalus II., as Susemihl suggests). Wilamowitz however thinks that the pressure of some danger points to the king being a Seleucid. The style is vigorous, but not quite as polished as the best Alexandrian. Since we know so little of this period of Greek history, this fragment is particularly tantalising.

P. Petrie ii. XLIX. (a), p. 157; in the British Museum. Fragments of a Hellenistic poem, called by O. Crusius in *Philologus*, 1894, p. 12, 'ein Hochzeitsgedicht?' It exhibits all the signs of the Callimachean school, recondite allusion, rare words, polished metre.

P. Oxyrh. 15, third century. Short songs for the flute ending with the note *αὔλει μοι*, as Wilamowitz has rightly divided *αυλειμοι*: *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898,

695. The lines appears to be *ἐξάμετροι μειούροι*. W. Crönert in *Archiv f. Pap.* I. 113.

Additions to Class 3, 6: Fragments of Epigrams of the *τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους* type, *P. Oxyrh.* 671. 'The abbreviations *uv* or *vi* may give the name of the poet, e.g. Nicarchus' (Grenfell and Hunt).

Mélanges Nicole, p. 615 = *P. Heidelberg* 1273, edited by G. A. Gerhard and O. Crusius; of the sixth century. Six exercises on mythological subjects, 'the most trivial school mythology.' With them may be compared the seven Hexameters in *Philologus*, 1905, 145, of Nonnus' time = *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1904, p. 208.

Addition to Class 4: *P. Freiburg* 4, of the first century B.C.; W. Aly in *Sitzungsb. Heidelb. Akad.* 1914, p. 58, containing fragments of the Epigram of Posidippus in *Anth. Pal.* XVI. 119. The author's name is conjecturally inserted by Aly; it is a pity that it has disappeared from the text, since it might have thrown light on the question who the author was, for in the view of P. Schott, the editor of *Posidippus*, p. 53, it was not Posidippus.

Addition to Class 4, 3: Fragments of Meleager's Epigram in *Anthol. Pal.* V. 151 (152 Paton); Wilamowitz in *Sitzungsb. preuss. Akad.* 1918, p. 750. It is a small fragment which joins on to the end of the Epigrams by Meleager published in the *Berlin Klass. Texte*, V. 1, 75. It is interesting as confirming the conjecture of Pierson and Graefe, accepted by Mr. Paton, but not by Stadtmueller or Duebner, *δορά*, for *δοραῖς* of *Pal.*

J. U. POWELL.

NIHIL IN OVID.

IN the *Classical Quarterly* for 1916, vol. X pp. 138 f., I considered Lachmann's doctrine of the Ovidian prosody of *nihil* together with the evidence alleged against it, and concluded that judgment on the controversy must be held in suspense. Before proceeding further let me rehearse the facts and contentions. It is Lachmann's precept,

delivered in *Kl. Schr.* II p. 59 and at *Lucr.* I 159, that Ovid used only *nīl* and *nīhīl*, not *nīhil*. For *nīhil* he adduced

met. VII 644 in superis opis esse *nīhil*. at in aedibus ingens,
trist. V 14 41 morte *nīhil* opus est pro me sed amore fideque,
ex Pont. III 1 113 morte *nīhil* opus est, n(ih)il Icarotide tela ;

to which I added

met. XIV 24 fine *nihil* opus est ; partem ferat
illa caloris,

where the main tradition of the MSS is corrupt and gives *fineque nil* or rather *et neque nil*. The one instance of *nihil* which he found,

her. XIX 170 exiguum, sed plus quam *nihil*,
illud erat,

he reckoned among the features assigning that epistle to another hand than Ovid's. Merkel opposed him with

trist. V 8 2 te quoque sim, inferius quo *nihil*
esse potest,

and Lucian Mueller with

trist. IV 8 38 mitius inmensus quo *nihil* orbis
habet ;

but I remarked that the distich containing the former of these two examples is on other grounds suspect, and that the latter could, if need were, be removed by an easy and even plausible transposition. Wherever else in Ovid's text the form *nihil* is followed by a vowel, the metre allows *nil* ; and the spelling of MSS, which often offer *nihil* where only *nil* is metrical, has no claim to represent the spelling or pronunciation of the author.

I can now settle the question by means of an observation which I ought to have made before, and so indeed ought Lachmann. I have collected all the verses in which this word, call it *nil* or *nihil*, constitutes the latter half of the first foot. There are twenty examples, or, if a suspected epistle is included, twenty-one ; and they are these.

her. XVII 127 sed *nihil* infirmo.
art. I 519 et *nihil* emineant.
art. II 280 si *nihil* attuleris.
remed. 410 et *nihil* est.
met. VI 465 et *nihil* est.
met. VII 830 quod *nihil* est.
met. IX 628 ut *nihil* adiciam.
met. X 520 et *nihil* est.
met. XIII 266 at *nil* impendit.
fast. I 445 sed *nil* ista.
trist. I 8 8 et *nihil* est.
trist. V 5 51 si *nihil* infesti.
trist. V 14 26 et *nihil* officio.
ex Pont. II 2 56 an *nihil* expediat.
ex Pont. II 3 33 te *nihil* ex.
ex Pont. II 7 46 et *nihil* inueni.
ex Pont. III 1 47 ut *nihil* ipse.
ex Pont. III 1 127 qua *nihil* in.

ex Pont. IV 8 15 at *nihil* hic.

ex Pont. IV 14 23 sed *nihil* admisi.

Ib. 284 cui *nil* rethet.

Eighteen where the MSS have *nihil*, three where they have *nil*. But, with the single exception of the last instance, the word, however spelt, is always followed by a vowel ; and that exception is of the sort which proves a rule. In the couplet

nec tibi subsidio praesens sit numen, ut illi
cui *nil* rethet profuit ara Iouis,

rethet, which can only be interpreted *Rhoeteti*, is rejected by the sense, which demands *Hercei* ; and so vanishes the consonant. Now this perpetually attendant circumstance can be no result of chance. Words having the metrical properties of *nil* are often placed by Ovid in this part of the verse with a consonant after them : *remed.* 138 'haec sunt iucundi', 426 'non sunt iudiciis', 507 'nec dic blanditias', 694 'nec dic quid', 701 'nec nos purpureas'. *nil* itself is so placed by other poets : *Lucr.* II 7 'sed *nil* dulcius', 673 'si *nil* praeterea' (in both of which instances the MSS have *nihil*), *Hor. serm.* I 1 49 'qui *nil* portarit', *Mart.* I 98 2 'sed *nil* patrono', *III* 61 2 'si *nil* Cinna'. Ovid must have had a motive for saddling himself with this restriction ; but if he meant the word for a monosyllable he can have had none. His only imaginable motive was to procure a dactyl instead of a spondee for the first foot. *nihil* therefore in the eighteen verses where it occurs is a pyrrhic, and *nil* in the three others should be changed to *nihil*. This may be done without scruple ; for although scribes are less prone to write *nil* for *nihil* than *nihil* for *nil*, the error is both common and early : B and R are two of Horace's best and oldest MSS, yet the one at *carm.* I 28 12 and the other at IV 2 37 gives *nil* where the metre proves that Horace wrote *nihil*. And *nihil* was printed in all our three verses by Heinsius, who carried into practice the rule which Seruius tried and failed to formulate at *Virg. Aen.* VI 104,¹ and

¹ 'si pars sequens orationis a uocali inchoet, *nihil* dicimus, ut (II 402) "heu *nihil* inuitis fas quemquam fidere diuis" ; si autem a consonante inchoet, *nil* ponimus, ut Iuuenalis (IV 22)

read *nihil* wherever metre gave him the chance, without regard to the spelling of the MSS. Merkel's practice on the other hand was to preserve the spelling of the MSS unless metre forbade him; and at *met.* XIII 266 and *fast.* I 445 he has been followed by all subsequent editors in retaining *nil*, which Guethling and I retained also at *Ib.* 284 when changing *rethēi* to *Hercei*, because it was irrational to introduce *nihil* in this verse and not in the other two. But the facts which I have just set forth put a new complexion on the case, and show that Ovid wrote *nihil* in all three places.

In the second and third and fourth foot of the hexameter the case stands otherwise, and Ovid unquestionably admitted *nil*, as at *met.* XV 92 'terra creat, *nil* te nisi tristia mandere saeuo', *amor.* II 1 19 'Juppiter, ignoscas: *nil* me tua tela iuuabant', *ex Pont.* I 1 7 'a quotiens dixi: certe *nil* turpe docetis'. But yet verses where a vowel follows and leaves the form of the word in doubt are much more numerous: *met.* VII 567 'utile enim *nihil* est', XV 177, *trist.* II 195, III 4 51, *ex Pont.* I 2 65; *amor.* III 8 29 '*nihil* esse potentius auro', *art.* II 365, 599, *met.* V 221, VI 25, 305, VII 67, XIII 100, XIV 730, XV 165, 629, *fast.* VI 177, *trist.* I 2 23, II 23, II 259, III 1 9, 13 23, *ex Pont.* III 1 113, *her.* XX 99; *met.* III 590 '*nihil* ille reliquit', V 273, VI 685, IX 148, *ex Pont.* I 1 21, 7 25. The MSS or the best part of them (except that at *met.* XV 165 authority is about equally divided) give *nihil* in all these verses, and so does Heinsius; Merkel and his followers diverge at one place only, *trist.* III 13 23 '*nihil* exorantia diuos', where all of them except Guethling print *nil*, though four out of the five best MSS have *nihil*. In two verses *nihil* is certainly to be preferred, *met.* V 273 'sed (uetitum est adeo scelēri *nihil*) omnia terrent' and VI 685 'ast, ubi blanditiis agitur *nihil*, horridus ira', where *nil* would create a rhythm less acceptable to Ovid. Some might say

"*nil* tale expectes: emit sibi. multa uidemus". One sees what he wants to say, though he has not said it: he does not really mean that he writes or pronounces 'te sine *nihil* altum mens incohat' in *georg.* III 42, nor 'ille *nil*, nec me quaerentem uana moratur' in *Aen.* II 287.

that at three other places we have guidance for our choice: that in *met.* XIII. 100 'luce *nihil* gestum, *nihil* est Diomede remoto' and XV. 629 'temptamenta *nihil*, *nihil* artes posse medentum' the one *nihil* defends the other, and that in *art.* II 365 '*nil* Helene peccat, *nihil* hic committit adulter' *nil* in the first place recommends *nil* in the second. But any such expectation of uniformity is shown to be fallacious by Catull. 17 21 '*nil* uidet, *nihil* audit', 42 21 '*sed nil* proficimus, *nihil* mouetur', 64 146 '*nil* metuunt iurare, *nihil* promittere parcunt', Virg. *buc.* II 6 f. 'o crudelis Alexi, *nihil* mea carmina curas? [*nil* nostri miserere?]', Sen. *Med.* 163 '*qui nil* potest sperare, desperet *nihil*', Mart. II 3 1 'Sexte, *nihil* debes, *nil* debes, Sexte', Iuu. VI 212 f. '*nil* umquam inuita donabis coniuge, uendes| hac opstante *nihil*'; and it is manifest that nothing, neither *nihil* nor *nil*, can bring about uniformity in *ex Pont.* III 1 113 'morte *nihil* opus est, *nihil* Icariotide tela'.

Ovid's practice in respect of the first foot appears to be that of most dactylic poets later than Lucretius. Even in Horace and Martial, who allow a consonant to follow, a vowel is much more frequent, and it is invariable in Catullus, Virgil, Tibullus, Propertius, Manilius, Persius, Calpurnius, the Aetna, Lucan, Silius (if I can trust a rapid examination)¹ and Juvenal, though in many of them the number of examples is too small to establish a rule.

About Juvenal I have a short story to tell. The disputed word forms the latter half of the first foot in three verses, VI 331 '*si nihil* est', VII 54 '*qui nihil* expositum', XIII 18 '*an nihil* in melius'. In all three the MSS, or most of them, give the form *nihil*, and so did the editions down to 1886. In that year Buecheler introduced *nil* from the Pithoeanus at VII 54, leaving *nihil* in the two other verses; and his sheep followed him as their tails did them. He was disregarding authority as well as reason, for *nihil* is given at VII 54 not only by the most and best of the inferior MSS but by the lemma

¹ In Valerius Flaccus and Statius I have noticed no example of *nihil* or *nil* in this situation.

of the ancient scholia, which is as good a witness as the Pithoeanus itself; but reason and authority together are no match for that passion of love which is inspired in modern scholars by MSS whose names begin with a P. In my edition of 1905 I made a brief remark on the circumstances and restored *nihil*. The result of my action deserves to be put on record as exemplifying the customs of classical scholarship in the twentieth century. Buecheler, though

placing *nil* in his text, had exhibited in his apparatus criticus and in his excerpts from the scholia the facts which I have stated, '*nihil* S ω', 'qui nihil expositum'. It was safe to print this evidence so long as nobody took any notice of it; but as soon as I gave it effect by promoting *nihil* to the text, the case was altered. The fetish was in danger, the facts must be suppressed, and Leo in his edition of 1910 suppressed them.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

PHAEDRUS AND QUINTILIAN I. 9. 2.

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR POSTGATE.

IN the February—March, 1919, number of the *Review*, Professor Postgate writes as follows:

'We can hardly doubt that the poet of *Inst. Or.* I. 9. 2 who composed "Aesopi fabellas . . . sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente" and whose "gracilitas" is to be reproduced in the school exercises, was Phaedrus. The Fables then, or rather a selection from them, were a schoolbook at Rome towards the end of the first century A.D.'

With the implied interpretation of the passage in question I entirely disagree. The question whether Phaedrus was used as a school-book at Rome is another matter. On this, too, I differ from the writer, but I speak with less confidence. I may add that the whole of the ninth chapter is important in the history of ancient schools and well worth elucidation.

The whole passage runs thus:

'igitur AESOPI FABELLAS, quae fabulis nutricularum proxime succedunt, narrare sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente, deinde eandem gracilitatem stilo exigere condisant: VERSUS primo solvere, mox mutatis verbis interpretari: tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et brevare quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittitur. quod opus, etiam consummatis professoribus (? profectibus) difficile, qui commode tractaverit, cuicumque discendo sufficit. SENTENTIAE quoque et CHRIAE et ETHOLOGIAE (? aetiologicalae) subiectis dictorum rationibus apud grammaticos scribantur, quia initium ex lectione ducunt: quorum omnis similis est ratio, forma diversa.'

This ninth chapter deals with the 'progymnasmata' or forms of exercise in original composition, of which we have full accounts in Hermogenes (with

Priscian's translation), Aphthonius and Theon. All these exercises were, strictly speaking, 'rhetorical,' being preparations for the full dress declamation. But Quintilian complains that through the laches of the 'rhetores' they had fallen into the hands of the 'grammatici,' and his object in this chapter is to suggest a compromise by which the more elementary exercises, and these only, might be retained in the lower school. From the dozen or more in vogue we may say that he selects two as suitable for this purpose. The first is the *μῦθος* or, more exactly, *μῦθος Διῳπέως*, for our Greek authorities are careful to say that what we call fables are all known by the name of Aesop, whether they were attributed to Aesop or not. The other is the 'Chria' and its varieties the *γνώμη* or 'sententia' and the doubtful 'ethology.' All these are evidently little moral essays, founded on some saying or significant action, and it will be convenient to speak of them under the single name of 'Chria.' Another exercise, the *διήγησις*, he only accepts under the limitation 'narratiunculas a poetis celebratas notitiae causa non eloquentiae tractandas puto.' That is, if we come across an allusion to Orpheus in our books, the 'grammaticus' may set the boy to write out the story of Orpheus, in his own words, to see that he knows it, but it should not like the other two be used as a set composition. From this point of view it is reserved for the higher school.

Now I think it is perfectly clear from the words themselves that the injunction that boys should learn to tell or write fables 'sermone puro' or 'gracili' has nothing whatever to do with Phaedrus or any other fabulist, but merely refers to the style required from the pupil. And this is confirmed by the Greek parallels. Hermogenes says that the style in the *μῦθος* must be *περιόδων ἀλλοτρία τῆς γλυκύτητος ἐγγύς*. Theon, who on other grounds puts the *χρεία* before the *μῦθος*, says that in the latter the style must be *ἀπλουστέρα* than in the former. I think Dr. Postgate may have been misled by the 'eandem.' The meaning is, I take it, that the 'fable' composition has two stages—the first oral (what the Germans, I think, call a Vortrag), the second written, but in both cases the same simplicity of style is required.

We have now to note that between the 'Aesop fable' and the 'Chria' Quintilian interpolates another exercise, which is not, strictly speaking, one of the 'progymnasmata.' 'Take a piece of verse,¹ he says, and (1) write it out in prose order, (2) suggest synonyms, (3) paraphrase, précis, or expand it, while retaining the writer's meaning. The directions bear a close resemblance to a question which I have often set as an examiner in Shakespeare in the Cambridge Locals, the formula of which runs thus: 'Put the following passage into modern prose so as to bring out clearly the full meaning.'

When I say that paraphrase was not, 'strictly speaking,' one of the 'progymnasmata,' I mean that, while it does not appear in the detailed accounts, Theon does dwell on it in his prefatory matter, and it was clearly practised in the rhetoric school, though rather as a parallel and auxiliary to the declamation than as a preliminary. Some surprise may be felt that Quintilian, who tells us that it is a difficult job even under the crack rhetoricians² (much more under the 'grammaticus'), should advo-

cate it at this early stage. I suspect that he shared the belief which still makes me advocate it. The candidates often make a terrible mess of it, but I hold to it as the best antidote against reading poetry without thought for the exact meaning.

I believe then that the words 'versus . . . permittitur' have nothing to do with the 'fable.' It is true that, as the construction after 'condiscant' runs on, we have to print them in the same sentence, but that is not a real consideration.³ It is, however, true that nothing which I have said at present argues against the possibility that Phaedrus (and I presume Babrius, for Quintilian has been legislating for Greek studies as well as Latin) were used for paraphrasing. I will deal with that later, but at any rate there is no reason to think that they are *exclusively* meant. It is hardly credible that the exercise should begin and end with the fabulists.

It may indeed be asked why, seeing that the 'fable' and the 'Chria' are both in a way original compositions, while the paraphrase is of a different nature, it is placed between them. The answer is, I think, that Quintilian names the exercises in the order in which he thinks they should be taken up. It is very noteworthy that he grounds his approval of the Chria, etc., on the fact that they 'initium ex lectione ducunt.' In other words he believes in the correlation of studies, and wishes the composition subjects, when possible, to be connected with the literature. The reading in Homer and Virgil might easily supply the periodical 'Chria.' It is true, however, that most of those reported to us come from prose sources which would not enter into class reading in the grammatical school. But I presume a little ingenuity might easily forge a connection between them and the poets read. A very favourite 'Chria' seems to have been 'Isocrates said that the roots of *παιδεία* were bitter, but its fruits sweet.' This might easily be connected with a story of a

¹ 'versus' and 'poetae' of course, because no prose was 'apud grammaticos' at Rome at this time.

² So Spalding takes 'consummatis professoribus,' but, as he says, it is harsh; on the other hand, if we take it as dative the statement seems exaggerated. I am much inclined to Sarpe's

'profectibus' = highly advanced pupils, a phrase which has good parallels in Quintilian.

³ It may be observed that each exercise is introduced by its leading noun, which I have indicated by printing them in capitals.

hero who was chastened by misfortune into wisdom and happiness. Odysseus or Aeneas would do for the purpose. It was perhaps some such reminiscence of his youth which induced the 'Auctor ad Hebraeos' to introduce this very Chria into his twelfth chapter à propos of the divine *παιδεία* of the Church.

I imagine then that Quintilian wished the 'Chria,' etc., as a composition exercise, to be taken up when the class, having been trained in literary appreciation on the admirable principles laid down in the seventeenth section of the previous chapter, had arrived at some idea of the 'laudandum in sensibus.' The easiest form of paraphrasing could be started earlier, and the 'Aesopi fabella' was, I suggest, pre-literary. Its groundwork lay in simple children's

stories just above the 'nutricularum fabulae,' and the style was intended to correspond. And the inference I draw from the way in which Quintilian speaks of it, as compared with the other two exercises, is that neither Phaëdrus nor Babrius, nor any other poetical fabulist, was used in the schools. This is in itself, no doubt, a speculative argument, but it is confirmed, I think, by two solid facts. If Phaëdrus was read, we should have expected some mention, if not of his name, at any rate of his type, in the eighth chapter. And, if the indices are to be trusted, not a single quotation from him is to be found in the whole body of extant 'grammatici' and 'rhetores.' Is this compatible with his use as a school text? It seems to me very doubtful.

F. H. COLSON.

VIRGIL, *AENEID* 6. 859.

Adspice ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur uictorque uiros supereminet omnes.
hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque re-
bellum,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.

Marcellus, according to Plutarch, *Marc.* 8. and Propertius, 4. 10, dedicated the *spolia opima*, won from the Gallic chief Viridomarus, to Jupiter Feretrius. Why then does Virgil make him dedicate them to *pater Quirinus*?

The answer is to be found in Festus and Plutarch. Servius saw dimly where the truth lay, as his note shows.

SERVIUS. After a futile attempt to explain *capta Quirino* as *qualia et Quirinus cepit, id est Romulus (patri on this view = Ioui)*, he continues 'possumus et, quod est melius, secundum legem Numae hunc locum accipere, qui praecepit prima spolia opima Ioui Feretrio debere suspendi, quod iam Romulus fecerat; secunda Marti, quod Cossus fecit; tertia Quirino, quod fecit Marcellus. Quirinus autem est Mars qui praeest paci et intra ciuitatem colitur: nam belli Mars extra ciuitatem templum habuit. . . . uarie de hoc loco tractant commentatores, Numae legis immemores, cuius facit mentionem et Liuius.'

For this *lex Numae* we must have recourse to Plutarch and Festus, Livy's reference to the law having apparently been made in one of the lost books.

FESTUS, p. 202 Lindsay, 'opima magnifica et ampla, unde spolia quoque quae dux populi Romani duci hostium detraxit: quorum tanta raritas est ut intra annos paulo (*lacuna of nineteen letters*) trina contigerint nomini Romano: una quae Romulus de Acrone; altera quae Cossus Cornelius de Tolumnio; tertia quae Marcellus Ioui Feretrio de Viridomaro fixerunt. M. Varro ait opima spolia esse etiam si manipularis miles detraxerit dummodo duci hostium *sed prima esse quae dux duci neque enim quae a duce capta*¹ non sint ad aedem Iouis Feretri poni: testimonio esse libros pontificum in quibus ait: "pro primis spoliis boue, pro secundis solitaurilibus, pro tertiis agno publice fieri debere: i esse etiam Pompili regis legem opimorum spoliorum talem: 'cuius auspicio classe procincta opima spolia capiuntur, Ioui Feretrio darier oportet, et bouem caedito; qui cepit, CCC darier oportet. secunda spolia in Martis ara in Campo, solitaur-

¹ Words in italics conjecturally supplied by Hertzberg.

ilia utra uoluerit caedito; qui cepit, ei aeris CC dato. tertia spolia Ianui Quirino agnum marem caedito; C qui cepit ex aere dato. cuius auspicio captum dis piaculum dato.'""

PLUTARCH, *Marc.* 8:

καίτοι φασίεν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν Νουμῶν Πομπήλιον καὶ πρῶτων ὀπιμίων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων μνημονεύειν. τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ληφθέντα τῷ Φερετρίῳ Διὶ κεινόντα καθιεροῦν, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ τῷ Ἄρει, τὰ δὲ τρίτα τῷ Κυρίνῳ, καὶ λαμβάνειν γέρας ἀσάβρια τριακόσια τὸν πρῶτον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον διακόσια, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἑκατόν. ὁ μὲντοι πολλὸς οὗτος ἐπικρατεῖ λόγος ὡς ἐκείνων μόνον ὀπιμίων ὄντων, ὅσα καὶ παρατάξεως οὔσης καὶ πρῶτα καὶ στρατηγῷ στρατηγὸν ἀνελέντος.

From the above passages it is clear that *prima*, *secunda* and *tertia* were used in two different senses in connexion with the *spolia opima*; (1) with regard to chronological order and reference to the three occasions on which Roman generals won them; (2) in the sense of *first*, *second*, and *third class*. Norden, it is true, gives a different interpretation: 'Nach einer anderen Tradition, die auf ein Gesetz des Numa zurückgeführt wurde, war die Ehre nicht in diesen engen Grenzen eingeschlossen, sondern die drei ersten Soldaten, die je einen Feind spolierten, brachten die drei Spolien der Reihe nach dem Jupiter Feretrius, dem Mars und dem Quirinus dar.' This interpretation, however, is improbable from every point of view, and is not borne out by the statements of Festus and Plutarch. The obvious interpretation of the passages in question is that given by Hertzberg, to the effect that there were three classes of *spolia opima* won by (1) the actual general, (2) officers other than the general, (3) a common soldier, and the rewards and the place of dedication varied accordingly (see *Philologus*, i. p. 331). That officers other than the general could win *spolia opima* is borne out by Florus (2. 17. 11, 'Vaccaeos de quibus Scipio ille posterior singulari certamine, cum rex fuerat prouocator, opima rettulerat'), and by Valerius Maximus (3. 2. 6, 'eodem uirtutis et pugnae genere usi sunt P. Manlius Torquatus et Valerius Coruinus et Cornelius Scipio. hi nempe ultro prouocantes hostiam duces interemerant, sed quia alienis auspiciis rem gesserant, spolia Ioui Feretrio non posuerunt consecranda'). Cp. also Dio Cassius 51. 24.

It is also clear that the term *spolia opima* had come to be generally accepted only as referring to the first class. Further, both Cossus and Marcellus had actually dedicated their *spolia* to Juppiter Feretrius. See Livy (4. 20), who had actually seen the spoils dedicated by Cossus, Plutarch (*Marc.* 8.), and Propertius (4. 10). It may, therefore, be assumed that the second and third classes of *spolia opima* provided for by Numa's law had become obsolete.

How then account for Virgil's statement that Marcellus was destined to dedicate his spoils to Quirinus? That the statement is historically false can scarcely be denied, though it is conceivable that other traditions may have existed. But Virgil, being, as he was, passionately devoted to ancient lore and acquainted with the *lex Numae*, determined to accept its authority. He mistook the meaning of *prima*, *secunda*, and *tertia*, and assumed that they referred to the chronological order of the winning, and not to the class of spoil won. It would not be difficult to misinterpret the *lex Numae*. Or it is possible that Virgil did not make the mistake himself, but followed some older authority who had committed himself to this not unnatural misinterpretation. No other interpretation of the passage would seem possible in face of the evidence. Identification of Quirinus with Jupiter Feretrius is unwarrantable, as is the assumption that there was a statue of Quirinus in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; even if there were any evidence for this last supposition, it would not justify Virgil's statement.

Who is *pater Quirinus*? The *lex Numae* tells us that he is Ianus Quirinus, another name for Ianus Geminus, the two-faced Ianus of the Forum, whose gates were closed in times of peace: cp. Hor. *Od.* 4. 15. 9, *Mon. Anc. Lat.* 2. 42, Suet. Aug. 22. But *pater Quirinus* would more naturally refer to the ancient deity Quirinus, who forms one of a triad with Jupiter and Mars, a fact which suits the context in the *lex Numae* admirably well: cp. *Serv. ad. Aen.* 8. 663, 'salios qui sunt in tutela Iouis Martis Quirini'; Livy 8. 9, 'Iane, Jupiter, Mars, pater Quirine'; 5. 52, 'Mars Gradiue, tuque Quirine pater.'

That Quirinus was at any rate in some aspects a war-god is clear from Macrobius. 1. 9. 16, Plut. *Rom.* 29, Dion. Hal. 2. 48 (= Ένυάλιος). But the whole question of the functions of Quirinus is so obscure that it is impossible to deter-

mine, with any precision, his relations either to Ianus or to the *spolia opima* (see Wissowa, *Rel. und Kult.* p. 139).

H. E. BUTLER.

*University College,
London.*

NOTES

THUCYDIDES II. 48.

αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας. Since Mr. Mair has yet again called attention to this vexatious passage, I take the opportunity of defending by some parallels that innocent double αὐτός, which has been so unjustly assailed by distinguished scholars. Plato, *Politicus*, 268 A, αὐτὸς τῆς ἀγέλης τροφὸς ὁ βουφορβὸς, αὐτὸς ἱατρὸς, αὐτὸς οἶον νυμφευτής. Lysias XII. 68, αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος σώσειν τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε. Aeschines III. 10, εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, πρόωγόν μιν ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος . . . ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἔξεισιν: cf. Dinarchus I. 86. Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 3, 28, νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως. *Ibid.* 32, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοὺς ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ. *Anab.* III. 2, 4, αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς. At first sight Galen, vol. xix., p. 371, οἶον τε αὐτὸ ἦν καὶ αὐτὸ συμμιχθὲν ἀπεκρίθη, looks similar, but that sentence is corrupt: qu. οἶον δὲ (or καὶ οἶον) τοῦτο ἦν? The emphasis gained by doubling αὐτὸς varies in these passages, but certainly the Greeks have no objection to emphasising their meaning by such a method.

ARTHUR PLATT.

*University College,
London.*

EMENDATION OF THEOPHRASTUS, CHARACTERS.

In Theophrastus, *Characters*, No. V., Jebb's edition, v. 17 ff., the MS. text reads:

καὶ τὸ ὅλον δεινὸς τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι· οὐ πιστεύω· οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω· ἐκπλήττομαι· καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι, καὶ μὴν οὐ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήκει· παράδοξόν μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἄλλω τινι λέγε· ὅπως δὲ σοὶ ἀπιστήσω ἢ ἐκείνου καταγνῶ ἀποροῦμαι· ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ σὺ θάττον πιστεύεις.

This passage has called forth a large number of emendations. Editors seem to be agreed that the corruption is concealed in the words: καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι. Of these again, ἕτερον is clearly suspect. We cannot defend it with Casaubon. To change ἕτερον γεγονέναι into ἑτέρου ἀκηκοέναι with Petersen and Jebb is too violent a remedy and cannot be defended on palaeographical grounds.

Read ἑταῖρον for ἕτερον and put a stop after ἐκπλήττομαι and a colon after γεγονέναι. The Ironical Man's line of reasoning is as follows: This man whom you claim to have told you this extraordinary piece of news has been a close friend of mine. Surely, of all people, he would have told me about it. But he has kept me in total ignorance, hence I do not know what to make of it.

H. G. VILJOEN.

*University, Stellenbosch,
S. Africa.*

THE READING IN ARISTOPHANES, ACH. 912.

ΔΙΚ. Καὶ μὴν ὁδὶ Νίκαρχος ἔρχεται φανὼν 908
ΒΟΙ. μικρὸς γὰρ ἥλικος οὗτος. ΔΙΚ. ἀλλ' ἄπαν
κακόν.
ΔΙΚ. ταυτὶ τίνας τὰ φορτ' ἐστὶ; ΒΟΙ. τῶδ' ἐμὰ
Θεῖαθεν, ἔττω Δεῦς. ΔΙΚ. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὁδὶ
φαίνω πολέμια ταῦτα. ΒΟΙ. τί δαὶ κακὸν
παθὼν 912
ὀρναπετοῖσι πόλεμον ἦρα καὶ μάχαν.

In line 912, the reading of the MSS. is τί δαὶ κακὸν παθὼν. So Paley, who notes that Elmsley rejected κακόν as a gloss and read . . . ταυταγὰ· ΒΟΙ. τί

δαὶ παθών; κ.τ.λ. Bentley (followed by Meineke and Ribbeck) reads τί δὲ κακὸν παθών; Paley suggested καὶ τί κακόν, κ.τ.λ. But none of these changes accounts for the reading in the MSS.

The present writer suggests τί δ' ἄδικον παθών; the corruption would arise as follows:

ΤΙ Δ' ΑΔΙΚΟΝ > ΤΙ ΔΑΙΚΟΝ > ΤΙ ΔΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΝ, the syllable ΚΟΝ becoming ΚΑΚΟΝ under the influence of ΚΑΚΟΝ at the end of line 909, three lines above.

In support of this suggestion, it may be pointed out (1) That the Boeotian speaker, in his very next words, says τί ἄδικειμένος; (2) the Scholiast on line 912 says τί ἡδικημένος.

M. KEAN.

Collegiate School,
Liverpool.

EURIPIDES, *HECUBA*, 854-6.

εἰ πως φανείη γ' ὥστε σοὶ τ' ἔχειν καλῶς
στρατῶ τε μὴ δόξαιμι Κασάνδρας χάριν
Θρήκης ἀνακτι τόνδε βουλευσάι φόνον.

THE meaning is clear: the speaker (Agamemnon) wishes to gratify Hecuba while safeguarding his own reputation. But the method of expression, as in the text, is confused, and the first τε (following σοι) is meaningless.

Parallel clauses depending on ὥστε are required, and these are obtained by reading δόξαι με in place of δόξαιμι.

J. M. SING.

HORACE, *SAT.* I. IX. 39-40.

'si me amas,' inquit, 'paulum huc ades.'
'Inteream si
Aut valeo stare, aut novi civilia iura.'

How is *stare* to be taken here? (The bore has been telling Horace that he had to attend court, and begs him to wait for him.) The traditional interpretations of *stare* in this passage make Horace say: (1) That he cannot appear as an advocate; or (2) that he cannot stand so long in court; or (3) that he cannot interrupt his walk.

With reference to (1), it may be pointed out that the bore, who has

evidently waylaid Horace in order to get an introduction to Maecenas (*vide* lines 45-47 of the *Satire*), would most likely know that the poet did not belong to the class of advocate.

To take (2), who can tell how long any lawsuit is going to last? Has the bore actually appealed to Horace to enter the court with him? Has he not rather merely asked him to wait for him?

The third interpretation is somewhat more convincing, for Horace has already explained that he had a long distance to cover (*vide* line 18). Porph. says, 'Negat se posse eum exspectare.'

The interpretation now suggested is to take *stare* as meaning 'to be successful.' Horace knows the fellow is a defendant, and feeling a little sympathy he may be imagined to say: 'I swear by my life that I haven't a leg to stand on in a law court; in fact, I don't know a word about law.'

This use of *stare* is found in Horace, *Sat.* I. x. 17, and *Ep.* II. i. 176.

M. KEAN.

QUERIES TO ARTICLE ON PLAUTUS. *STICH.* 1 FF., *CLASS.* *REV.* SEPTEMBER, 1918.

'THE *a* of *vidua* was pronounced short in Plautus's time, as later, so that Synaphea is out of the question.' Is 'short' mistake for 'long' here? How can it be said that Synaphea is out of the question, when all four lines scan with Synaphea, '-ām fu-, -ām so-, -mō quae, viduā vi-, -ūit nam?' Synaphea is observed in every line quoted from this Canticum in this article.

Is Synaphea a mistake for *Synizesis*?

'Colon Reizianum, that favourite colon of Plautus.' Is it so frequent in Plautus? How many examples of it can be quoted from the whole of Plautus's plays all put together?

'Editors of Euripides call *Bacch.* 863 a Colon Reizianum. But surely it is a syncopated Pherecratean.' Colon Reizianum is the same thing as a syncopated Pherecratean

συμπύκτοισι | ἀναπαλοῖτοισι
qua|rum | viri hinc ab|sunt.

'mũltā | vŏlŏ tē|cũm . . .' Is the *ā* of *multa* an 'irrational' short standing in place of a long, or is this an example of neut. acc. plur. -*ā* sometimes found in early Latin verse, e.g. *omniā, graviā*?

The Colon Reizianum is equivalent to the ending of a Hexameter, sixth and fifth foot and part of the fourth,

4 5 6
qui | primus ab | oris
qua|rum viri hinc | absunt.

The versus Reizianus with Iamb. Dim. first half is similar to the Iambelegus:

tu vina Torquato move || consule | pressa me|o
(Pentameter ending)
quarumque nos negoti|is ab|sentum ita ut |
equomst

(Hexameter ending)

except that, whereas the two halves of Iambelegus are *διε-|ενγμένα*, the two halves of versus Reizianus are dovetailed, *συνγμμένα*, the last long syllable of Iamb. Dim. being also the first long syllable of fourth foot of Hexameter.

[Why is 'ita ut equomst' spelled with *ē*-, but 'nos facere aequomst' spelled with *ae*-?]

The anacrusis of the Colon Reizianum may be either *υ υ -*, *- -*, or *υ -*, or *? - υ* *mũltā*? i.e. either four morae or three. With any of these, except *- υ*, the Colon Reizianum = end of a hexameter

4 5 6
υ υ | - υ υ | - -
- | - υ υ | - -
υ | - υ υ | - -

but *- υ | υ υ - | -* will not fit the fourth and fifth foot of the hexameter. Therefore '*mũltā volo tecum*' is more probable.

sŏrŏr sumu'	} but {	sed hoc sŏrŏr cruci or
sem per		And In Middleton and Mills, <i>Companion to Latin Authors</i> , <i>Stichus</i> 18 is scanned:—
sed hic sŏrŏr	}	haec rēs vitae me sŏrŏr
adsidendum		saturant.

In view of old Lat. *melior*, and 'stultiŏr es barbaro Poticio,' etc., it is difficult to believe that *soror* was here pronounced -*ŏr*; and the proceleusmatic *υ υ υ υ* that results is unlikely in either line, especially in the second half of anapaestic dimeter

haec res vitae || me s'ror | saturant

sounds better.

NO. CCLXXXIII. VOL. XXXIII.

So in *Stichus* 26

ūt 'stuc | faciat | quod tu | metius

is more likely than 'ut istuc|.'

facit in|jūriās | immerito.

The -*ās*, acc. plur., is not easily swallowed. Why not synizesis 'in|jūriās|'?

'āde(o) ū|nīcē q(ui) ū|nus' is still more indigestible. Fennell's edition, 1893, reads 'ādeo qui unus ūnice.' Was the real original 'ādeo unus qui unus'? 'unu' qui unus' like 'an qui amant' (V. *Ecl.* 8, 108).

E. J. BROOKS.

AUGUSTUS.

I VENTURED lately to suggest in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, that the name Augustus, given to Octavian in 27 B.C., might have been suggested by the abbreviation *Aug.* for *Augur* on coins of Octavian's late rival, Mark Antony, which coins must have been in fairly common circulation in or just before 27 B.C. My idea was that the name Augustus, abbreviated to *Aug.*, would thus automatically absorb the description of Antony on these coins, in a manner very characteristic of the statecraft of Octavian. In the latest number of the *Classical Review* (Nov.-Dec., 1918, p. 158), Miss L. R. Taylor, of Rome, finds this theory improbable, particularly because the abbreviation *Aug.* for Augustus, while common in later times, first occurs on coins of 19 B.C., but on early coins and early inscriptions the name is written in full. Miss Taylor adds that she prefers a view of Mr. Warde Fowler, that in *Aen.* VII. (*sic*) 678 'hinc augustus agens Italos in proelia Cæsar', the word *augustus* should be read as an epithet, not as a proper name. It is thought that the account of Actium, to which this line belongs, may have been written as a separate poem soon after the battle, and that the line quoted may indicate a certain enlargement in the figure of Augustus, on the shield of Aeneas.

I do not wish to argue the point, which, indeed, is far too mixed up with conjectures to be capable of proof. It depends on a string of guesses which

are not unattractive individually, nor perhaps singly, unlikely, but for which positive evidence is altogether wanting. I might, of course, observe that Miss Taylor throughout quotes the wrong book of the *Aeneid*—VII., instead of VIII. But the argument is not affected by that slip. I am more concerned to suggest that her demurrer, in respect of the date of the abbreviation, is a little over-strained. Naturally the abbreviation Aug. would not be so common for Augustus in the first few years after 27 B.C. as it would be rather later on. But its occurrence (and not once only) in the monumentum Anc., which I noted, is sufficient proof that it was not an impossible or altogether unfamiliar abbreviation in the Augustan age, and the argument that it does not occur on coins till 19 B.C. appears to me by no means to prove that it could not be or was unlikely to be used about 27 B.C. I do not think that kind of chronological argument is really permissible. If the abbreviation Aug. never occurred elsewhere in the Augustan period, it would be a different matter. But Miss Taylor's rigid time-test appears to go too far for the intelligent dating of Roman inscriptions on coins or stones. It is not as if the abbreviation Aug. were absolutely unique in the period about 19 B.C. As anyone can see who looks; e.g., at Cohen, it occurs several times on the legends of coins minted between 19 B.C., and 10 B.C. Moreover, that Octavian had an eye on the title *Augur* used by Antony is indicated by a coin of 27 B.C., in which he calls himself *Augur*.

I will conclude with the observation that if, in *Aen.* VIII. 678, *Augustus* is to be interpreted as denoting that the shield of Aeneas showed the figure of Augustus disproportionately large, Virgil expressed himself more obscurely and briefly than is his wont. But here one passes into the region of opinion, where direct proof ceases to be possible.

F. HAVERFIELD.

MANDALUS. RECUA. MALACRUCIA.

My contributions to the last number (C.R. XXXIII. 26) were unlucky. *Mandalus* of the Glossaries is merely a

Latin form of Greek *μάνδαλος* and unsuitable for Martial XIV. xxix. 2. *Recula* has been already suggested in the Paravia text of *Moretum* (line 65). As regards the *malacrucia* of the MSS. of Plautus at *Cas.* 416, it may be mentioned that *Pers.* 574 shows that *mala crux* was not the invariable phrase:

I sis [in] malū cruciatum. I sane tu—hanc
eme; ausculta mihi.

W. M. LINDSAY.

CICERO, *PRO RAB. POST.* 7. 17.

IN stating the equestrian case against a proposed law to make the order liable to the charge of judicial corruption, which, first by a *lex Sempronia* and later by a *lex Cornelia*, had fallen only on the senatorial or official class, Cicero introduces an imaginary dialogue between a senator and an *eques*. 'Tam es tu iudex [eques] quam ego senator,' says the former. 'Ita est,' retorts the latter, 'sed tu istud petisti, ego hoc cogor. Qua re aut iudici mihi non esse liceat, aut lege senatoria non teneri.' I do not raise the question here whether this dialogue fits the situation in 91 B.C., to which Cicero refers it, or whether, as seems to me more probable, it is a reminiscence of his own advocacy against the well-known proposal of Cato in 60 B.C. I am only concerned with the antithesis between '*istud*' and '*hoc*.' There are, I find, scholars who authoritatively declare that '*istud*' can only mean 'to be a senator,' and '*hoc*' 'to be a *iudex*.' Surely this distorts or destroys the antithesis, misses the point of the argument and leaves '*cogor*' unexplained. If the senator had said 'you are as much a *iudex* as I am a senator,' no doubt '*istud*' and '*hoc*' would have the meanings suggested above. But what he says is, 'you, being an *eques*, are as much a *iudex* as I am, being a senator.' The subject of discussion therefore, to which both '*istud*' and '*hoc*' must be referred, is not the fact of being a senator, or the fact of being an *eques*, but solely the fact or condition of being a *iudex*. The senator's point is that this is common to himself and the *eques*.

That of the *eques* is that there is an antithesis between the senator's position as *index* and his own. '*Istud*' therefore means 'your position as senatorial *index*;' '*hoc*' means 'my position as equestrian *index*.' '*Petisti*' and '*cogor*' then explain themselves. Senators, in spite of their liability to the *lex Sempronia*, had eagerly sought the position between 122 and 81 B.C. *Equites* had of course also desired the position, but both in 91 and 60 B.C. they were confronted with compulsory liability to a charge from which they had so far been exempt. Is there a flaw, which I do not detect, in this interpretation, either in respect of Latinity or logic? Of course the equestrian point, whether made by Cicero or the *equites* themselves, is sophistical, but that is another matter.

E. G. HARDY.

VIRGIL, ECLOGUE IV. 60 FF.

THE following passage, which has just been sent me by a friend, may throw some light on the much disputed question whether the smile in the last four lines of Virgil's fourth eclogue is that of the infant or the mother. It comes from *Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church*, by H. C. Romanoff, p. 8 (Rivingtons, 1868), with an introduction by Charlotte Yonge, who tells us that the writer was an English lady married to a Russian officer stationed in a remote province.

'Román throve beautifully; *his first smile* and first tear, which are considered by the Russians as harbingers of reason in an infant, were quite epochs in the family history, so much was said about them.'

W. WARDE FOWLER.

'MULE NIHIL SENTIS'

(CATULLUS, 88, 3).

WHY does Catullus call Lesbia's husband a *mule*? '*Quia nihil sentiebat*,' say some. But nowhere in Latin is *mulus* used as a synonym for ἀνασθητος. At Juvenal 16, 23, *mulino corde Vagelli*,

Mayor supports the reading *mulino* (against the *Mutinensi* of the majority of MSS. by a reference to Plautus, *Cist.* 4. 12, 2. So does Friedlaender, and so does Ellis on this passage of Catullus. One may edit a classical author and yet keep a light conscience—for the phrase *mulo inscitior* occurs nowhere in Plautus (whose plays, incidentally, rarely contain twelve Scenes to the Act), though it is alleged to do so by Forcellini's Lexicon.

Others would have it that Catullus calls Lesbia's husband a mule '*sterilitatis causa*.' The union with Lesbia is said to have been a childless one. But it is difficult to find any pertinence in an allusion here to this misfortune.

Umpfenbach, cited by Ellis, would read, with the MSS., '*Mulle*'—understanding an allusion to the acute hearing of mullets, a fact of natural history not more familiar, we may suppose, to the average Roman of Catullus' time than it is to the average Englishman of our own.

Now, if Lesbia was Clodia, her husband was Q. Metellus Celer. The name Metellus was both a proper name and what the grammarians call a 'common' name. If we could find out what the common noun *metellus* means we should, perhaps, be in the way of discovering why Catullus called Metellus a mule. The word *metellus* occurs only in one passage in Latin literature. Festus preserves for us (p. 132, Lindsay) this line of Accius:

calones famulique metellique caculaeque (cauleque *codd.*).

calones and *caculae* are some kind of soldier-servant or groom. Festus understands *metelli* apparently in much the same sense—he renders it by *mercenarii*. But apart from Festus there is no authority for this explanation, and it obviously rests on an absurd etymology—Festus has derived *metellus* from *metallum*.

We must take the word in connexion with another rare and obscure word, *metella*. *Metella* also is a military word: meaning in Vegetius (*Mil.* 4, 6) a species of wooden basket (*de ligno crates*) employed in sieges: the besieged filled these baskets with stones and emptied them on the heads of the

besiegers. It is supposed that the word is the feminine of an adjective, some such noun as 'machina' *subauditur*. If this be correct *metellus* similarly should be an adjective; and it should naturally also have some connexion with baskets. I would conjecture that the substantive to be understood with *metellus* is *equus*. The 'basket-horse' will be a pack-horse, a military baggage-animal. I would then restore to Accius

calones *mulique metellique caculaeque*.

I can find no example of *famulus* in the sense of a military servant: it should naturally mean a household servant.

Accordingly, when Catullus wrote 'Mule, nihil sentis,' his friends knew very well that the 'mule' was the pack-horse, the *metellus*—just as at 79, 1, 'Lesbius est pulcher,' they readily took the allusion to 'Pulchellus.'

Metellus is, perhaps, like other pieces of Roman vocabulary in connexion with horses, carriages, etc.—*caballus*, *cantherius*, *essedum*, *petorritum*, *ploxenum*—a foreign word. Such imported words are natural in the language of the camp.

H. W. GARROD.

VIRGIL, *AEN.* XII. 473. 519.

Nigra velut magnas domini cum divitis aedes pervolat et pinnis alta atria lustrat hirundo, pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas, et nunc porticibus vacuis, nunc umida circum stagna volat.

DR. ROYDS tells us that, although to many Englishmen 'swallow' means anything from a swift to a sand-martin, Virgil probably distinguished the species. Thus 'hirundo' must be taken as a generic, not a specific, name. Until the days of Gilbert White the swift was generally believed to belong to the same genus as the swallow and the martin, and doubtless Virgil so classed it. In the passage quoted does not the poet mean the swift? He seems to mark this by the opening epithet, for the blackness has no part in the comparison with the movements of Juturna, while the swift on the wing appears to be black, and has none of the lighter feathers of the true hirundines. The movements described are precisely those

of the swift. I have seen swifts flying in this way over and round the piazza of Volterra, the flock dividing into three when it came to the medieval tower, and some flying on either side and some through the unglazed windows.

J. S.

Westminster.

POMPEY'S COMPROMISE:

CICERO, *AD FAM.* VIII. 11, 3.

HARDY, in his recent examination of 'Caesar's Legal Position in Gaul' (*Jour. of Phil.* XXXIV. 161-221) has disposed of the hypotheses of Hirschfeld (*Klio* IV. 76 ff.) and Judeich (*Rhein. Mus.* LXVIII. 1 ff.) and has proved quite conclusively that Caesar's term in Gaul extended to March 49 B.C. with the implied right of holding his command throughout the year 49. However, all the disputants have found difficulty in comprehending the purport of Pompey's offered compromise to permit Caesar the privilege of remaining till the Ides of November (*Ad Fam.* VIII. 11, 3). I would offer what seems to me a plausible explanation, which incidentally adds a point in favour of Hardy's contention. The passage in question is found in a letter of Caelius written to Cicero in April or May of 50 B.C., after Curio had foiled the attempt of the Pompeian party to abbreviate Caesar's term. The lines read: 'in quam adhuc incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius videtur ut Caesar Id. Nov. decedat; Curio omnia potius subire constitui quam id pati, . . . Scaena rei totius haec: Pompeius, tamquam Caesarem non impugnet sed quod illi aequum putet constituat, ait Curionem quaerere discordias, valde autem non vult et plane timet Caesarem cos. designari: quam exercitum et provinciam tradiderit.'

The old explanation of Zumpt assumed that the Ides of November was the anniversary of the day on which the law was passed which gave Caesar his second quinquennium in Gaul, but Lange has shown that this was impossible since the day was a holiday on which laws could not be passed. Hirschfeld and Judeich, without attempting to explain the choice of the Ides of November, tried with little success to show that the year

50 B.C. was referred to; Holzapfel (*Klio* V. 113) rightly refers the proposed date to the year 49, but fails to show how the offer could in anyway be called *aequum* to Caesar. Hardy (*loc. cit.* p. 208) says 'Why this date was chosen is not clear.'

Since Pompey's proposal was, according to Caelius, an offer that pretended to be fair to Caesar, Pompey apparently undertook to prove that it gave Caesar his legal term in the province. His offer therefore probably contained a clause which was to restore in February of 49 the forty-five days that the calendar had lost by two previous failures to insert intercalary months, for if these were restored *there would be exactly 365 days in the year 49 before the Ides of November*. It is apparently on the basis of such a clause that Pompey could claim that his offer was fair to Caesar. The reason why this and other details did not appear in the letter of Caelius is that complete copies of the bills and speeches accompanied the letter (*Ad Fam.* VIII. 11, 4).

Curio refused to accept the compromise, since it would expose Caesar to legal action for six weeks. Indeed, as Caelius well comprehended, Pompey had

offered it merely for the purpose of making an impression of moderation. Ultimately he had no intention of permitting Caesar to stand for the consulship *in absentia*. Unfortunately for him, his pretence of moderation only weakened his supporters, and when the real test of strength came a few days later the senate refused to challenge Caesar's claims (*Ad Fam.* VIII. 13, 2).

If this is the solution of the difficulty, the offer must apply to the year 49, for it was made in April or May of the year 50, and there could hardly be a question of intercalation before February of 49. Hardy's contention that Caesar had a legal right to his province throughout 49 is therefore supported by this passage. Let me add that in Cicero's answer (*Ad Fam.* II. 15, 3) to this letter from Caelius: 'Faveo Curioni, Caesarem honestum esse cupio,' we should probably read *honestatum* for *honestum*, for in the light of *Ad Fam.* VIII. 11, 3, the second clause seems to be explicative. Cicero's answer seems to mean: I support Curio's contention, and I wish Caesar to win his consulship.

TENNEY FRANK.

Bryn Mawr College.

REVIEWS

MISS MATTHAEI ON TRAGEDY.

Studies in Greek Tragedy. By LOUISE M. MATTHAEI. Demy 8vo. Pp. xii + 226. Cambridge: University Press. Price 9s. net.

THIS book is written with enthusiasm and sincerity. That is its great merit; and, although the style is somewhat laborious, so that the book is not very easy to read, the effort is worth making, because it is always worth while to listen to a serious person talking honestly about Greek tragedy. Miss Matthaei never makes the mistake, into which some professors, who would be edifying, fall, of condescending to the ancient poets; nor does she follow the bad custom of making Aeschylus and Euripides the excuse for a cheap display of ingenuity. Such

originality as her book claims, is the result of an honest attempt to understand her authors, to report what she finds in them, not to use them as a peg on which to hang some new and brilliant theory of her own.

Therefore, her book is worth reading. But I must be honest myself, and must admit that, with all its sincerity, and although it bears the evident traces of careful, independent thinking, it seems to me to suffer from a grave defect of method. She tells us she has simply taken four plays which interested her, and has tried to show by analysing them 'what are the qualities which make the Tragic Spirit.' I wish she had been content to show the qualities which make the four plays interesting to her. That is

the first and most important thing to do. If you set out to discover 'the qualities which make the Tragic Spirit,' you may fall into dangerous assumptions, by which Miss Matthaei is not the first critic, and will not be the last, to be misled. You may be hypnotised by the thought that 'there are definite general principles' which underlie the plays you happen to be analysing, and, 'indeed every true example of the tragic art.' In demonstrating that the play which interests you conforms in fact to some arbitrary definition of 'the tragic art,' you may read into it some tendency or purpose which neither the poet nor his audience (nor you yourself, when first you found his work worth analysing) had in mind. Explain exactly why the play seems interesting, and you may perhaps contribute something to the body of evidence which will some day be considered by the philosopher who shall find leisure, and sufficient abstraction from more pressing and more valuable pursuits, to propound a theory of 'the tragic.' But read your play with the object and intention of defining tragedy, and you will probably find that you have missed, or, at any rate, misrepresented, the very qualities which first attracted you to your play. Like Aristotle, Miss Matthaei is tempted by the prospect of a definition. She is at her best when she contrives to forget her search for the Tragic Spirit, and has leisure to explain the drama of Aeschylus or of Euripides. And, indeed, her search is itself no such free adventure as she seems to think. When she tells us, at the outset, that 'every true tragedy turns on a conflict,' we hang a little on the word 'true,' and suspect that we shall meet the names of Hegel and of Bradley in her argument. And, sure enough, we are to hear in due course that every tragedy turns not only on a conflict whether of principle or of persons, but also on a conflict in which each of the opposing forces is compounded duly of evil and of good. Tragedy is a conflict, not between black and black, black and white, white and white (which would doubtless be impossible), but always, if it be 'true tragedy,' between black and white and white and black. It seems so helpful, and it fits in so well with a particular sort of cheerfulness about the uni-

verse. It is not surprising that many honest readers are content to let Hegel and his followers confuse their minds. But the doctrine, which is harmless enough when you apply it to the *Prometheus*, and which does little more than introduce a note of vagueness in our author's treatment of the *Hippolytus*, has disastrous results when we try to foist it on to an appreciation of the *Ion* or the *Hecuba*. With Miss Matthaei's elucidation of the *Prometheus* I have no quarrel. Her conception of a progressive Zeus, who, like his victims, has something to learn, and ultimately learns it, I believe to be in conformity with the ideas of Aeschylus. Her interpretation, though it is not altogether new, is, I think, a valuable contribution to the study of a play whose theology is a test, and a stumbling-block, to many of the modern 'orthodox.' Her analysis of the *Hippolytus* is, on the whole, both just and sympathetic, with its appreciation of Phaedra, whose tragedy derives from an excess, not a defect, of a certain sort of modesty of mind. But her general theory of tragedy leads her, I venture to suggest, into serious, almost ridiculous, error, when it makes her treat Apollo, one of the tragic antagonists of the *Ion*, with an exaggerated metaphysical respect. Apollo, we are to understand, represents in that play not merely a disreputable aspect of popular mythology, but also, as by a mystery, the inscrutable element in circumstance, the tragic riddle which forms the background of all human life. Whither this sort of theorising leads us we realise, with something of a shock, when Miss Matthaei gravely infers, from the obvious effectiveness of *Ion*'s final insistence on an answer to the question of his parentage, that Euripides, you see, was not a determinist! Similarly, since the *Hecuba*, if it be a 'true' tragedy, must involve a conflict between two principles or persons, each of which is partly good and partly bad, we are seriously asked to believe that the sacrifice of Polyxena in that play stands for the tragic assertion of the good of the community, as overriding the good of the individual, while *Hecuba*'s appalling treatment of Polyxena represents the tragic issue of the counter assertion of the injured individual's personal claim. The theory is not

so crudely stated; but that is essentially Miss Matthaëi's view. I suggest that, if she had never theorised with Hegel and with Bradley, she might (as her appreciation both of Polyxena and of Hecuba seems to show) have given us a better interpretation of the tragedy. She is right in thinking that the play has unity of conception. She is right in thinking that the key to that unity is in the contrast between Polyxena, the willing victim, and Hecuba, the fury, turned, in the very moment of perfected vengeance, into a wild beast. But Euripides, I suggest, was not thinking of the conflict between 'the good of the community' and 'the good of the individual.' He was showing something more moving, more important. Whatever other human beings may inflict on Polyxena, they can not really hurt her spirit. Hecuba, who takes the way which most of us would take, can have her vengeance, it is true. She can torture her enemy, as he deserves,

we think, to be tortured. But the effect on herself is, that she loses her humanity; she becomes a beast.

The chapter on 'Accident' has the defects and the merits of the book. The tendency to look for generalisations, classifications, and a system, will probably attract some readers, because most English readers, though they would be surprised to be told it, really care a good deal more about philosophy than they do about art. For my own part, I find it difficult to believe that either Aristotle or his modern followers do much service to literature by laying down rules for artists or their critics. But here, as throughout the book, there is something attractive, if I may say it, something *digne*, about Miss Matthaëi's work, which makes me want to treat it respectfully, even when I am most doubtful as to the direct assistance it will give me in the understanding of Greek tragedy.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

Plutarch's Lives. With an English Translation by BERNADOTTE PERRIN. Vol. V. (Loeb Classical Library.) Pp. ix+544. London: Heinemann, 1917. 7s. 6d.

A TRANSLATOR of Plutarch's *Lives* has in many respects a happy task. His subject has long ago proved its power to attract and to charm a wider circle of men than any other classical writing. The warriors and statesmen, presented to us by the prince of biographers, appeal to common humanity in a way that philosophers or even poets can never do; and the public affairs in which they played their part bear continuous resemblance to the events of any and every age. The translator has therefore few dull pages to trouble him, and he can count upon readers who are predisposed to welcome his work. In the fifth volume of the Loeb Plutarch, now before us, there is a profusion of entertaining matter. Pompey, Marcellus, Agesilaus, and Pelopidas are all characters of strong human interest, as well as of historical importance. In the *Life of Pompey* we

are reminded of recent events by the menace of the pirate ships, which, like the elusive submarines of to-day, seriously hampered the commerce of the Mediterranean and made food scarce at Rome. When Pompey was appointed to the supreme command against the pirates, prices immediately fell, a fact which the populace duly appreciated. In the *Life of Marcellus* we read how Archimedes defended Syracuse with his wonderful military engines. This defence is described in the Greek with a vividness which almost makes us feel that the account came originally from the pen of some ancient war correspondent. Professor Perrin's translation at this point is a good piece of work, picturesque, clear, and vigorous.

In preparing his translation, Professor Perrin has consulted the previous English versions of the *Lives*, and as a rule to good effect. He writes fluently and naturally, and does not all the while suggest to us the scholar laboriously trying to keep in touch with his original. He can turn the Greek neatly into idiomatic English, and he avoids harsh and ill-sounding sentences. The

translation gives evidence of skill and care. Here is a fair specimen, taken from the *Life of Pompey*, ch. xxiii., p. 173:

For life in the robes of peace has a dangerous tendency to diminish the reputation of those whom war has made great and ill-suited for democratic equality. Such men claim that precedence in the city also which they have in the field, while those who achieve less distinction in the field feel it to be intolerable if in the city at any rate they have no advantage. Therefore when the people find a man active in the forum who has shone in camps and triumphs, they depress and humiliate him, but when he renounces and withdraws from such activity, they leave his military reputation and power untouched by their envy. How true this is, events themselves soon showed.

Given the space, one could take many such passages and show, by comparing them in detail with other translations, the advance that Professor Perrin has made upon his modern predecessors. Besides this, a grateful word is due from all lovers of Plutarch for the extreme convenience of this edition, which gives the Greek text and English version side by side, with many useful notes and cross-references, and a valuable index, containing in brief compass much information about the persons and places mentioned in the book. In these respects the Loeb Plutarch stands alone. What we miss in it, and in other modern versions too, is dignity. We are badly in need of a translation suited to the twentieth century, as North's was suited to the sixteenth. The language of such a translation must be the common speech of to-day, but it must not be commonplace. Dignity comes, partly at any rate, from the use of simple, direct utterance. If we say 'subsequently' for 'later' or 'afterwards' (p. 365), 'frequently' for 'often' (p. 475), 'dispatch' for 'kill' (p. 367), 'stationed himself' for 'took his stand' (*καταστάς*, p. 243), 'superiors' in a context where 'betters' would fit the sense (p. 401), 'assistants' (*ὑπηρέται*, p. 19) where 'underlings' would give just that touch of scorn which the passage demands, or if we use cumbrous phrases like 'under the circumstances' (p. 277), we take the edge off our speech. Dignity depends also upon the respect which the translator feels for his author. It

would be impertinent to say that modern translators of Plutarch do not respect him, but certainly their writing does not often glow with any warmth or enthusiasm. There is in Plutarch, heavy though his style may sometimes seem, an undercurrent of real eloquence which is part of the man's own kindly and earnest nature. Much of this eloquence may be lost if the translator is not alive to its presence, and does not value it and make an effort to reproduce it. North's great work, judged simply as a translation, would hardly be accepted by scholars to-day, in view of our strict notions of what a translation should be; but his spirit is worthy of all imitation. 'Now for the author,' he says in his preface, 'I will not deny but love may deceive me, for I must needs love him with whom I have taken so much pain.' Would not a little of North's frank admiration and affection put life and fire and dignity into the somewhat cold pages of our more scholarly versions?

Two other points may be mentioned. The use of the second person singular is usual with us in the scriptures and liturgical language, and also in poetry; but it is not our common speech, and no one nowadays uses it in prose. It would seem better, therefore, to avoid it in translation, except perhaps where there is danger of ambiguity. Professor Perrin is not consistent on this point, and any reader who compares for himself the spirited report of conversation on p. 239 or p. 461 with the stilted speech on p. 21 or p. 411 will judge which form is preferable. It is a great gain, too, if poetical quotations can be turned into verse. The effect of the original is needlessly lost if iambs or hexameters are reproduced in pseudo-verses which possess neither the irregular rhythm of prose (for they are made to stand apart from the surrounding prose) nor the regular rhythm of verse. This point may be thought small in itself, yet a translator who aims at a high standard of work cannot afford to neglect it.

The following misprints occur: p. 20, note, *Ἰδεῖν*, no accent or breathing; p. 68, *τοτε συνηγωνια*, no accents; p. 84, *χώρα* for *χώρα*; p. 172, *μέτ'* for *μετ*;

p. 175, Asclepias for Asclepius; p. 188, *Εκτορα*, no accent or breathing; p. 217, 'legitimate,' misspelled; p. 307, last

two lines, final letters wrong; p. 437, Marcu for Marcus.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

EUTHYMIDES AND HIS FELLOWS.

Euthymides and his Fellows. By JOSEPH CLARK HOPPIN. Octavo. Pp. xvi+186, with 48 plates and 36 illustrations in the text. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917. \$4.00.

THE group of vase painters here described consists of Euthymides, the central figure, of Phintias, and 'Kleophrades,' in all probability his partner and pupil, and of Hypsis, whose relation is less easy to determine. To the student, usually condemned to search for the material he desires among numerous periodicals and repertories, the book will be indeed welcome; not only is it the first of its size to be sufficiently illustrated, but it contains also condensed and valuable information on most of the questions involved. To the expert it will afford pleasant matter for controversy; some thirty unsigned vases are attributed to the several painters, and various problems of the early R.F. period considered.

Dr. Hoppin's method is to discuss each artist in three sections: the signed vases are first given a description equivalent to that of a catalogue; the evidence they afford is then summed up and the individual peculiarities of drawing minutely analysed; thereby the reader is taken into the author's confidence, and can watch how the evidence is applied in the final section which deals with the attributed vases.

Euthymides is treated somewhat more fully than in the earlier monograph. Emphasis is laid on his consistent use of the proportion 1:7 for head and body, and the comments he inscribed on his own pots are pleasantly characterised as an ancient attempt at advertisement. Ten vases and fragments are assigned to him in addition to the original ten; these include the Vienna pelike with the murder of Aegisthos (after Furtwängler) and three small kylikes, attributed by Hartwig to Phintias, one at Athens bearing the signature *Φιντίας*

ἐποίησεν. If the hand that painted it was really that of Euthymides, not only would his partnership with Phintias be attested by inscriptional evidence, but he would appear in a new light as one of the more skilful of cup painters. Was he capable of a pose so free from awkwardness and a composition so ingenious? Unfortunately the Bocchi plate, which might have guided us, survives only in fragments.

Phintias is considered to be 'inferior in technical skill,' but 'possessing the elements of a bigger style.' It would appear that his development was arrested by the good fortune that placed him at the head of an atelier. The fact that his drawing became stereotyped, though regrettable from an artistic point of view, makes reconstruction of his work on the lines of this book most satisfactory. With Hypsis it is otherwise. His work is, on the whole, individual, and his people like demure children with big heads and feet, but its details are more elusive. Therefore the attribution of the Amphora B.M. E. 253, on the strength of its details and without regard to the general impression, is unconvincing. From the productions of the Kleophrades painter are selected six, illustrating Euthymides' influence.

The author does not purpose to speak much of the relation between Euthymides' circle and its contemporaries, apart from the rivalry with Euphronios and a suggested connexion between it and the "Andokides" group. This connexion is cited in favour of the theory that the four painted in B.F. technique: nevertheless, except in the case of Phintias' early kylix, their style shows too great an advance on that of Andokides to allow any resemblance to be used as proof. With reference to Andokides, is not the heterogeneous nature of his wares too much emphasised?

In the preface is mentioned the

impossibility of discussing the work of Euthymides apart from that of his colleagues. This is not only because they are allied in style, but because several of the unsigned vases are believed to be by two painters. Collaboration of this kind has been advocated by various scholars, but one has the impression that it is too often appealed to, and that the appeal is the outcome of insisting too strictly on uniformity of drawing. That the back or shoulder of a vase should be left to a subordinate is quite probable, in the case of an equal the process would have little to recommend itself, and neither a kylix of the 'Kleinmeister' type nor the British Museum Pamphaios kylix amounts to evidence.

One cannot be too grateful for the various tables and résumés the book contains. The analyses of composition by a scheme of essential lines are an interesting experiment, though naturally they neglect what is an equally good criterion, the spaces. Apart from the value of the illustrations in relation to the text, they are illuminating as a collection of works entirely of one period.

For a long time the science of vases has needed more books to come between the monograph on the one hand and the monumental folio on the other. Just such a book is *Euthymides and his Fellows*: it would be well if other painters could be chronicled in the same way.

W. LAMB.

A HISTORY OF GREEK ECONOMIC THOUGHT.

A History of Greek Economic Thought. By ALBERT AUGUSTUS TREVER. One vol. 9½" × 6½". Pp. 162. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1916. 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book is a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Chicago University. It is planned as a history of the theoretical views entertained by those of the Greeks—philosophers for the most part—who have attempted a scientific investigation of economic subjects. It excludes, therefore, the history of Greek economic conditions, even where these may be regarded as the expression of a settled conviction. Three-fifths of the book are properly devoted to Plato and Aristotle, the only considerable authorities for whose beliefs information in sufficient detail is forthcoming. The remainder, apart from the introductory and concluding chapters, discusses pre-Platonic thought, Xenophon, the Orators, and the minor Socratics and post-Aristotelians—the two last being somewhat inconveniently grouped together under the description of 'Minor Philosophers.' It is, I think, unfortunate that, in the case of Xenophon, no attempt has been made to distinguish the views of Xenophon himself, chiefly contained

in the minor treatise on *Ways and Means* (ὁδοί), from the opinions of Socrates, for which, in this sphere at any rate, Xenophon is our main source. The consequence is that, though there are many references to the Socratic point of view, what Socrates himself maintained is nowhere explicitly set forth. Some estimate of Socrates' contribution should have been formed; and, if the Cynic and Cyrenaic outgrowths had been examined in the same connexion, a clearer light would have been thrown on Plato's own development.

The chapters devoted to Plato and Aristotle are written clearly and carefully, and provide a useful compendium of the economic principles which are discussed or adopted by these writers.¹ Several of the passages which Mr. Trever examines have been vigorously debated by previous critics, and, even though his conclusions may not be accepted in every case, his arguments are presented with fairness and moderation.

The exposition of the thought of the earliest and latest periods is less satisfactory, and seems to have been written

¹ An error on p. 38 arises from the omission of *ἐνέκα* in the quotation from *Rep.* 371 B; and on p. 39, *Laws* 918 B is very imperfectly cited.

with the object of rounding off the central portion of the book.¹ Mr. Trever has pointed out that economic science was not developed by the Greeks as an independent branch of knowledge; and he is aware that it is seldom justifiable to read an economic significance into popular maxims or the fragmentary sayings of philosophers. Nevertheless, he has sometimes included matter which would have been more in place in the companion volume on economic conditions which he has promised to undertake. Scattered quotations, bearing on wealth or labour, from poets such as Hesiod, Theognis, and Euripides, are not of much value, unless the character and purpose of the writings in which they occur are carefully explained. Similar considerations apply to the philosophical schools. The statement (p. 132) that Antisthenes, 'though despising wealth, upheld the dignity of free labour,' is altogether misleading. It is based on Diog. Laert. VI. 2, which is a good instance of Cynic paradox. Inasmuch as no one doubted that grinding labour (πόνος) was an evil thing, it was a disturbing message to learn that the greatest of the Greek heroes proved the contrary by his habitual selection of discomfort

¹ The inference is suggested by the character of Chaps. III. and VI. as compared with the rest of the book. On p. 77 there is a reference to the chapter on Aristotle as having been already written.

in preference to ease. The treatment of the Stoics is equally inadequate. It is impossible to understand their position without some reference to the theory of ἀξία, the supremacy of ἀρετή, and the range of the καθήκοντα in correspondence with the various ἀδιάφορα. There are also some positive errors, such as the fixing of Zeno's birth in the year 320 B.C., and the assertion that he 'eulogised poverty,' which is based on a misapplication of Cic. *Fin.* V. 84 (p. 139, nn. 8, 10).

By his frank confession of possible errors the author goes far to disarm criticism. It must, nevertheless, be stated that the formal defects of the book are serious. The misprints, especially in the Greek quotations, are too numerous to mention. Other mistakes, such as 'Dichaearchus,' 'Hippodamas of Miletus,' 'Isomachus' (for Ischomachus), 'Thucydides Mythhistoricus,' 'Plato's Politics' (for *Politicus*), suggest by their repetition that the printer is not alone to blame. The system of cross-reference is loose, as in the constantly recurring 'cf. *infra*,' and often inaccurate (e.g. p. 17, n. 1; p. 79, n. 4). Several of the quotations are carelessly made, and, as they stand, are misleading or unintelligible. Besides those already mentioned, examples occur at p. 15, nn. 7, 12; p. 132, n. 2; and p. 141, n. 12. It is obvious that the book required a more searching revision than it has received.

A. C. PEARSON.

GAETANO DE SANCTIS: *STORIA DEI ROMANI*.

Storia dei Romani. Vol. III.: *L'Età delle Guerre Puniche*. By GAETANO DE SANCTIS. One vol. in two parts. 8vo. grande. Part I. xiii+432; Part II. viii+728, with 8 maps and plans of battles. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1916 and 1917. Lire 30 for the two parts.

IN 1908 Dr. H. Peter, reviewing with respectful admiration in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* the first two volumes of Professor De Sanctis' *Storia dei Romani*, doubted whether the author could continue his work on the vast scale of its early stages. It seems a

novelty to find a German critic quailing before the magnitude of a learned work, but if the present instalment of the *Storia* has reached Dr. Peter, he must feel reassured concerning the staying power of Professor De Sanctis. Over 1,150 pages are devoted to the First and Second Punic wars, and of the letterpress a good half is in the small print of notes and appendices, revealing a study of astonishing minuteness and precision, which takes account of the period in every aspect, military, political, antiquarian, topographical, and chronological, and is perhaps above all valuable for its most searching

analysis of the sources. But Professor De Sanctis is never one of those who fail to see the wood for the trees. His narrative is of a rare freshness. If all the notes and critical matter were taken out and published separately for the use of students, probably no Roman history in existence is so likely as this to rouse and hold the interest of the general reader, leading him with a sure hand through the details of campaigns and Roman politics. The author in his preface shows a certain anxiety lest those who do not know his other work should think him inclined to tell a tale rather than to trace and estimate religious, intellectual, or economic movements, and explains that war was the predominant element in the life of third-century Italians, so that the main business of their historian is to relate their wars; but wherever Professor De Sanctis finds occasion to summarise large tendencies, he does so with a masterly touch, and with a conciseness altogether admirable.

The book opens with a clear and very interesting account of the Carthaginian republic, its origin, the geography of its territory, its constitution, and civilisation, with a full discussion of the ethnology of North Africa and the relations existing between Carthage and the tribes subject to her, as well as her connexion with the mother city of Tyre and the growth of her hegemony over the other Phoenician colonies in the west. In one of the 'Statistical Notes' which form part of his first Appendix (I. p. 87), Professor De Sanctis, attempting to calculate the population of the Libyo-Phoenician cities, rebukes Beloch and others, who seek 'to belittle the importance of the Punic wars, declaring that the Phoenicians in Africa were too few ever to have succeeded in making the west a Semitic region. They were certainly not less numerous than the Latins, who for their part knew how to Latinise the country. The difficulty of assimilating the natives lay, not in the numbers of the Phoenicians, but, if anywhere, in their self-regarding attitude of isolation among their subjects. In this respect Phoenician imperialism differed from Roman, and was more akin to Anglo-Saxon rule, which has often been wrongly compared

to that of Rome. But we cannot say that this isolation would have lasted for ever, if conditions had changed.'

After this sketch of the origin and growth of Carthage the history goes straight to the opening of the first Punic war. The gravity of the Roman decision to intervene at Messina is very well brought out. No one in Rome foresaw the winning of sea-power, the conquest of Sicily and thereafter of the world, or the terrible struggle in store for the city. 'Perhaps many of those who gave their vote would have been disposed to withhold it, had a clear vision of the future been before them.' But in any case 'war between Carthage and Rome was inevitable. . . . Only if the Italian federation had allowed itself to be permeated by Greek culture, and if the progress of industry and commerce had made it less ready to take up arms could a way have been found for the peaceful existence of the two western powers side by side, and for Mediterranean civilisation to develop on a basis of reciprocal balance between a few large states, differing in nationality but similar in culture' (I. p. 101). Two moments, one at the beginning of the first Punic war, the other before the battle of Zama (which Professor De Sanctis bids us call Narragara, though force of habit is once too strong even for him, and in the *errata* we find, 'p. 555, for Zama read Narragara'), are selected as turning Rome irrevocably into the pathway of imperialism. The first was when M. Valerius resolved to march against Syracuse, thereby starting Rome on a career of conquest, whereas her previous wars for the unity of Italy had been 'defensively-offensive' (I. p. 114); the second incident was Scipio's rejection of the peace proposals of Syphax in 204, 'one of those occasions which mark out a nation's inevitable course, without contemporaries or perhaps even the principal actors being aware of what they were doing' (II. p. 526). 'Would Rome,' asks the author at the end of the book (II. p. 560) 'have the strength to resist temptation? Would she be able to take up once more a sober and quiet life, and put a curb on the militarism which was flourishing after seventeen years of warfare? The immediate future of Italy

and civilisation depended on the answer to such questions. And the answer had already been virtually given by the advance of M. Valerius beyond Messina, and of P. Scipio beyond the Castra Cornelia.'

In other passages the author seems to credit the Roman capitalist and Junker class with an excessive clear-sightedness in their imperialistic aims. It may be doubted whether in the year 241 even 'the most hide-bound capitalists' welcomed peace because they perceived the necessity of 'husbanding the robust class of Italian peasants,' if they were to have armies wherewith to achieve foreign dominion (I. p. 195). If, in the author's opinion, the first steps towards empire were taken unconsciously, it only needed the first Punic war, the Roman request to Seleucus Callinicus on behalf of their kinsmen the people of Ilium, and their diplomatic intervention on the Acarnanian question, to create a full-blown spirit of unlimited aggression in the east (I. p. 278). But in general the moderation and well-balanced character of his judgement is remarkable; at the same time he never fails to come to a definite conclusion, after reviewing apparently the whole of the literature, ancient and modern, on the several points with which he deals. To confute him would require in almost every case a learning equal to his own. There can be very little in any of the chief European languages relevant to his purpose that has escaped his watchful eye. He cites articles in English and American periodicals constantly, but is possibly unfair to larger consecutive English works, such as those of Freeman, Bevan, or Heitland, in comparison with the notice accorded to the corresponding output of France and Germany.

A very important essay on the composition and structure of Polybius, which Professor De Sanctis rightly considers indispensable for the understanding of his observations on the sources and chronology of both Punic wars, is found at the end of I. chap. iii. The final summary of his critical work on all the sources (continued systematically at each stage of the book) is that, except where traces can be found of the earliest annalists, 'very little is trustworthy

that does not come to us directly or indirectly from Polybius. This proves that, however ruinous and reprehensible "polibiolatria" may be, there is no less danger in criticism which places and discusses on the same level contradictory passages of Livy and Polybius, or worse, of Polybius and Appian or Cornelius Nepos. Anyone who has formed a clear idea of the stuff that the younger contemporaries of Polybius put forward in Rome as history, may discuss and criticise Polybius, but cannot fail to respect him as a historian' (II. p. 671). Towards Livy's 'buon gusto' and 'buon senso' the author is affectionate (II. p. 656), but while full of sympathy for his tendency to 'live over again in the past the drama of his own age, with profound sincerity' (II. p. 194), and making every allowance for the difficulties in his way, he shows no mercy for the shallowness of Livy in research and his other infirmities. Polybius also comes in on occasion for censure, as 'his thought is frequently quite the reverse of profound, but this lack of profundity does not permit us to introduce arbitrary corrections into his text' (II. p. 147), after the manner of various modern scholars. With the 'perversity' (*secentismo*) of Laqueur and other textual and higher critics Professor De Sanctis has little patience, though ready enough to accept reasonable emendations and theories of second recensions; he describes the attitude of these writers as 'the tendency to substitute in investigation the idle play of ingenuity and the pursuit of novelty at all costs for the cautious and leisurely sifting of data' (II. p. 99). He considers that it would be useful to attempt a reconstruction of Caelius Antipater, in order to complete and verify previous analyses of sources, and thinks that the hypotheses put forward by him in the sixth Appendix to II. chap. vi. would form a starting-point for part of this work, although he does not wish to undertake it himself, and does not approve of the efforts of Wölfflin, O. Gilbert, and Sieglin in this direction.

The book contains careful studies of vexed questions, such as the reform of the *comitia*, the Roman calendar (which the author thinks was not very different

in the third century from the Julian calendar) and the topography of all the battles. The maps and plans are excellent in their clearness. Two slips not in the short list of *errata* are (1) I. p. 219 '*Ol. 104, 1*' where 140 should be read, and (2) II. p. 465 : Cartagena is not on the '*sponda occidentale*' of Spain. Others can hardly fail to lurk in a work of so great a size, but they do not obtrude themselves. The index

has been tested and not found wanting. There is a clear and detailed chronological *conspectus*, and but one *desideratum* seems lacking—namely, a bibliography of the modern authors cited. Italy should receive the highest congratulations on herself producing a memorial of her national story, which is complete and complex without degenerating into lengthiness.

ADELA MARION ADAM.

CATALOGUE OF ARRETINE POTTERY IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By Professor GEORGE H. CHASE, Ph.D. Quarto. Pp. xii + 112, with thirty plates and two figures. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. \$10.

CONSIDERING that there exist so few Catalogues of Roman and Arretine Pottery, it is pleasant that their quality should exceed their quantity. In 1908 the Loeb Catalogue appeared, a pioneer so splendid that one expected it would be unique; nevertheless the book under discussion, by the same author, and indebted in a large measure to Mr. Loeb's generosity, is on an almost equally sumptuous scale. Since the publication of the Loeb and British Museum Collections little has been added to our knowledge of these wares beyond articles on some isolated examples and an inaccessible German treatise: we have here an accession of valuable material, partly new, partly familiar, and all the more welcome because, of the Arezzo Collection itself no catalogue is as yet in existence.

The method differs very slightly from that adopted in the author's earlier work. The classification is according to subject, moulds and vases being described in the same section, and accompanied by very illuminating notes on artistic parallels, questions of epigraphy, etc. An entertaining feature of Arretine Pottery is the way in which the ingenious potter by permutations and combinations, achieved a variety of designs from a limited number of stamps. Dr. Chase

makes a point of this in the Introduction, and, when describing the vases, points out and letters those that occur more than once. As the types are so important in the case of figures, it would have been interesting to add a list of the ones in this collection, both for future reference and for comparison with the original list of Dragendorff. But the book includes no form of index, a fact inconvenient in a catalogue as full of information as this, and regrettable from the point of view of catalogues yet to be written.

On the other hand the reader, accustomed to emulate *Oliver Twist* where illustrations of archaeological books are concerned, has here no excuse for so doing: the thirty plates are beautiful in themselves, and reproduce, often more than once, the principal pieces in the collection.

Including vases, fragments, and miscellaneous objects, the collection comprises 143 items. There are many excellent and almost complete examples of the more common types; others which have a special point of interest, as the mould No. 1, with Nike, Artemis, and Apollo (the Greek names seem in spite of certain protests to have stuck to the Roman potter's handiwork), which is the first instance in pottery of a subject familiar elsewhere; others again which appear to be unique, such as the well-known mould with the death of Phaethon by Bargates (No. 66) and the Egyptianising fragment (No. 62): there are none however which, like the '*Birth of Dionysos*' in the Loeb Collection, reconstruct as whole scenes what had

previously been known by fragments only. The signatures belong to some nine different workshops, the largest proportion, of course, to that of M. Perennius: one inscription, RHITV PISA, is believed to occur for the first time on No. 60.

Our historical outlook has altered very little since Oxe's more rigorous system of dating was adopted, and since the supposed slave Tigranes was given the credit of being identical with M. Perennius himself. Hence the introduction to this, the Boston Catalogue, is a modification of that of the Loeb Catalogue. It contains a short history of the finds of Arretine Pottery and their chroniclers from the fifteenth century downwards; a description of the technical processes involved in making the

pots; an account of the potters represented in the collection, and some remarks upon the forms of art influencing and influenced by Arretine Pottery, with the suggestion that some of the Renaissance work should be included under the latter heading.

When one turns the pages of the book for the first time, noticing the uniform print and long paragraphs, one has the impression that it is a catalogue disguised as a treatise; closer inspection shows that is not only a catalogue, but, save for the question of indices already noted, a most businesslike one. Moreover, an account of this kind and of objects so dainty and attractive cannot fail to be a source of enjoyment as well as of information.

W. LAMB.

THE DESCENT OF MANUSCRIPTS.

The Descent of Manuscripts. By A. C. CLARK. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1918. 28s. net.

IN this country we are growing richer in works on palaeography, pure and applied, and textual emendators are acquiring a habit of appealing to its principles to justify their suggestions (which as likely as not they have reached by quite other processes); emendation by intuition, such as belonged to the Italian scholars praised by Ellis in his Commentary on Catullus, is not possible for us alien workers; it is for us painfully to acquire knowledge of the ways and habits of scriptoria under the guidance of a Lindsay or a Traube, to mark down the lurking ligature or the ensnaring *i-altum*, before we can hope to emend texts even plausibly, and even then, as Professor Housman reminds us, it is necessary to be a textual emendator. Most of the books, however, have dealt with minuscule scripts and only cursorily with majuscules; and yet it is about the dark days of majuscules that we have most to learn, for it was in this period that our texts seem to have suffered most loss—not from deliberate corrections (for that fiendish art was probably rare and little known before the eleventh century and still

rare then¹), but from accidental blunders, omissions, and misreadings, incorporations of marginal matter and such like; errors due to human frailty and stupidity rather than to human wickedness and bumptiousness.² It is really, though not intentionally and solely, on pre-Caroline days that Professor Clark's book throws much-required light; he shows us what we have to learn from the length of the line, the number of lines in a page or column, and in general the shape of the book and the past history of a text, so that in fancy we get appreciably back nearer to the author's own days.

'The general object,' says Professor Clark, 'of this book is to show how internal evidence furnished by MSS. can be utilised to cast light upon the filiation of *codices*, and in some cases upon the archetype from which they are derived; also to apply such knowledge to the criticism and emendation of the text.' This evidence of the MSS. themselves is obtained by omissions, when they

¹ P² in Livy's third decade is such an irresponsible, ignorant meddler who writes a self-satisfied '*recognobi*' after each book, but it is a problem where he got his right corrections from, if they are his.

² Shipley's *Certain Sources of Corruptions in Latin MSS.* is a very useful guide for the passage from uncials to Caroline.

are of known length, and by repetitions (dittographies), and by transpositions; together they show, as a general rule, the length of a line, *i.e.* certain point in one line to the same or nearly the same point in a line below of the MS. copied; frequently there is a contributory cause, *viz.* ὁμοιότης; sometimes valuable evidence as to line-omission is obtained from supplements in the margin. When lines thus discovered vary in length they testify to the presence of more than one ancestor. In uncials, for instance, a two-columned form with 16 to 18 letters in the line is common; but some of the earliest majuscules, as the palimpsest of the *de Republica* fragments, average 10½ letters; when omissions show a number of such lines, *i.e.* with 10½ letters as a unit, they point to an ancestor of this kind. Of course, some omissions must be made by mere accidents, especially by a scribe with roving eyes; but the larger number of omissions—I would venture to say the vast majority of them—are due to the eye passing from one point to a corresponding point in another line. Not only a line or two but a column, a page, and even a quaternion can be calculated, as Professor Clark has done. But caution is necessary: 'it is only when we have a large number of facts all tending in the same direction that chance becomes unlikely or impossible.'

It may be said that this is a very interesting study for the leisured, but of what advantage is it for textual emendation? Apart from considerations mentioned above there are others: if a reading is found in one family of MSS. and absent from another family (or only found in the margin of one), this principle supplies a test for its genuineness, for, as Mr. Clark says, 'an interpolator would not have been so cunning as to conceal his inventions by a device intended to show that their omission was palaeographically possible.' For instance, I applied the principle to a case of transposition as we believe it to be in Liv. 4. 2, *reminiscerentur—amplioremq.*, to see how the passage would stand the test in the matter of length; the number of letters concerned is 18 × 8—a result surprisingly satisfactory, it would seem. Moreover, with the support of the prin-

ciple of the line, we have restored two passages to the text of Livy 6-10: one a passage which Gelenius found in his codex and is in part found in the margin of M; the second, or rather a second and a third which are quoted by grammarians; in both the fall from the text was natural, owing to ὁμοιότης.¹

Single lines, varying as they do in length, are however not so telling as long passages where the average comes in, and the longer passage in Bk. 4 is of greater value than the shorter ones, especially in the matter of transpositions, where these are necessary or suspected; the value of the principle appears below with reference to Livy and in this work in the chapter on the pseudo-Asconius.

Otto Rossbach (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, October, 1916) has applied with happy results the method of the 18 lettered line to some readings of Spirensis in Livy's third decade; in fact, no textual critic can afford to ignore the leading principles of this book, whether he approves of them or not. He is hardly likely to command attention, unless he applies the principles or offers something better to account for his emendations. If he fills a gap, existent or supposed, in his text (for instance, in the manner of the late Moritz Mueller's 'free composition'), his labour will be lost, as being unsupported; if he makes a transposition, he must strengthen it scientifically. Furthermore, the value of the method appears in dealing with slight repetitions, with variants, doublets, and 'voces nihili,' that invade the texts; sometimes they are from lines above, sometimes from the margin, which very often or rather more frequently get into the wrong place, even into the wrong column. These are well known, but Professor Clark has done service by showing how this may have happened; he has treated these questions scientifically: instead of saying 'inserted from above,' or 'from the margin,' in the old slipshod way, he has shown exactly how this may have happened.² For instance, he shows how

¹ Cf. Preface to vol. 2 of Liv. 6-10, when it is published!

² In the Medicean of the first decade of Livy marginal supplements are often far above or below the right place; evidently the scribe found them in the margin with or without marks for reinsertion.

Cic. *Phil.* xiv. 13 appears after an interval of 951 letters at § 15, and how in Cic. *Phil.* ii. 106, a 'vox nihili' is due to a doublet in § 104 after an interval of 953 letters. Livian texts bear this out in various ways. A remarkable 'vox nihili' appears in the text of some MSS. in 7. 1. 8, *nemo sic*, which ultimately was fully developed into a complete sentence; *ut in pluribus*, 26. 48. 12, is another; of repetition of part of a word (for such it appears to me) I may quote 45. 2. 5; Vindob., our sole authority, goes back 51 letters to *pau-corum* and repeats a mysterious *pauci* which puzzles editors; Vindob. seems to be copying a MSS. which resembled itself, a MS. containing 25-26 letters to the line.

Further, we can get an understanding as to what happened in making 'shorter texts'; this is illustrated by shorter texts of Horace, Demosthenes' *Midias*, and the Acts, and particularly Cic. *ad Fam.* vi. 9. 1-10. 6 on pp. 147-153. All this is worked out in detail with considerable patience and consummate skill: in the first three chapters omissions, omission marks, and marginalia are dealt with, which ought to be read by all who have even so much as handled an ancient text; this is followed by evidence from Primasius' Commentary on the Apocalypse; chapters 5-11 have, what we expect from Professor Clark, a masterly account of Ciceronian palimpsests, texts of various Ciceronian works, and Asconius—chapters dealing specially with the subject under review, which are packed full of exceedingly interesting and valuable matter, and giving incontrovertible testimony of the truth of the doctrines enunciated; chapters 12 and 13 treat of MSS. of Plato and the Paris MS. of Demosthenes. An 'Addenda' illustrating the various points from English (in addition to those given in chapter 1) and other MSS. will be interesting to students of English texts. Full Indexes complete the volume.

I have noticed only one misprint: on p. 264, Livy 31. 3 cannot be right, as Bk. 31 has nothing to do with Vindob.; tracing it to Heraeus, I find he has '*Ibid.* 31. 3,' i.e. 26. 31. 3, but neither is it there.

It will perhaps be suitable to set

NO. CCLXXIII. VOL. XXXIII.

forth a number of examples of omission from Livian MSS. of the third decade.¹ The examples are taken at random and are not complete. In the second half of the decade, where we have the Spir-ensian tradition (called S here) as well as Puteanus, I have noticed among smaller omissions the following on the part of P (P has an average of 17 or 18 letters in his line, sometimes he falls to 14 or 15, sometimes, but rarely, rises to 20 or 21; he has incomplete lines, too, marking real or sham paragraphs):

	Letters omitted.
28. 14. 9 ne aperirent (ὀμ.)	11
28. 15. 2 die iure etiam (ὀμ.)	13
27. 7. 4 supplicationes	14
28. 23. 4 ab tergo in gente (ὀμ.)	14
29. 21. 5 quod suum non esset (ὀμ.)	16
29. 35. 14 deuexam equitatus (ὀμ.)	16
29. 1. 10 atque exercendorum (ὀμ.)	17
27. 7. 9 praeuisset urbanus (ὀμ?)	18
27. 12. 2 non iter quietos facere (ὀμ.)	20
28. 23. 1 iure belli in armatos re	20
30. 4. 6 hasdrubal ab syphace ab (ὀμ.)	20
30. 12. 18 institit deinde reputa	20
28. 11. 8 metu . . . minime (ὀμ?)	25
29. 33. 9 garamantum omne tempus usque (ὀμ.)	25
29. 1. 11 multisque proeliis rem publicam	28
30. 17. 9 donis . . . dedisse (ὀμ?) (18+17)	35
26. 51. 8 nunc . . . decurrebat (double ὀμ.) (3×18)	54
29. 26. 8 nauigantibus . . . silentio (ὀμ.) (3×18)	54
29. 12. 9 retinenda . . . Hispania (ὀμ.) (3×21)	63

and in 24. 32. 9 *postero die servi ad* (17) are omitted by P but added by P¹ (i.e. P himself) in the margin; here he seems to have omitted a line but noticed it (there is no ὀμ.).

In 30. 33. 15 there is an omission of 17 letters, in 30. 35. 9 of 25 (which could be shortened to 21) and in 30. 37. 10 of 18, all without ὀμ., by CB, and evidently therefore by P (but here P is lost).

Of these, in 28. 11. 8 if *in agros*, which I suspect for other reasons, is a marginal addition, the line is reduced to 18 letters; on the contrary, in 28. 23. 1 there is an acknowledged loss of a word or words before *iure*, which may or may not have been in P's model; 29. 33. 9, P's model, may have

¹ I have discussed some of the first decade in the Preface of the forthcoming vol. 2.

gone wrong on *Garamantum* and telescoped *tempusq.* 29. 1. 11 is clearly reducible by writing *rem̄p.* or *rēp̄.*

In 27. 32. 7 there is an omission and distortion:

S¹ had *omnes copias | ad propinquum Eliorum |* (19) *castellum Pyrgum uocant |* (18) *eduxit*; P has *castellum pyrgum uocant copias omnes* before *eduxit*. It would seem that P's model had *copias omnes eduxit* only, but the omitted words *castellum Pyrgum uocant* (18) in the margin. P naturally inserted them wrongly; I see no other way of explaining the phenomena.

It seems then that P's model was of much the same shape as P, but longer and not so dumpy; the shorter lines rather suggest a predecessor of the line-length of the palimpsest of the *de Rep.*; the few (if there are really any) of 25-26 letters would be two of these.

The larger omissions of P (27. 2. 11-27. 3. 7), or about 1120 (18 × 62) letters, seem to point to the loss of a page of two columns; if so, the model resembled the Veronese palimpsest (first decade) or the Vatican fragmentary palimpsest of Bk. 91, which have thirty lines of two columns to a page. The larger omission (26. 41. 18-26. 43. 9), of which S (as shown by the Supplement in *Agemensis*) has preserved two folios, or four pages,² to judge by the size of the loss of P in Bk. 27. (It would seem by the matter that there is complete loss of another folium still.)

A recognised distortion in P is 22. 10. 2. He has inserted between *Quiritium* and *quod* the words *quod duellum—Alpes sunt* (corrig. Lipsius)—i.e. exactly four lines of 18 letters; for P writes *PR* for *populo Romano* and *qui ui* for *qui*; it would seem that the words had fallen out into the margin and were reinstated in the wrong place. In 22. 18. 10 Luchs has changed *ab continuis cladibus ac respirasse* to *ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus* (as C's corrector apparently did long before); Valla's correction is less likely, if we realised that 19 letters are concerned;

P, confusing *ab* and *ac*, wrote *ac respirasse*, discovered his omission, and, 'more suo,' then wrote *ab continuis cladibus* (and said nothing about it³), or P's model was responsible.

In 22. 32. §§ 1, 2, 3, P's order is §§ 3, 1, 2. Valla (in A⁴) marked the passage, and Claude du Puis (in his P) suggests a transposition; Grynaeus (ed. Frob. 1531) transposed as now accepted; there are 18 × 10 letters in §§ 1 and 2 and 18 × 20 in § 3. It looks as if part of a column got in before the other part.

In a list of dittographs which I have made in Bks. 23, 24, 25 there are ten normal lines (or multiples) repeated, one slightly exceeding, seven of 24-26, but all, I think, showing a normal line + a repeated word or words, and six of 29-31, which are abnormal, but suggest that the line is the cause of the repetition. I think they are all due to P himself, not a predecessor; but we must remember that P (and perhaps P's model) has incomplete lines, making paragraphs even where continuity of writing is required (cf. Clark, p. 46).

I must add one from 26. 29. 9: *inicum | extra sortem conlege optionem dari provinciae iniquum*], with difference of spelling (not unusual in P): 47 letters (16 + 17 + 14 actually) repeated.

But on the whole I am not inclined to set much store by these repetitions; I believe the line-principle fixes their 'terminus ad quem,' but nothing limits their 'terminus a quo'; the scribe may or may not go back to any starting-place.

The Spirensian tradition, on the other hand, has omissions: in 30. 28. 11 S omitted *pulsos se Hispania* (ομ.) or 16 letters, but P has it twice, to make up for S's deficiency; this would suggest that S and P are descended from an ancestor of like shape. In 29. 21. 6 the Turin palimpsest (classed as of the same ancestry as S) omitted originally *restitui*

¹ For S's lines see below.

² In the Medicean of 1-10 there are two distortions of the text, probably due to the displacement of quaternions in the predecessor of M; similarly in O a quaternion appears to be lost after 4. 30. 14

³ This is P's way: he does not call unnecessary attention to his mistakes and he does not like to mess his beautiful parchment; when he repeats half a word from a line above he quietly goes on as if nothing had happened (I am not sure that the larger repetitions are not corrected by him); Vindob. seems much the same.

⁴ See *Class. Quart.* XI (1917), pp. 154 ff., 'The Codex Agemensis and Valla.'

... *Locrensiūm* (ὁμ.) or 59 (3 × 20) letters, and similarly in 29. 21. 5, *si quid* . . . *repeteret* (ὁμ.) 33, where T² gives *conpraehenderet*.

S omits in 27. 11. 12 *concedente collega* 17; in 28. 29. 4 *quid optaverint* (ὁμ.) 14; in 29. 37. 7 *ipsorum colonia-rum* 17.

Longer omissions by S are mentioned by Rhenanus at 27. 7. 14 and 26. 43. 6 of uncertain length, as he does not give details (he says a page, but means a folio); these are apparently due to the scribe, not to wanton destroyers; but the Munich folio of S—viz. 28. 39. 16—28. 41. 22¹ shows 4,000, more or less, letters in the folio, so if the losses are due to the scribe, the uncial MS. from which S is descended was rather smaller than P's model.

But the evidence of C, as being a direct copy of P, and of other copies of P, is instructively bearing on Professor Clark's principle of omission based on ὁμ. and line or line only (or thereabouts). C omits 22. 22. 21–23. 1 *quoque*—in *Hispania* (no ὁμ.), 76 (4 × 19) letters. Here P has

Romanos quoque et
..... (3 lines)
haec in Hispania quo
que

with a deleted *quoque* between *Carthaginienses* and *concedere*; in 22. 39. 21

C omits *metuit* . . . *agentem* (ὁμ.), 37 letters, which looks like 18 + 19, but actually P has | *metuit* . . . *ni*|*hil* . . . *agen*|*tem te ratio*. My second example is still more instructive: in 22. 55. 3 *clamor* . . . *mortuique* (ὁμ. of *que*, 58 letters—i.e. 3 × 19, but P has *clamor* | *lamentantium muli*|*erum* . . . *pa*|*lam* . . . *mor*|*tuique*, lines of 18 (ending with *clamor*), 16, 14, 15 letters). In 26. 2. 10 C omits *praesidio* . . . *essent*, 35 letters. P has *essent* in middle of second line under *esset*. We must interpret the canon rather liberally in some of these; but we are dealing with small amounts, against which Professor Clark warns us. Moreover C is copying majuscules into minuscules, and evidently read somewhat ahead in making his copy.

In 30. 38. 12–39. 1 C omits *reddita Claudium* (no ὁμ.), 15 letters; in 30. 42. 17 *victis quam vincendo* (ὁμ.), 18; and in 30. 45. 2 *militum* . . . *per*, 26; but we have no means of knowing what P had here (Luchs' Proleg. p. lviii).

B omits *ex duobus exercitibus* (19 or 17), without ὁμ., in 30. 41. 5, and the Munich fragments has dittograph in 23. 49. 2: after *periculo essent* the scribe goes back and repeats *alterum ut quae in naues* (19 or 20).²

C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS.

¹ (München. Cod. Lat., 23491). The late A. H. Kyd copied this remaining (if it does remain now) folio of S entirely out for me shortly before his lamented death.

² As A. H. Kyd, who sent me notice and readings of these fragments, pointed out, this was due to the *essent*, with which P ends both lines.

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS, 21: THE CLASSICS IN BRITISH EDUCATION.

Reconstruction Problems, 21: The Classics in British Education. London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, Imperial House, Kingsway, W.C. 2, etc., 1919. Price 2d. net.

THIS is an admirable pamphlet, temperate yet thorough, summarising in 'fourteen points' just what the keen but (sometimes) inarticulate friend of the Classics needs to know, if he is to take up his parable and give cogent reasons for the faith that is in him.

The writer takes a broad view, and he avoids 'fine writing.' Salient features are the valuable references to the Book of the Princeton Conference (with some of its most striking facts in *précis*) and to the statement on the Greek question by M. Albert Mansbridge, representing the W.E.A. The claims of Greek are convincingly put, and the importance of Latin as a 'pivotal' subject is not neglected—in particular on the linguistic side; an argument that might be clinched in one word if we agreed

to call a spade a spade and Latin (not Latin but) European, as being the one language on which all the other languages that matter in modern Europe are alike based.

The pamphlet deserves the heartiest welcome and the closest attention that

all friends of the cause can give it. If the Classics are to survive as an *effective* force in the reconstructed scheme of national education, it must be on some such lines as those advocated here: *ἐν τούτῳ νικήσουσιν*.

D. A. S.

NOTES AND NEWS

AT the Annual General Meeting of the Northumberland and Durham Branch of the Classical Association, held on February 22, it was decided to invite the parent Classical Association to visit Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1920, as it is hoped that the buildings of Armstrong College may at an early date be evacuated by the military authorities.

At the last ordinary meeting of the Branch in 1918, the Rev. Dr. Dawson Walker, Durham, read a paper on 'The Influence of the Stoic *diatribe* on the style of St. Paul's Epistles,' and at the first meeting of 1919 Dr. J. Wight Duff, Newcastle, read a paper on 'Velleius Paterculus as a representative of Silver Age prose.'

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * *Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

Andreades (A. M.) Sir Charles Dilke and Greece. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. iv+58. Athens: A. Raptane, 1918. Dr. 2: On Money and the buying Power of the Precious Metals in the Byzantine Empire. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. ii+42. Athens: Tarousopoulos, 1918. [No price given.] Constantinople: its Population and Wealth in the Middle Ages. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. vi+249—ii+297. Athens: Sakellarios, 1918. [No price given.] The Economic System of Greece, from Heroic Times till the Establishment of the Kingdom of Greece. Vol. I., Part 2. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 7". Pp. xii+624. Athens: A. Raptane, 1918. [No price given.]

Beazley (J. D.) Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums. 11" x 8". Pp. x+236. Oxford University Press (for Harvard University), 1918. Half cloth, 30s. net.

Fowler (W. W.) The Death of Turnus: Observations on the XIIth Book of the Aeneid. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. viii+158. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919. Cloth, 6s. net.

Greece before the Conference. By Polybius. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxvi+120. London: Methuen and Co., 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.

Hermathena (No. XLI.). 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. ix+175—330+iv. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1919. 4s.

Janssen (J.) C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Domitiani (Doctor's Dissertation). 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. iv+96. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1919.

Köperberg (S.) Polybii Historiarum Liber XXX. quoad fieri potuit restitutus (Doctor's Dis-

sertation). 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii+104. Amsterdam. J. H. Kok, 1919.

Lofberg (J. O.) Sycophancy in Athens (Dissertation for Doctorate). 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii+104. University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, Illinois, 1917.

Moore (C. H.) Pagan Ideas of Immortality during the early Christian Centuries. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. viii+64. Oxford University Press (for Harvard University). Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

Murray (G.) Aristophanes and the War Party: A Study in the Contemporary Criticism of the Peloponnesian War. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4". Pp. 48. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1919. 1s. net.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri XIII. Edited by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt. 8" x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. iv+236. Cloth.

Sandys (J. E.) Latin Epigraphy: an Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xxiv+324. Cambridge: University Press, 1919. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

Thompson (T.) and *Srawley* (J. H.) St. Ambrose 'on the Mysteries' and the treatise 'on the Sacraments.' (Christian Literature Series.) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 144. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

Wright (H. G.) The Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. x+233. Manchester: University Press, 1919. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

The Classical Review

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1919

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

XII.

Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

286 νῆδον ποιήσασθαι ἐπήρατον εἰπέ τε μῦθον.

The suggestion of ἦρχέ τε μῦθον would remedy the metrical defect of this line, but there is room for an alternative course by which εἰπέ τε μῦθον might be maintained and the preceding ἐπήρατον found guilty of trespass.

There is no need for any severe treatment of the supposed offender. It is only the unmetrical termination that would suffer if we were to read

ἐπήρεα εἰπέ τε.

Ἐπήρης may be fairly inferred from εὐήρης reinforced by κατήρης, with which it would be fairly synonymous, ποδήρης and δυσήρης, which last indeed might be the true reading in l. 64.

It is no derogation to the temple that it should be described as 'fitting,' the word being put in the mouth of Apollo. The vaguely inadequate epithet 'lovely' (ἐπήρατος) suits neither the character of the locality as represented in the *Hymn*, nor of the god himself. In 521 Nitzsch's 'lofty,' 'elevated,' seems preferable, and the possibility of two separate words being confused together cannot be left out of account.

In 295 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς represents an earlier ἐπὶ σφί, and there can be little doubt that the true reading of 297 is :

νιέε Ἐργίνου, φίλω ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

* * *

299 κτιστοῖσιν λάεσσιν, αἰόδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰέ.

As the temple itself would be κτιστός and not the stones, the material of which it was built, most editors adopt

Ernesti's *ξεστοῖσιν*, and Mr. Allen has suggested but not adopted *τυκτοῖσιν* as well as *ρύτοῖσιν*. He has certainly inserted in his text many worse conjectures, notably and most recently Marx's miserable *ἀμφ' ἡμέων* in l. 171. Here, in view of the frequent confusion of η and ι (v. remarks on l. 13), we should perhaps read, as closer to the tradition, *κμητοῖσιν*, cf. *πολύκμητος*. The simple adjective is not found, as is expressly stated in the *Etym. Magn.*; but though this fact accounts in some measure for the corruption here, only the most arid pedantry could object to *κμητός* on that account. The stones are 'worked,' as we say 'dressed,' with hammer and chisel.

* * *

316 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἠπεδανὸς γέγονεν μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσι
παῖς ἐμὸς Ἥφαιστος, ῥικνὸς πόδας, ὃν τέκον αὐτὴ
ρίψ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλοῦσα καὶ ἔμβαλον εὖρεῖ πόντῳ.

For γέγονεν 'is' we should certainly read γεγόνει 'was born.' The malformation was clearly the cause and not the effect of the fall. Here was determined not to rear a cripple and she takes no blame for her conduct. On the contrary, she still (321) blames Thetis for her rescue-work.

It follows that the pathos of ὃν τέκον αὐτὴ is quite misplaced, and the dogmatic judgment of Allen and Sikes who say the words 'are not to be touched' is again mistaken. Ruhnken was right in the main. The words are a very simple and easy corruption of ὃν τε καὶ αὐτῇ, which is naturally and smoothly followed by ῥίψ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλοῦσα. Of course, after the appearance of τέκον the smooth sequence is broken,

and Demetrius Chalcondyles in 1488 showed his perception of the difficulty by a remark on the margin 'λείπει.' Fortunately he did not immediately proceed to fill up the supposed lacuna by concocting a line of his own, as Mr. Allen has done to the misleading of one editor already.

The ruthlessness of Here expressed by the words *καὶ αὐτή* should not be missed. Some revolt against its open avowal probably enough caused the appearance of the affectionate and loving but most inept *τέκον*.

* * *

324 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τεκόμην; καὶ σὴ κεκλημένη ἔμπης
ἦά ῥ' ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν, οἱ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι;

We have here a deplorable instance of ill-advised retrogression. Messrs. Allen and Sikes say in their note, 'editors after Demetrius have read *ἦν ἄρ'* as third person; "even if I had borne her, she would have been called thy daughter."' They are obliged to admit that the sense is excellent. Yet they will have none of it, but adopt a doubtful emendation of Matthiae's, involving a forced emphasis on *κεκλημένη*, a misapplication of *ἔμπης*, and the necessity of understanding *ἄλοχος* or *ἄκοιτις*, for which there cannot be found any justification. Σή alone makes Here, the dignified *matrona Iuno*, talk like a young married lady in the honeymoon, 'Only, only call me Thine.' They explain thus, 'I had at least the title of your wife (although I have been neglected).' It might fairly be asked when she lost that title, for otherwise *εἰμι* would be better than *ἦα* in every respect. Lastly this view completely disables *καί*, which cannot well join a question to an affirmation.

To avoid doing any injustice to Messrs. Allen and Sikes it is only fair to say that they make two objections which they call serious to *ἦν* the third person: (1) *κεν* or *ἂν* would be required, (2) the MSS. are unanimous in reading *ῆ* with variations of accent.

The second objection cannot avail much, seeing that they themselves do not adopt *ῆ* and moreover admit that *ἦν ἄρ* is found in Γ m. 2, while their *ῆ' ἄρ* in answer to Hermann simply gives the case away.

Perhaps the best answer to the first objection, which entirely depends on an erroneous punctuation that conceals the proper correlation of the sentences, would be to present them in a more readable form. The alteration of the tradition is but slight:

οὐ κεν ἐγὼ τεκόμην, καὶ σὴ κεκλημένη ἔμπης
ῆεν ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν, οἱ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι;

'Might not I have borne her, and would she not have been called among the immortals who occupy the wide heaven thy daughter all the same?'

Οὐ κεν or οὐκ ἂν, if a traditional error is to be preserved, belongs equally to *τεκόμην* and to *ῆεν*: *καί* hitherto useless is rehabilitated: *ῆεν ἐν* accounts by a lipography of *ἐν* for the traditional *ῆ*, not *ῆα*, and we are quit of the stopgap *ῆα* or *ἄρα*, which can hardly be right after no fewer than five words in its clause.

I am inclined to suspect that *παῖς ἐμοί* rather than *παῖς ἐμός* is the true reading in 327, *ἐμός* comes from 317; but this is a small matter compared with the difficulty presented by 329 f.:

οὐδέ τοι εἰς εὐνὴν πωλήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σείο
τηλόθ' εὐδα θεοῖσι μετέσσομαι ἀθανάτοισιν.

I note in passing that the *τηλόθεν οὔσα* of the MSS. has been rightly abandoned, not by Mr. Allen (v. Vol. V. *Homeri Opera*, 1912), but more recently by Mr. Evelyn-White in the Loeb Classical Library edition. This however is only a question of form that any intelligent schoolboy might be trusted to decide.

The real difficulty is that the goddess is made to declare:

θεοῖσι μετέσσομαι ἀθανάτοισιν

'I will consort with the immortal gods,' when it is clear she has no such intention, and in fact does the very opposite (331):

ὥς εἰποῖσ' ἀπονόσφι θεῶν κτε χωρόμενη κῆρ,

and that there may be no shadow of doubt as to her whereabouts the hymn-writer specifically adds (343):

ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἔπειτα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
οὔτε ποτ' εἰς εὐνὴν Διὸς ἤλυθε μητιέντος
οὔτε ποτ' ἐς θῶκον πολυδαίδαλον, ὥς τὸ παρὸς περ
αὐτῷ ἐφεξομένη πικινὰς φραζέσκειτο βουλὰς·
ἀλλ' ἦ γ' ἐν νηοῖσι πολυλίσσοιτο μένουσα
τέρπετο οἷς ἱεροῖσι βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη.

In spite of this explicit declaration Messrs. Allen and Sikes insinuate vaguely that there is no contradiction in 330, or if there is one, they say it may be attributed to the author's carelessness. Never was criticism more ill-founded. The carelessness belongs to the two critics not to the author. What has happened is plain enough. The tradition is at fault here, as often, owing to well-intended but stupid interference on the part of some rhapsodist or pietist. I take it as certain that the author wrote, what his own words prove him to have written, *μετέσσομαι ἀνθρώποισιν*. The goddess does exactly the same as Demeter under different conditions had done in the preceding *Hymn* (v. 92-3, 319, 331-2, 354-4, 384-5). She retires to her temple, her *boudoir*, among men. But why then do we find *θεοῖσι . . . ἀθανάτοισι*. Simply because the respectful and reverent rhapsodist could not allow the dignity of Here to be lowered by mixing with the baser sort. She must mix with her peers, the *Dei maiorum gentium*, not with mere human beings. Certainly not. It would be an *ἀπρεπές*. Consequently *ἀνθρώποισι* must give way to *ἀθανάτοισι*, which is further secured by reading *θεοῖσι* for, it may be, an original *βροτοῖσι*, but it would probably be more pleasing to the palaeographic mind to think that he merely changed

ἀλλ' ἀπο σείο . . . θεῶν τε.

Compare with this passage *Hes.* Op. 202, where as I have elsewhere suggested *λαῶ . . . φρονέοντι καὶ αὐτῷ* has, for the sake of respectability and social exclusiveness, been turned into an impossible and irrelevant

βασιλεῦσι . . . φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς.

In the quoted lines 343-9 for *ὡς τὸ πάρος περ αὐτῷ ἐφεξομένη* I would read,

ὥς τε πάρος περ
αὐτῇ ἐφεξομένη (αὐτῇ, 'in state').

The traditional *αὐτῷ* is an evident modernisation which should not be maintained, and another modernisation presents itself in

335 *Τιτῆνές τε θεοί, τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες*
Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν, τῶν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τε θεοί τε,

where Allen and Sikes with strangely

mistaken dogmatism pronounce *Ιλγην ναιετάουσι* 'quite impossible.' They are too rash. I agree that *τοί* is of course a relative pronoun. They can see this; but they cannot see that everyone after the early epic period, for many centuries, readers and transcribers and hearers alike, would naturally be glad to take it as the article, and for this purpose to change any *ναιετάουσι* into the more familiar and usual participle, so producing the recognised elementary *ὁ πρῶτων* construction known now to every schoolboy, but necessarily quite alien to the old epic speech.

In 337 *αὐτόθι νῦν* is undoubtedly the true reading. It is clearly the classical and earliest example of Mr. Asquith's 'here and now.'

* * *

361 *πυκνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται, λείπε δὲ*
θυμὸν
φονὸν ἀποπνέουσ', ὁ δ' ἐπέυξατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλ-
λων.

Gemoll says the words *λείπε . . . ἀποπνέουσ'* are extremely difficult. Allen and Sikes declare with foolish dogmatism that suspicion of the text is quite unwarranted. The key to the difficulty is to be found in the observation that in the early epic the *θυμός* (and the *ψυχή* may be included) *in articulo mortis* invariably quits the creature or man, never the man the *θυμός*. Ruhnken realised this and Matthiae at first, though the actual conjectures they based on it were most unsatisfactory, *λείβε δὲ φοῖνον, θυμὸν ἀποπνέουσ'* (Ruhnken) and *λείπε δὲ θυμὸς Φοῖβον ἀπὸ νευρῆς* (Matthiae).

Now to suppose that *λείπε δὲ θυμὸν* can be justified in spite of Homer by Pind. *Pyth.* III. 180 and by Virg. *Aen.* IX. 349 is idle, and a mere misuse of authorities, useful often enough in Homeric criticism, but on such a point totally useless, against Δ 470, M 386, Π 410, 743, T 406, γ 455, λ 221, μ 414, which I must beg my reader to accept as quoted.

It remains to be seen whether any more simple and convincing restoration than Ruhnken's and Matthiae's can be made.

My contribution is certainly more

simple and direct; whether more convincing I leave others to decide:

πυκνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται, κείτο δὲ θυμὸν
φοινὸν ἀποπνέουσ',

'It lay breathing out its life in blood.' The clause is a most telling iteration and enforcement of 358, the final stage of 358:

κείτο μέγ' ἀσθμαίνουσα κυλινδομένη κατὰ χώρον.

The poet has varied *κυλινδομένη κατὰ χώρον* into *ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται* and also *μεγ' ἀσθμαίνουσα* into the later and intenser stage of *θυμὸν φοινὸν ἀποπνέουσα*, and some foolish rhapsodist probably thought it was left for him to intensify *κείτο* into, as he would suppose, a more fatal and mortal *λείπε*.

* * *

374 αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος Ἥελιοιο.

There is no point in emphasising the preceding *κείθι* by *αὐτοῦ*. Still *δεινὸν* (Schneidewin) and *αἰνὸν* (Bergk) are too remote. *Αὐτως* (v. on *H. Dem.* 371) is probable, involving practically the change of one letter only.

* * *

390 οἱ θεραπεύονται Πυθοὶ ἐνι πετρηέσση.

If the line be genuine (in my opinion it is an interpolation to explain *ὀργίονας* and should be bracketed, not rearranged as by Matthiae and Hermann, together with the equally spurious 393-6, which interrupt the story by anticipating the end). *Πυθοὶ* should for the metre's sake be *Πυθῶν'*, i.e. *Πυθῶνι*, cf. *Hymn Herm.* 178 *εἰς Πυθῶνα*, B 519. The same correction is required in l. 405. *Πυθοὶ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ* (θ 81) is, of course, perfectly metrical.

I will remark further that Gemoll's attempt to defend these lines by a 23-4 is not in point. There we have geo-

graphical information which is not, and could not well be, given elsewhere. This is not the case here.

In 391 *ταῦτ' ἄρα ὀρμαίνων* is impossible. Either *ταῦτ' ἄρ' ὅ γ'* or some other simple avoidance of this needless gap is called for. Contrast 201 where *ὅ* is pure surplusage. Such are the vagaries of the tradition. *Ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐς ὀρμαίνων ἐνόησε* might be suggested, i.e. *εἰς ἐνόησε*.

Not unfrequently a question arises between tradition and usage. Here is one in which the meaning is much the same either way:

419 ἀλλὰ παρέκ Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔχουσα
ἦϊ' ὁδόν, πνοιῇ δὲ ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων. . . .

For *ἔχουσα*, which certainly cannot be defended, as Allen and Sikes suppose, by the very different usage of γ 182 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε Πύλουνδ' ἔχον*, I would read *ιοῦσα* (Baumeister's *ἐκοῦσα* will not scan). An even better instance for my purpose is *ἦϊ' ὁδόν*, against which I adduce

435 νηὶς ἀνύσειε θέουσα θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.

(Note in passing that *θέουσα* is in favour of *ιοῦσα*.) and

γ 496 ἦνον ὁδόν.

which make it highly probable that the true reading here is Barnes's *ἦνεν ὁδόν*.

Gemoll in his commentary roundly and wrongly condemns *ἦνεν* as a 'very bad' conjecture, 'because in γ 496 the journey is at an end, but here it is not.' This is a good specimen of empty dogmatism. Barnes was often enough in the wrong, but not in this instance. Not only is *ἦνεν* a legitimate imperfect here, but *ἦνον* (γ 496) is probably the same ('sought to finish their journey,' M. and R.).

T. L. AGAR.

SOME NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF APOLLO.

1. As commonly known, the personal names of the Greeks offers to us a nearly inexhaustible, at least not yet by far exhausted, source of information as to the Greek religion. Greek families have in innumerable cases in their name-giving given expression to the intimate

relation in which they stood to some definite cult or deity. In these lines I want to call the attention to two personal names found in the edition of the inscriptions from Priene by Hiller von Gärtringen. In nr. 313 he has collected all the *τόπος*-inscriptions in

alphabetical order, and here we read l. 93: ὁ τόπος Ἀπολλᾶδος τοῦ Γαλέου. The editor seems to hesitate whether to take the name as Ἀπολλᾶς ὁ Γαλέου or as Ἀπολλᾶς ὁ Γαλεός (cp. the Index), but surely the former view is the better, if you consider the form of the other τόπος-inscriptions. This Apollas is consequently the son of Γαλέας (cp. e.g. Κυκνέας derived from κύκνος *Ditt. Syll.*³, 83, 3, Ταυρέας from ταῦρος sim.) or of Γαλεός. As far as I see, F. Bechtel, in his newly-published, extremely useful book, *Die histor. Personennamen des Griech. bis zur Kaiserzeit* (1917), does not mention the name. This name can only be satisfactorily explained if you refer it to the γαλεοί and the importance of these animals for the art of vaticination that the Greeks of historical times attached to Apollo. In Sicily we have (in Hybla) the family named Γαλεοί or Γαλεῶται (cp. *F.H.G.* I. 190 and 369, Hesych. s.v. etc.), their Heros Eponymos was Galeotes, the son of Apollo and the 'Hyperborean' Themisto, cp. further the Praxitelean Sauroktonos and the Apollo Boason (I cannot agree with the negative results of Kjellberg in his article in the *Realenc.* VII. 592, the very name of Hybla ἡ Γερεᾶτις or Γελεᾶτις referring to the Γαλεοί, or perhaps to the animals themselves, the γαλεοί). The attribute of Apollo and of Dionysos σμίνθος recurs in the personal name Σμίνθος (ίνθις, ιθίνας, ιθων), known from Thespiiai, Megalopolis, Melos, Mytilene (all inscriptions from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.), v. Bechtel, *l. l.*, p. 587. But a Γαλεός (Γαλεάς) from an Ionic city is a novelty. It gives evidence to the fact that the use of γαλεοί in the 'Apollinic' forms of divination extended to the far East of the Greek world.

2. In the same inscription from Priene, nr. 313, l. 597, we read: ὁ τόπος Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ Πραξίου καὶ Ἀναξιλᾶος Γαλέου or (better, cp. H. v. Gärttr.) Ἀναξιλᾶ [τ]οῦ Γαλέου. In the index of the editor you find very often the name Ἀναξίλαος (Ἀναξίλας), but I especially call attention to Ἀναξίλαος Ἀπολλωνίου and Πάπαρος, a son of Ἀναξίλαος. The relation of this Anaxilaos to the cult of Apollo seems probable, if the name Πάπαρος may be

referred to the same cult of Apollo. Πάπαρος is no singular name in Priene: nr. 313, l. 580; *ib.* l. 581, ὁ τόπος Παπάρου τοῦ Ἀναξιλᾶου, *ib.* ὁ τόπος Παπαρίωνος (twice), ὁ τόπος Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ Παπάρου, l. 581 ὁ τ. Παπάρου τοῦ Παπάρου, l. 582a ὁ τ. Παπάρου τοῦ Καλλιμάχου; especially noteworthy in this connexion is l. 90 ὁ τ. Ἀπολλᾶ τοῦ Παπαρ[ου]. Elsewhere the name is, so far as I know, only met with in *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, nr. 569, p. 359, Παπαρίων. Usener, *Kl. Schr.* IV. 183, conjectures that Παπαρίων here might be corrupted from Πασπαρίων, but such an inaccuracy in writing the inscriptions of Priene of course make impossible. But, in fact, the name Πάπαρος may be connected with Πασπάριος, if you only let the etymologising of Usener (deriving it from the Indogermanic root σπαρ, cp. σπαρ, σπαλ) and his light-god out of account. We read in Hesych. s.v. Πασπάριος, ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Παρίου καὶ Περγαμηνούς. The existence of this god in Pergamon is proved by *Inscr. v. Perg.*, nr. 434, where the Πασπαρεῖται are mentioned. On the other hand, Lobeck (*Pathol.* I. 167) was probably right in comparing the word with Πάρος (or far better with the Ionic colony Parion on the Hellespont). This Πασπάριος again Wernicke, in his article on Apollo in the *Realenc.* II. 63, connected with πασπάλη, and he thought this Apollo Pasparios to be a tutelar god for the cereal crop and the flour (cp. the Apollo Smintheus in even the same Asia Minor). Good reasons seem to favour this view of Wernicke, you only have to assume as a starting-point the identity of the roots παρ and παλ (σπαρ and σπαλ, cp. e.g. στέγος and τέγος); the reduplications [σ]πασπάριος and παι-πάλη would be regular (cp. Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gram.*, § 301, 1; to the examples there mentioned you may add παι-φάσσω and Σαι-σάρα, the daughter of Kelbos in Eleusis, according to the appropriate etymology of Kirchner, *Attica et Peloponnesiaca*, diss. Greifsw., 1890, 52). The mountain Πάρπαρος in Argos Plin. *n. h.* IV. 17 and Hesych. s.v.) with its holy games might belong to the same root (Usener *l. l.* 192), but the reduplication Πα-παρ-ος then re-

mains a difficult one, unless you think of 'dissimilatorischer Schwung' as the late ὑδράγυρον = ὑδράργυρον, or if you do not recur to the reduplication of the onomatopoeitica βα-βάζα, πα-φλάζω sim.

At any case, in the face of a—probably Apollinic—Πάπαρος in Priene and

Pergamon and of an Apollo Πασπαριος in Parion and Pergamon, we incline to take the two words as referring to the same cognomen of Apollo in Asia Minor, whether this cognomen be originally Greek or not.

S. EITREM.

Kristiania.

ON THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF GREEK POETRY RECENTLY PUBLISHED AT BERLIN.

SOME exceedingly interesting fragments of Greek poetry have been published lately by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in the *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie*, 1918, p. 736 ff. Among them occur new fragments of an elegiac poem by Tyrtaeus, shown by the writing to be of the third century B.C., dealing with a war against the Gauls, and therefore a contemporary document bearing upon their invasion of Greece or Asia Minor; some fragments of pseud-Epicharmea, like those published by Grenfell and Hunt from the Hibeh Papyri, and those in the *Berlin. Klass. Texte* V.; a glossary with poetical quotations; and fragments of a Paean and of two other poems supplied with a vocal score, and separated by short pieces of music simply with the instrumental score: the date of this unique musical papyrus is the second century A.D.

I offer a few suggestions upon two of these.

1. The Hamburg Papyrus, the date of which is the middle of the third century B.C., containing seventeen incomplete lines of a Hellenistic elegiac poem, is provokingly mutilated. We have the account of an envoy delivering his report to a king. Danger is threatened by θούρος ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης, whose hardy life is contrasted with that of the Medes: they do not live softly: v. 17, ἀλλὰ χά]μενα Διός τε καὶ αἰθριά[ε] ἐν[ε]. We may accept Wilamowitz' restoration of the first part of the line, but not his ἐν[αυτόν]: what is required is some form of ἐνιαυέν: αἰθριάν here appears to be used in the sense of αἰθριοκοιτεῖν. Lines 11 and 12 run:

'We have enslaved braver men before, and these shall pay ταύτης μισθὸν ἄτασθαλῆς (11, 12), [.]s ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄφρονες' (v. 9): the gap is plainly to be filled by ἄνερpes.

We have clearly here a contemporary document treating of the invasion of the Gauls into Greece and Asia Minor, of which we get echoes in Callimachus IV. 175 ff. and the Delphic Hymns to Apollo; or of something arising out of it.

We can only guess who the king was, but we know that Attalus I. took the title of king from his victory over the Gauls, and we might provisionally suggest Musaeus of Ephesus as the author of the poem, since Suidas states that he wrote poems in praise of Eumenes and Attalus: ἔγραψε Περσίδος βιβλία ἑ' καὶ (<ῶμους> Wachsmuth) εἰς Εὐμένη καὶ Ἀτταλον. There is no need to place Musaeus, as Susamihl does, in the time of Attalus II. Wilamowitz however thinks that the pressure of danger points to the king being a Seleucid. Yet a reference to the plot of Ptolemy Philadelphus' Gallic mercenaries (Paus. I. 7, 2) is not excluded.

2. Upon an *ostrakon* in writing of the third century B.C. are explanations of unusual words, with quotations from an unknown writer, from Homer, Antimachus, and Hipponax. I extract the words with which we are here concerned, ll. 4-8:

σρουσασχοῖνια ὁμηρου κειτοδουπαιθους[
νεοσαμφιελίσσης βυβλινον ωιτε πεδησε
θυρας[

λυθεν αυτοσ αντιμαχον ενδιστον θηκεν
λαιφεσι δε

λινεοισι σουσα ετιθει παντοια θεα ποδας
 ηδε καλωας
 ενδυπερασστρεπτας οπλατε παντα νεως
 That is :

σοῦσα, σχοινία· Ὀμήρου·
 κείτο δ' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ[η] νεὸς ἀμφιελίσ-
 σης
 βύβλινον, ᾧ τε πέδησε θύρας [] λυθεν
 αὐτός.
 Ἀντιμάχου·
 ἐν δ' ἴστον θήκεν, λαίφεσι δὲ λινέοις
 σοῦσον· ἐτίθει παντοῖα θεά, πόδας ἡδὲ
 κάλωας
 ἐν δ' ὑπέρας στρεπτὰς ὅπλα τε πάντα
 νεώς.

The lines from Homer are *Odyssey* φ 390, 391, where our texts have ὅπλον in the first line, and ἐς δ' ἦμεν in the second; the *ostrakon* obviously had ἐς δ' ἦλυθεν. In the first line Wilamowitz would restore the new word σοῦσον, and suggests σοῦσω εὔστρεφεί in ξ 346, where our texts have
 ἔνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν κατέδησαν εὔσσέλμω ἐνὶ νηὶ
 ὅπλω εὔστρεφεῖ.

The question of altering these two passages I leave to Mr. Allen and Mr. Agar; I am more concerned with this strange word σοῦσον. It will be found in the *Lexicon* with the meaning 'lily,' and is called by Fick a Semitic word. But I am inclined to think that there is a mistake in the *ostrakon*. In the first place it is incredible that any member of the Liliaceae could be used for the purpose of making a rope; they are too brittle in all their parts. But

that a rare word was being explained and illustrated by the person who wrote on the *ostrakon* is certain. I strongly suspect that the word should be οὔσον, and that it appeared in the text of Homer from which the writer quoted, and in his text of Antimachus. Hesychius has the gloss οὔσα· σχοινία, νεὸς ὅπλα, and the word occurs in literature in the fragment of Alexander Aetolus preserved in Parthenius, *Erot.* XIV. 21:

γαυλὸς μοι χρύσεος . . .
 νῦν ὅγ' ἀνελκόμενος, διὰ μὲν κάλον
 ἤρικεν οὔσον.

Οὔσον is certain there, although the reading of the rest of the line is not; in the last half I take Lord Harborton's suggestion of κάλον (= κάλων) for MS. κακόν, translating it with him 'the withy handle frayed through the rope.'

In lines 2 and 3 of the *ostrakon* another poetical quotation occurs,

[ιτερα ηρωρουντο.]
 ἐνεσεῖσατο δὲ σφιν δε[. . .].α.[

the name of the author being lost. Wilamowitz gives πτερὰ ἡωροῦντο; and it is a curious thing that in a fragment apparently of Antimachus of Colophon, published by Wilamowitz in *Berlin. klass. Texte* III. 27, πτερὰ appears to be used with a plural verb: πτερὰ προσπεφύασι is his restoration. There is then a possibility that this quotation on the *ostrakon* is also from Antimachus.

J. U. POWELL.

IN PROPERTIUM RETRACTATIONES SELECTAE.

(SEE *Class. Rev.*, 1916, p. 39; 1917, p. 87.)

I. iii. 8 :

talis uisa mihi mollem spirare quietem
 Cynthia non certis nixa caput manibus.

What are *non certae manus*? *Certa manus* is familiar enough in the sense of 'a good shot.' When Ovid speaks of drinking and dicing,

nec iuvat in lucem nimio marcescere uino,
 nec tenet *incertae* alea blanda manus
 (*Ex Ponto* I. v. 46),

the gambler's hands are *incertae* because he is *marcidus*. I see in the context no

implication that Cynthia's slumbers are drunken; the images (Ariadne, Andromeda, or Maenad) merely describe the deep sleep of utter fatigue. Perhaps the poet wrote

consertis nixa caput manibus.

In the literal sense ('to clasp hands') this phrase is very much less common than in the metaphorical (= *pugnam conserere*), but it is sufficiently attested. As for the plastic type, most of the examples catalogued by Reinach ('Ré-

pertoire, s.v. Ariane, Ménade,' etc.) show the sleeping woman with one hand beneath her head and the other extended by her side (so Philost. *Imag.* I. 14) or drooping. But since in this case Cynthia's head is resting on her *hands*, does not the plural suggest that they cannot be otherwise than *consertae*?

Ib. 19, 20:

sed sic intentis haerebam fixus ocellis
Argus ut ignotis cornibus Inachidos.

'I hesitated, stuck, with gazing eyes, as Argus . . .' To describe a man staring in amazement Ovid (*Epist.* VI. 26) has:

haesit in opposita lumina fixus humo

Virgil:

Turnus ad haec oculos horrenda in uirgine fixus.

Fixus (which, for some unknown reason, Lewis and Short call 'very rare in the literal sense) is used for 'stuck, rooted, riveted,' of the whole person:

talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat
(*Aen.* II. 650).

In our passage *intentis ocellis* is adverbial to *haerebam* rather than to *fixus*. Now the simile of Argus is in point only if it is Propertius who is *intentis ocellis*; and the horns (*ignotis cornibus*) no less evidently belong to Io. The question is: could even Propertius, who notoriously makes the ablative a maid-of-all-work, contrast (within a couplet) a pair of ablatives in such widely disparate senses? 'haerebam intentis ocellis ut Argus (haesit) ignotis cornibus.' *Credat Hertzbergius* that any Augustan wrote such unsymmetrical perversity.

We want something to express that it was *when confronted with, at the appearance of* the horns, that Argus was fascinated. *In* with the ablative expresses this, and the alteration of a single letter gives us:

Argus ut *in gnatis* cornibus Inachidos

for the use of *nascor* cf.

quam cuperem fronti cornua nata tuae (Ov. *Ars.* I. 308)

and for the rest,

nec minus inter
ille tot ignoti socias gregis haeret in una
aefixus (Val. *Fl.* V. 376).

Apropos of Io's horns let me digress for a moment to

Virg. *Aen.* VII. 789:

at leuem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io
auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos.

Sublatis cornibus means 'with uplifted horns,' 'tossing the head': a grotesque beginning for the process of transformation. Of *iam bos* it makes a bathos: *iam* is absurd after *sublatis cornibus*. Virgil is here amusing himself with one of those virtuosities of ecphrasis when it is pretended that plastic art has the successiveness which belongs only to language. In these verbal 'films' not merely an exact moment of time is described, but transition. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* abound in examples.

I hope it will not be thought irreverent or blasphemous if, rather than suppose the poet capable of *sublatis*, I venture to hint that here a copyist has for a moment eluded the particular providence which has safeguarded the text of Virgil from such errors as have crept into the text of, say, Milton or Dickens, and gone wrong by just one stroke. Read not *SUBLATIS* but *SUBNATIS* *CORNIBVS*. 'Io, relieved against the field of polished metal, showed horns just budding—and now she had a coat of hair—and now she was bovine.' That is: the eye is imagined to follow the phases of metamorphosis till it is consummated—*iam bos*.

I. vii. 16:

te quoque si certo puer hic concusserit arcu
quoi nolim nostros euigilasse deo.

So I suggest that these lines be read. The pentameter is admittedly corrupt. The palaeographical cheapness of the conjecture will not be denied: *quoi* for *quod*, *euigilasse* for *euiolasse*, *deo* for *deos*—these are the changes asked; and *ex hypothesi* the corruption *deos* was inevitably consequent on the other corruptions.

By these words is to be understood: 'Let once the boy to whose divine vigils I would be sorry to see my friends devoted, strike you with his unerring marksmanship, and—farewell to your epics!'

From the proposed pentameter *hic puer* gains definition, which it greatly needs: for as Amor has not been named in the poem, the vagueness of the words is strange and offensive. Also the awk-

ward unbalance between protasis and apodosis is righted by bringing the pentameter into the construction, instead of leaving it as an exclamatory interruption.

Euigilare 'to watch through' is in Tibullus I. viii. 24. Propertius offers a near parallel in I. ix. 28:

quippe ubi nec liceat uacuos seducere ocellos
nec uigilare alio numine, cedat Amor?

(Brouckhuysen's punctuation.) MSS. *nomine*, but the correction seems to be imposed by Silius XI. 409:

aut nostro uigiles ducat sub numine noctes

(Venus is speaking.)

Euigilare = *peruigilare* = *παραυγίλειν*. The dative *cui* (*quoi*) . . . *deo* is like *παραυγίζουσιν θεῷ* in Aristoph. *Ran.* 445.

The perfect infinitive is not, as often in Ovid, to be accounted for *metri gratia*, but by the *nolim*: for the idiom of *nolim* and *uelim* with this tense there are multitudes of examples ranging from archaic texts, like the Consular Letter regarding the S.-C. *de Bacchanalibus* (Ernout, *Recueil*, p. 63); decrees *ap. Aul. Gell.* X. 3, XIII. 13; Cato, *R.R.* V.; Ter. *Hec.* 563; Lucr. III. 68 to Hor. *Sat.* I. ii. 28, II. iii. 187; Ov. *Am.* I. iv. 38; Sil. Ital. XIII. 318.

I. viii. 13-16. I suggest that this vexed quatrain should read:

ergo ego nunc uideam tali sub sidere uela
cum tibi propectas auferet unda ratis,
et me defixum uacua patietur in ora
crudellem infesta saepe uocare manu?
sed quocumque modo κ.τ.λ.

In 13 I substitute *ergo* for *atque* (*aut* ξ) on the supposition that *ergo* has fallen out by haplography and the gap has been stopped with *atque*. Heinsius similarly supplies a missing *ego* in II. viii. 13:

ergo ego iam multos nimium temerarius annos
(For this *ergo* of desperate resignation *cf.* III. xxi. 17.

ergo ego nunc rudis Hadriaci uehar aequoris
hospes?)

nunc for the *non* of the MSS. is as old as Bapt. Pius.

For *uentos* I read *uela*. 'So I must needs behold this unseasonable sailing, at the hour when your ship shall have reached the harbour-mouth, and the waters bear it away, bear *you* away,

and leave *me* rooted on the empty beach, shaking my fist and crying "Cruel!"'

Videre uela is Propertian:

at tu, saeue Aquilo, nunquam mea uela uidebis
(III. vii. 71),

and Ovidian:

ut te non poteram, poteram tua uela uidere
(*Epist.* XIII. 19)

ut qui Theseae fallacia uela carinae
uidit
(*Ibis* 492).

To take *sub sidere* as preposition and noun was Heinsius' view, anticipated by the correctors' hands in F and V (*sub sydere*). Of the five examples that I find in Latin poetry, three give a geographical determination:

sub sidere Cancrī (Virg. *Ecl.* X. 68)

alio *sub sidere* (Lucan II. 294)

nostro *sub sidere* (Juvenal XII. 13)

and two an astrological:

sub sidere tali (Manilius V. 46 and 231).

I admit that the direct Virgilian prototype of our verse has no *sub*:

quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem?
(*Aen.* IV. 309),

but it will hardly be objected that *sub sidere* cannot bear the sense of 'season and weather' which *sidere* bears in Dido's line and in the first verse of the *Georgics*. Dido's line seems to give the key for vv. 9-16 of our poem: it is heartless of C. to go off to Illyria at all; particularly heartless to go regardless of weather, *uento quolibet* (4) and now *tali sub sidere*:

Encor si la saison s'avanc̄ait davantage!
Attendez les zéphyr̄s.

I. ix. 23-4:

nullus Amor cuiquam facilis ita praebuilt alas
ut non alterna presserit ille manu.

Certainly Ovid's *leuitas sua praebuilt alas* (*Met.* XIII. 606) means 'lightness lent wings'; but it does not follow that Love lends a man wings here. Dr. Postgate's and Mr. Butler's explanations seem to depend on this. Rothstein's general view of the passage seems to me more probable: 'never did Love offer his wings readily to any man (to catch him by) without his presently turning on him and crushing him:' although his note goes off into a mist of delusions and confusions. This view of *praebuilt alas* is vindicated by such parallels from Propertius as:

flammae pectora praecent (III. xiii. 21)

cum uix tangendos praebuit illa pedes
(IV. viii. 72)

et caput argutae praebat historiae (III. xx. 28)

ah nimium faciles aurem praebere puellae
(II. xxi. 15)

which may be abundantly reinforced from the Ovid index with *aurem*, *aures*, *bracchia*, *capillos*, *colla*, *manum*, *manus*, etc., *praebere*: all in the sense of yielding or offering passively.

Suppose then an ordinary Cupido *ales* allowing his wings to be stroked like a tame bird: *faciles* means 'unresisting, at your disposal, and answers to the gerundives in *praebuit tangendos pedes*, *pectendos capillos*, etc. Just as you think you have him quite tame as a pet, the other side of the creature comes out. In what action? Does *alterna manu* simply mean *uicissim*, as editors since Hertzberg have generally held? In that case the whole contrast must be conveyed in *presserit*. But *premere* is an exceedingly vague word, unless the context determine it.

In the couplet which Rothstein adduces (III. xxi. 5)

omnia sunt temptata mihi quacunq̃ fugari
possit; at ex omni me premit iste deus,

the strategic metaphor in *fugari* gives strategic colour to *premit*. Here there is nothing to determine *presserit*.

It is necessary then to examine the words *alterna manu*.

In Prop. I. xi. 2 '*alternae facilis cedere lymphæ manu*' refers to swimming; Ovid has likewise '*alternaque brachia ducens*,' of a swimmer (imitated by Manil. V. 424); in Statius *Theb.* VI. 860 '*et iam alterna manus frontemque umerosque . . . lacessit*' describes boxing; in *Theb.* IX. 62 '*alternaeque manus = rixa*.'

Nonnus affects ἀμειβαῖος in similar phrases:

Ἀδτονόην πληγῆσιν ἀμειβαίρην ἱμάσσω (boxing)
(XLIV. 138)

ποσσὶν ἀμειβαίοισιν ὀπίσπερον ὤθεεν ὤδωρ (swimming)
(VII. 189)

ποσσὶν ἀμειβαίοισιν ἀνεσκήρτησεν ἀλωεύς (dancing)
(XLVII. 64)

Alterna manu can mean *uicissim*, as in Ov. *Fasti* II. 234:

uolneraque *alterna* dantque feruntque *manu*,
though it has been shown above that such is not its most usual meaning.

Why make more ado about it? Because the vagueness of *presserit* is not the only difficulty. *Restat scrupulus*: is not *ille* in the pentameter just to indicate that the subject of the second verb is not *amor* but the other party? Unless *ille* means the mortal, the *cuiquam* of the preceding verse, is not the expression gratuitously misleading?

But if *ille* is the victim, *presserit* is not merely vague but nonsensical—and corrupt.

If we choose the most obviously appropriate amongst the senses of *alterna manu* above detailed, viz. boxing, the man who takes punishment in boxing may be said *sentire alternam manum* (or *alternas manus*):

tuas sentiat illa manus (II. x. 18)

Reading '*ut non alternam senserit ille manum*' the postulated error amounts to '*fēserit*' misread as '*pēserit*,' which is not enormous in a mediocre tradition such as we are dealing with.

The idea then is this: you think him a cherub, but you find you have caught a bruiser.

Children as boxers are shown in Reinach's *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, Vol. I., p. 541; but I cannot produce a palpable Eros pyktes.

I. xi. 6:

ecquis in extremo restat amore locus?

Mirum profecto loquendi genus, as Lachmann remarked. His uneasy note, which is in great part concerned with refuting Passerat's conjecture *externo*, makes interesting reading. He points out that Propertius uses *extremus* for *minimus*:

Haec sed forma mei pars est extrema furoris
(I. iv. 11)

and adduces Stat. *Silv.* I. ii. 100 (where most editors read *hesterne*), and Nemesianus *Cyneg.* 231. So far good; but he proceeds to pronounce that the MSS. reading must be retained and rendered *aequa mihi parua amoris tui pars residua est*? The difficulty has not been faced. Is it Propertius' Latin—in *extremo amore* for *in extrema parte amoris tui*?

I cannot discover that any commentator cites the phrase from Terence which is most nearly germane to our passage:

certe *extrema linea*
amare haud nil est
 (Eun. 640)

(Donatus *ad loc.* nicely distinguishes the *quinque lineae amoris*.)
 which is illustrated by Thraso's appeal:

perficere hoc
 precibus pretio ut haeream in parte aliqua
 tandem apud Thaidem (Eun. 1055).

Here we have the idea of marked grades in love: it seems to have become proverbial, for Lact. Plac. has:

puellam *extrema amoris linea* diligens satis
 animo solo faciebat aspectu (*ad. Stat. Théb.* 3. 283).

The ἀρα μένει στοργῆς ἐμὲ λείψανα; motif of Meleager (*A.P.* V. 165) takes on a spatial metaphor which is not uncommon in Latin (Greek offers such instances as Plato *Legg.* VII. 823 ὁ μὴδ' εἰς τὸν ἑσχατον ἐπέλθου νοῦν ἄψασθαι). *Locus* and *pars* are exchanged, as e.g. in the following:

quod siquis inter hos *locus* mihi restat
 (*Priap.* XXXVI. 10)
pars in amore meo uita tibi remanet
 (*Apul. de Mag.* IX.)

and Lucan's

ullusne in cladibus istis
 est *locus* Aegyptio? (VIII. 545.)

What remains unvindicated is in *extremo amore*: nothing is alleged which can persuade me that *extremus amor* can mean anything but a last love. Surely the governing phrase in Terence and all other indications point to this:

ecquid in extremo restat *amare loco*?

i.e., *extrema linea amare*. This means both the furthest out-of-the-way and the least dignified station.

Thus in early days, when protocol was all at sixes and sevens, before the powers of Precedence and Deference had arranged for proper ceremonies in heaven,

Tethys *extremo* saepe recepta *loco* est
 (*Ov. Fast.* V. 22).

I add an instance from St. Augustine:

si ergo aliquis magnus procurator offendat et poena domini sui (uerbi gratia) fiat ostiarius in aliquo *extremo loco* . . . (*Enarr. in Ps.* CIII., p. 1674, edit. Bened.).

Once *amare* became *amore*, *loco* was bound to become *locus*, and *ecquid* be changed to *ecquis*. Read so, *extremo loco* here answers to *pars extrema* in I. iv. 11.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

University of Glasgow.

A METRICAL PECULIARITY OF THE CULEX.

THE chief glory of the Latin hexameter, as brought to perfection by Virgil, lies in the constant subtle variation of the last two feet, in close connexion with the fourth. Only now and then, and almost always with special intention, does the poet introduce what may be called a startling, or seemingly awkward, variety of these last two feet, such as 'procumbit humi bos,' or 'simul hoc animo hauri' (*Aen.* XII. 26), and other lines of which the Poet Laureate has recently reminded us. But there is one peculiar line-ending which is almost entirely absent from Virgil's most finished work; I mean that where, with or without a pause or full stop at the end of the fourth foot, the first syllable of the fifth is a monosyllable, and sometimes a weak one: e.g. 'Si nescis, meus ille caper fuit: et mihi Damon' (*Ecl.* III. 23). This monosyllable is usually either an 'et,' or

'nam,' or an interrogative pronoun, which gives the line a certain awkwardness, depriving it of the majesty which we have come to expect in the hexameter. In Lucretius, who as a rule was more anxious about his matter than his metre, this ending is extremely common: there are few pages of his poem in which it is not to be found.

I happened lately to notice that there are a good many lines in the *Culex* with this ending: in fact I found that my ear had always associated it with the *Culex*, chiefly on account of the lines 37-39, which have a special interest for me:

haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabimus, haec tibi
 restet
 gloria perpetuum lucens mansura per aevum.
 et tibi sede pia maneat locus, et tibi sospes. . .

Out of curiosity I went through the poem, counting the lines of this kind, and found about twenty out of 414. Then I went on to the *Ciris*, where, as

I expected, the result was quite different: I could only find three examples (or four including a corrupt line) in all the 541 lines.¹

I then went on to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*; but before I say anything of the real and undoubted Virgil, I will quote some of the most notable lines in the *Culex* which show the peculiarity I am speaking of:

mente prius docta fastidiat, et probet illi (59).
ima susurrantis repetebant ad vada lymphæ (105).

Attalidis opibus data vellera, si nitor auri (63).
ereptus taetris ex cladibus; at mea manes (214).
sed tu crudelis, crudelis tu magis Orpheu (292).

When we find this line again in Virgil, it has become 'crudelis tu quoque mater' and is repeated in line 51 (of *Ecl.* VIII.); this is an immense improvement, if my ear does not deceive me. In 349 ff. we have—

omnia turbinibus sunt anxia. iam maris unda
sideribus certat consurgere, iamque superne
corripere et solis et sidera cuncta minatur
ac ruere in terras caeli fragor. hic modo laetans. . . .

At the end of the poem we find a number of examples: lines 386, 391, and 398, which ends with 'hic et acanthos,' followed in 402 by 'hic rododaphne,' and in 406 by 'hic amarantus.' About the reading of these passages there is practically no doubt, I believe.

After this examination, I felt fairly well satisfied that the author of the *Culex*, unlike the author of the *Ciris*, must have had his head full of Lucretius: that in spite of the almost Virgilian 'care and finish' in some passages, which Mr. Mackail has emphasised in *Classical Review*, 1908, p. 72, the poet was by no means perfect master of the hexameter: and thirdly, that if, as I myself believe on other grounds, that poet was the very youthful Virgil, the influence of Lucretian versification only bears out the evidence of other Lucretian influence, which has often been noticed, e.g. by Skutsch, *op. cit.* p. 127 note, and 129: and Miss Jackson in *Classical Quarterly*, 1911, p. 167. But I will now go on to give the results of an

examination of Virgil's maturer work in respect of this same metrical feature.

In the *Eclogues*, which together contain about double the number of the lines in the *Culex*, there are just the same number of examples of our line-ending; and none of them are so bald or weak as a few of those in the earlier poem, unless it be the 'Linus' line in IV. 56, 'nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit.' In *Ecl.* IX. there are an unusual number, six in all; but if these be examined (lines 17, 33, 51, 53, 59, 60), it will be seen that they all come in smoothly and naturally, without offending the ear. In *Ecl.* X. there is only one, where the word 'nam' is repeated with some effect: 'Nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi Ulla moram fecere,' as the word η is repeated in the original (Theocr. I. 66).

Thus the evidence of the *Eclogues* seems to prove that the author was more experienced and skilful than the author of the *Culex*, and less under the influence of Lucretius. This is exactly what we should expect, if the poet of the *Culex* was really the young Virgil. The evidence of the *Georgics* shows again a clear advance. There are more than 2,000 lines in the four *Georgics*, and only about twenty examples of our line-ending (i.e., one per cent.), none of which would be likely to trouble a fastidious reader.² In II. 486 the poet has found out how to make a beautiful effect with this usually most ineffective ending: let me quote the whole lovely passage:

sin has ne possim naturae accedere partes
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,
rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
flumina amem silvasque inglorius. O ubi campi
Spercheusque. . . .

Another beautiful instance is IV. 498, not quite the first example I have met with as yet of its enchanting rhythm:

feror ingenti circumdata nocte
invalidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua, palmas.
(cf. II. 82.)

The almost perfect versification of the *Georgics*, which first in Latin poetry

¹ Skutsch does not refer to this ending, but only to the spondaic one, in his *Vergil's Frühzeit*, I. p. 74. In the highly finished *Morctum* there is no example of this line-ending.

² *Geo.* I. 29, 150, 380; II. 308, 321, 447, 486; III. 8, 35, 176, 260, 416, 496, 499; IV. 84 (a noticeable instance), 418, 498.

showed how the last two feet of the hexameter are the supreme test of a poet's power to express his feeling by his rhythm, has absorbed into its ever varying structure what has so often been an almost ugly ending, and compelled it here and there to put on a peculiar beauty of its own.

It was hardly necessary to carry the enquiry further, but out of curiosity I looked through most of the books of the *Aeneid*. In the first six books there are about 4,700 lines, and only about 22 of them show our ending—i.e., about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The only remarkable ones are II. 530, where the use is obvious and effective:

illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus
insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit
hasta,¹

and IV. 336 'dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.' In the sixth book (123) we have 'ab Iove summo' (cp. *Geo.* III. 35), and one or two others in the first half of the book, e.g. 277, 'tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis Gaudia,' where I do not suppose that anyone will quarrel with the stress on 'et,' so different from similar stressed *et*'s in the *Culex*. In the last half of book VI., unsurpassed in Latin poetry, I have not found a single example.

In the last three books the versification is less smooth and finished than in the first six: this is particularly so in the tenth book, as the late Mr. F. W. H.

Myers noticed.² Now in this book I have counted no less than seventeen examples of our ending: fair evidence that the book was left in need of revision. On the other hand, in the first 200 lines of book XI., which are some of the most beautiful and finished in the whole poem, I can only find one example, and that a very harmless one. So too in the last two hundred lines of book XII. On the whole we may infer that it was the deliberate aim of Virgil in careful revision to eliminate as far as possible all commonplace or meaningless examples of this line-ending, using it only when it could produce an effect either striking or beautiful, as the sense required. But where we have his unfinished work, they are sometimes little more than tibicines, or stop-gaps, which, as Mr. Myers says, 'suggest a grotesque resemblance to the style of the fourth-form boy.'

The *Culex* was never revised, but only made use of in later days for thoughts and pictures which could be clothed in really beautiful language by a more mature artist. We may perhaps see in it, better than in any part of the later poems, the raw material with which the great master of the hexameter began all his work. Such at least is my view of it: and I hope that this little investigation of a small point in its structure may be convincing to others also.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

¹ Cf. XII. 355 ff.

² *Classical Essays*, p. 138.

THE 'PROSPECTIVE.'

SOME recent discussions¹ of 'prospective' subjunctives in Latin, and those of earlier date as well, seem to involve certain misconceptions.

In the first place, these discussions ostensibly deal with a modal meaning; but really the notion conveyed by Mr. Sonnenschein's term 'prospective' is a temporal one, that of futurity; indeed,

in his first article on the 'prospective' he speaks of this subjunctive as a 'future-equivalent.' Of Mr. Hale's term 'anticipatory' the same thing should be said. More frank is the term 'futural' used by Kroll and others. Now these so-called 'prospective' subjunctives are not equivalent to future indicatives; they all possess a definite *modal* meaning; and for their proper understanding a correct conception of the relation between temporal and modal ideas in modal expressions is necessary.

¹ Sonnenschein, *C.R.* XXXII., p. 20; *The Year's Work* for 1917, pp. 36 ff.; Goodrich, *C.R.* XXXI. pp. 83 ff.; Pearson, *C.Q.* XI. pp. 66 f.

If the study of modal syntax had started with the periphrastic modes of English or of some other language, more than one misconception might have been avoided. Consider English modal expressions with the auxiliaries. In 'I can go' the assertion is directly made concerning the notion of 'can,' that is to say ability is asserted. Of the idea of going nothing is directly asserted.¹ A temporal meaning is, of course, expressed, but it is 'can,' the modal idea, that is placed in present time. Of the time of 'go' nothing is said. From the nature of the case, however, its time can not be before the time of 'can.' By implication, and implication only, the time of 'go' is a non-past. Only factors of context can make its time more definitely present or future.

If the expression is put into the past, 'I could (was able to) go,' it is the ability again that is placed in the past time sphere; and the time of 'go' is left indefinite, as in the case of 'I can go.'

What has been said may be applied to our 'compulsive'² expression or expression of 'external determination,'³ as I prefer to call it. In 'I am to go,' 'I was to go,' the temporal meanings belong to 'am' and 'was.' In neither case is the time of 'go' expressed.

The dictum that the temporal meaning of a modal expression is the time of the modal idea, not that of the verbal idea, should be applied to the modal forms of Latin,⁴ and of other languages

as well. A volitive subjunctive, as *faciamus*, expresses the will of the speaker in regard to a contemplated action. It places in the present time sphere not that contemplated action but the idea of willing. The time of doing is no more expressed than it is in *volo facere*. But in a clause of motive, since the act of the clause can not take place until the act of the antecedent clause has taken place, a future implication exists. In a sense consistent with this fact the subjunctive in a motive clause is 'prospective.'

Now the modal meaning of a large number of independent subjunctives and of the majority of subjunctives in subordinate clauses is not volitive or optative; it is 'compulsive,' 'of external determination.' Whether in independent sentences or in subordinate clauses the time expressed is that belonging to the modal idea. In *Trin.* 496 'ubi mortuos sis, ita sis' (the time of being dead) is left entirely indefinite. In subjunctive questions as 'Quid faciam?' (What am I to do?) there may be a somewhat more definite 'prospective' implication.

In subordinate clauses there are opportunities for a contextual implication of futurity. In the *priusquam* and *antequam* and *dum* clauses the conjunctions themselves tend to place the act or situation in the future in relation to the act of the main clause. The subjunctive does not place the act in the future; it expresses a modal idea. The 'priusquam conetur' of Cic. *De Or.* 2. 44. 186, means 'before he is to attempt.' The present time indicated by the tense of the verb has reference to the modal idea just as in the equivalent English expression the time expressed is the time of 'is.' So in 'priusquam manus consererent,' of *Tusc.* 4. 22. 49, the past time expressed is the time of the modal idea, 'was.' In both cases there is a 'prospective' implication for the act of the clause.⁵ 'Delitui dum vela darent'

subjunctive and those with the perfect and the problem of the sequence of tenses.

⁵ When we assign to the subjunctive of the *priusquam* and *antequam* clauses the meaning of external determination, the difficulty met with in such examples as the following vanishes. Liv. 5. 33. 5, 'ducentis quippe annis antequam Clusium oppugnarent in Italian transcenderunt,'

¹ This, by the way, is the background of truth in the conception of the subjunctive as the mode of the act conceived, of pure thought, etc. In *any* modal expression the act itself, since its existence is not asserted, is in a sense merely thought of.

² See Sweet, *New English Grammar*, § 2297.

³ The term 'determined futurity' which I employed in two articles in *Classical Weekly* (X. pp. 178-181 and 185-188 and XI. pp. 161-164 and 169-172) is objectionable because it implies that the subjunctive expresses futurity. With the English 'compulsive' cf. the use of *est* and infinitive in Augustine *Civ. D.* 7. 3 'nam seminibus nasci in terra et ex terra est' and the use of *habeo* and infinitive, the forerunner of the Romance future and conditional. See Draeger, *Hist. Syn.* 2, § 414.

⁴ It has an important bearing on several important problems in Latin modal syntax, for example, the problem of the difference in meaning between prohibitions with the present sub-

of Virg. *Aen.* 2. 136, means 'I lay in hiding under the circumstances that (=till) they were bound to be sailing.' The past time of 'they were bound' is expressed by the imperfect tense. That the act of sailing lies in the future is a necessary implication of the context.

The same subjunctive appears in the so-called clauses of 'actual' result;¹ but the 'prospective' implication appears in but few cases. In Cic. *Am.* 9. 29, 'tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam etiam in hosti diligamus,' the time of loving is altogether indefinite, now or in the future. But in *Rud.* 730 'ita ego te hinc ornatum amittam tu ipse te ut non noveris,' the 'prospective' implication is clear. In both cases the time expressed (present) is that of the modal idea.

Nor in relative clauses is there such a thing as a 'prospective' subjunctive. In relative clauses Latin frequently chooses to speak of an act as (because of circumstances) bound to happen, rather than as happening; using, therefore, the subjunctive of external deter-

mination. In *Tusc.* 1. 18 'sunt qui censeant' Cicero says, 'there are those who are (bound) to be holding the opinion.' The time of the modal idea is present and is expressed by the tense of the verb. Nothing in the context places the time of *censere* in the future. But when Horace, *Od.* 1. 32 says 'si quid . . . lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum vivat et plures,' the phrase 'hunc in annum et plures' gives a 'prospective' implication. There is no shift in the nature of the subjunctive. So in Liv. 21. 42. 2 'se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret,' the meaning of *optabat* serves to place the act of *legeret* in the future; but the time of the modal idea is, as it should be, past, the time indicated by the imperfect tense. The subjunctive in the so-called relative clauses of purpose has as good right as any to be called 'prospective'—Caes. *B.G.* 2. 17 'exploratores mittit qui locum idoneum castris deligant,' 'who are to select.' The 'prospective' implication is given in the same way as it is in the true purpose clause.

In *cum* subjunctive clauses we have the same situation. There, too, the Roman often preferred to speak of the act as bound to happen rather than as happening; and sometimes the context will indicate that the act or situation of the clause lies in the future relative to the time indicated by the tense of the subjunctive. So, for example, in Virg. *Aen.* 7. 427.

What has been said may easily be applied to Greek subjunctives and optatives. They, too, are strictly modal in meaning; but we should expect to find that occasionally the context places the contemplated act in the future. The optatives discussed by Mr. Pearson are 'prospective' only in this sense.

FRANK H. FOWLER.

Clearly the act of *oppugnarent* was not expected or anticipated or in prospect; but it was to be. See Hale, *Anticipatory*, p. 86 f.

¹ The real character of the subjunctive in these clauses has been quite clearly stated by Mr. Sonnenschein, *Unity*, pp. 36 ff.; but what he sees as the fundamental and unifying meaning of the Latin subjunctive—'obligation'—is nothing but the essential character of modal ideas in general. It belongs to the Greek optative and to the English periphrastic modal expressions. The meaning of external determination is as distinct from the volitive meaning as either is from that of capacity, meaning of English 'can.' To place volitive and compulsive subjunctives under one head, as Mr. Sonnenschein does, is to neglect the most important distinction in Latin modal syntax. The failure to make this sharp distinction keeps him from seeing that in a purpose clause we have to do with a clause of *willed* result, while in a 'result' clause we have to do with an *externally determined* result.

NOTES

EPIMENIDES AND
'MAXANIDUS.'

IN Vol. XXX. pp. 33 ff. and pp. 139 ff. of this *Review*, there are articles by Mr. Nicklin and Mr. Powell dealing with the discovery by Dr. Rendel Harris¹ in the Syriac commentary on the Acts of Isho'dad of Merv of a passage cited from 'Minos son of Zeus,' in which occurs not only the line *Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται, κατὰ θήρια, γαστέρες ἀργαί* (Tit. i. 12), but also the words 'in thee we live and move and have our being' (Acts xvii. 18),² and the further discovery by the same scholar that in his commentary on Titus the author states that the line *Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται κ.τ.λ.* is the work of a Cretan poet or prophet variously called MKSNNYDWS and Minos.³ In these articles Mr. Nicklin agrees with Dr. Harris in taking MKSNNYDWS to be a corruption of 'Επιμενίδης, and supposing the citation to be derived from the *Minos* of Epimenides, while Mr. Powell disputes this conclusion, and is inclined to accept the conjecture of Professor Margoliouth that the name is a corruption of *Καλλίμαχος ἐν ὕμνοῖς*, based upon Clement, *Protrept.* II. 37, in which these words occur. None of those who have discussed the point has however noticed that the strange name also occurs in the so-called Zacharias Rhetor I. v. (Land, *Anecd. Syr.* III. p. 16, l. 25; transl. Krüger and Ahrens, p. 18^s, l. 10),⁴ where we find the following passage: 'As he said, according to⁵ (?) MKSNYDYS a prophet of their own, "The Cretans are always liars, etc."' The letters KSN are very indistinct in the MS., but the passage in Isho'dad leaves scarcely any doubt

that Land (who had the advantage of seeing the MS. fifty years earlier) has read them correctly.⁶ 'Zacharias' wrote in 569, and the chapter in which the citation occurs consists of a supposed letter attributed to Moses of Ingila, the translator of the *Glaphyra* of Cyril, who lived about 550, and forming a preface to the version of the *Book of Joseph and Asenath* ascribed to Moses. That Isho'dad followed 'Zacharias' we cannot suppose; for, even if we could believe that he used Monophysite authorities, a commentator would not be likely to take an isolated passage from a historical writer; and both must therefore have drawn directly or indirectly from a common source, which was probably either a Syriac version of a Greek commentary on the epistles or a corrupt text of a Syriac commentary. Professor Margoliouth's suggestion as to the origin of the name is ingenious and attractive; but, if we accept it, we have to take the identity of the last five letters with the last five letters of 'Επιμενίδης (more conspicuous in the text of 'Zacharias') as a mere coincidence; and as Greek words and names often appear in the strangest disguises in Syriac, the theory that MKSNYDYS is a corruption of 'Επιμενίδης seems much more likely, though it is possible that the name has been formed by running together the names of Callimachus and Epimenides, who are mentioned in conjunction by Jerome and other commentators.⁷

E. W. BROOKS.

THE ACTS, XV. 29.

The Quarterly for January, 1919, p. 12, discussing W. E. Gladstone's conjectural emendation for Acts xv. 29, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ

¹ *Expositor*, 7th ser., II., pp. 305 ff., III., pp. 332 ff.; 8th ser., IV., pp. 348 ff., IX., pp. 29 ff.; see also Introduction to Mrs. Gibson's edition of Isho'dad vol. IV., p. xii ff.

² Ed. Gibson, IV., p. 40; transl. p. 29.

³ *Id.* V., p. 146; transl. p. 99.

⁴ In my new text of 'Zach.' for the *Corp. Scr. Christ. Orient.* p. 19, l. 15.

⁵ Or 'of.' The text is perhaps corrupt.

⁶ When sending my text to press, I did not know of the passage in Isho'dad, and have therefore left the three letters blank as too uncertain to print.

⁷ See above, vol. XXX., p. 35.

πνικτῶν¹ καὶ πορνείας, where he wished to read πορκείας, thus making the whole verse 29 dietetic, like a modern rations card, says the word πορκεία is not in L. and S. πόρκος, however, is, with the reference to Plut., *Popli.*, and πορκεία comes as easily from πόρκος as πορνεία from πόρνος. The eating of pigs' flesh in this connexion is as congruous to the context as πορνεία is abhorrent.

H. H. JOHNSON.

NOTES ON HORACE.

C. i. 14.

O navis, referent in mare te novi fluctus ! O quid agis ? fortiter occupa portum !

HORACE often begins a sentence with a comparative adverb: *parcius*, i. 25, 1; *latius*, ii. 2, 9; *rectius*, ii. 10, 1, and iv. 9, 46. In such cases a comparison-essential to the sense, is justly emphasised by position. *Fortiter occupa portum*, however, is the only sentence in the *Odes* that begins with an adjectival adverb not in the comparative degree. The word *fortiter* is therefore marked as exceptionally significant. Why, then, is it ignored in translations? Lytton: 'What wouldst thou? Make fast, O, make fast for the haven!' Calverley: 'What dost thou? Seek a haven and there rest thee.' Conington: 'Oh, haste to make the haven yours!' What instinct constrains these faithful translators to strike out an adverb so highly distinguished by the poet? The answer seems to be that they were aware, consciously or subconsciously, not that *fortiter* is otiose, but that it is ruinous to the sense. The virtue displayed by a skipper who runs for harbour because his ship is no longer seaworthy is *prudētia*, not *fortitudo*; and the purpose of the ode is to commend to statesmen a cautious and pacific rather than a courageous policy. *Fortiter* is therefore exactly the wrong word.

Sense may be restored by amending the punctuation:

O quid agis fortiter? Occupa portum!

'Why this untimely display of courage? Make harbour!' It will be objected that the rhythmical balance is upset; that the unqualified *occupa portum!* is intolerably abrupt; that it sounds like a shout—an effect suitable to a ballad (as Scott's 'Charge, Chester, charge!' or Macaulay's 'Grasp your pikes! close your ranks!') but not agreeable to the suave movement of a Horatian ode. I reply (1) that, in any case, the stanza is exceptional, representing in its asyndeta and sharp transitions the excitement of one who watches a ship in distress; (2) that the shouting effect is repeated with greater abruptness in *cave!* below, a sudden imperative for which the reader is in no way prepared by the protasis *nisi ventis debes ludibrium*.

C. A. VINCE.

Serm. II. 1, 886:

Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.

The poet wishes to feel free to attack individuals after the manner of Lucilius. His friend Trebatius, the lawyer, dissuades him, pointing out that he would be liable to prosecution. The question is, what would be the outcome of such a trial? Trebatius, on hearing Horace's proposed defence, thinks he would get off, expressing the manner of his escape by *solventur risu tabulae*.

It is apparent from *risu* that a part of the imagined proceedings was the reading to the court of the incriminating verses. They would be found to be of excellent literary quality, and directed only against those who deserved reproof (the author being of blameless character). It is also clear from the use of *missus* (instead of *absolutus*) that the poet, as the result of his wit and cleverness, would be let off, but not formally acquitted. This implies that the trial was brought to a halt and the case abandoned. This could come about through the retirement of the accuser from the case, his mere absence from the court being sufficient. Several

¹ πνικτῶν V. L. (LTTr) πνικτοῦ.

instances of this kind are known,¹ so that there is no inherent difficulty in the matter of procedure. It is quite possible, however, that the case came to an end with the mere rising of the court, which, of course, was one of the *quaestiones perpetuae*.² In the older trials before the people the assembly might be broken up by the disappearance of the flag from Janiculum, as in the case of Rabirius,³ or by internal tumult. It is the latter situation which Horace in harmonious fashion may be seeking to re-echo, *risu* arousing associations with *tumultu*.

We are now in a position to consider the meaning of *tabulae*, which is taken variously as indictment (Palmer), writing tablets (Orelli), benches of the jurymen (Porphyrio), the satires themselves (Zeune), the laws (Schütz), and the praetor's *formula* in the case (Lejay). 'The exact meaning of *tabulae*,' says Morris, 'cannot be determined.' If, however, one has occasion to busy himself with legal texts he receives an abiding impression of the frequent use of *tabulae* in governmental administration. On looking more closely he finds they are kept by quaestors, praetors, censors, election officers, and municipal senates, and are nothing more or less than official records. In the *lex Acilia repetundarum* the *tabulae* contain the names of the jurors and the attorneys. That they were also records of the proceedings in court is shown by an important (but overlooked) passage in a letter of Caelius to Cicero describing a case against Servilius.⁴ The jury was evenly divided, and the praetor thereupon gave a verdict for the defendant. Thinking later that he had misinterpreted the law 'he did not enter the defendants on the records as acquitted, but merely wrote out the verdicts of the

several *decuriae* '—'in tabulas absolutum non rettulit, ordinum iudicia perscripsit.' It is evident from this not only that *tabulae* were court records, but also (what seems not to have been recognised hitherto) they were kept by the presiding praetor. In our passage *tabulae* are the records of the proceedings in the case against Horace. When the court adjourns the hearing in its amusement at his witty verses, they are cancelled (*solventur*⁵); the case, as we say, is stricken from the docket, and the poet walks out a free man.

Epp. II. 3, 120-3 :

Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer
Iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.

The point I wish to discuss here is the use of *honoratum*. On the ground that Achilles is not honoured in the *Iliad* and, that if he were, it would be unsuitable to speak of him as *iracundus*, etc., Bentley conjectured *Homereuni* and printed it in his text. In this he was followed by Munro in 1869, and later by L. Müller, who read *Homericum*. However, *honoratum* is now usually retained, though the medium assigned to it varies. Krüger thinks it should be completed by *fama*; Wilkins takes it as 'when in receipt of his due honours,' Rolfe as 'restored to honour in distinction from his situation at the beginning of the *Iliad*.' The latest discussion of the passage by Frederick Pollock brings out this same point. He says, '*re* of *reponis* must mean something. It cannot mean to restore to the stage in the modern theatrical sense of revival, for the whole passage deals with the treatment of stock motives and characters. The emphatic position of *honoratum* has been overlooked. The dramatist undertakes to restore Achilles to his worshipful standing: therefore, I would translate, In case you take for your subject Achilles' Worship Restored.'

All this is to make a difficulty of what would seem to be simple enough. *Hono-*

¹ Cf. *Lex Acil.* 70 (Bruns' *Fontes*, p. 70) for ways of hindering a trial, and see the cases of retirement of accusers cited by Greenidge in *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, p. 468, n. 1.

* Cf. also *Orationes Claudii*, Bruns, pp. 98-9.

² *Cic. pro Balb.* 28, 65 : 'Cum omnium peccatorum quaestiones sint,' quoted by Greenidge, p. 427.

³ Strachan-Davidson, *Roman Criminal Law*, i. 201; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, p. 258.

⁴ See 26, Bruns, p. 64.

⁵ 2 *Fam.* viii. 8, 3.

⁶ Cf. *Cic. de Or.* ii. 58, 236 : *res . . . ioco risuque dissolvit.*

Quint. v. 10, 67 : *cum risu tota res solvitur.*
Class. Rev. XXXI. 52 (March, 1917).

ratum is the use, common enough in the Augustan age, of a perfect participle in agreement with noun to express a verbal idea. Thus Livy (XXI. 46, 10) says *servati consulis decus*, and *huius belli perfecti laus*. The idiom is frequent in Horace, and in an article¹ on *Sat. I. 6, 126*, I have brought together a virtually complete collection of the examples. It is somewhat strange how scholars have stumbled over this construction, a classic example being the great Ribbeck's comment² on Juvenal X. 110. In answer to the question: What overthrew men like Pompey and Crassus and Caesar? Juvenal writes: 'Summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus,' whereupon Ribbeck remarks: 'Wie kann der höchste Stand oder der Gipfel der Macht Jemanden zu Boden stürzen?' In our passage *honoratum* . . . *Achillem* means 'the honouring of Achilles,' the reference being of course to the embassy. Achilles was certainly honoured on this occasion, whatever be his treatment in the rest of the *Iliad*. If a writer wishes to portray him after Homer (hence *reponere*), he must be true to type—'Famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge,' as the poet remarks in verse 119. Specifically Horace has in mind the behaviour of Achilles at the embassy, although the description he gives of him there might also apply to his character in general.

JEFFERSON ELMORE.

Stanford University.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS, XV. 9.

[No. 742 in Tyrrell and Purser's
Edition.]

Di immortales! quam me conturbatum tenuit epistulae tuae prior pagina? Quid autem iste in domo tua casus armorum?

THE explanations of this passage suggested in that fine edition of Cicero's *Correspondence*, from which I copy the above passage, do not seem quite satisfactory. It is, as the editors suggest,

¹ *Class. Rev.* XIX. 400 ff. (November, 1905).

² *Der Echte und der Unechte Juvenal*, p. 54.

unlikely that there should be a 'fracas' in such a sedate establishment as that of Atticus. On the other hand, the emendation *casus armariorum*, 'fall of cupboards,' would hardly explain the very remarkable sentence that precedes; unless we take Cicero's alarm to be counterfeited and suppose the sentence to be jocular. This does not seem very likely, for the rest of the letter is in a vein of deep despondency. A few days later he says 'βλάβσημα mittamus,' and less than a fortnight from the present date he writes 'mihi res ad caedem et eam quidem propinquam spectare videtur.'

Is it not possible that the phrase *casus armorum* means simply 'the fall of arms'—i.e., some weapon, or weapons, in Atticus's house fell down without apparent reason, and this was taken by both Atticus and Cicero as an omen of war? This would explain the alarm expressed in 'Di immortales! quam me conturbatum tenuit. . . .' It would also account for the anticipations of war that Cicero now begins to indulge in. Superstition, of course, was part and parcel of Roman life, and it is not likely that Cicero was entirely exempt from it. If this view is correct, we have an exact parallel in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, Canto I., stanza 27, where Douglas's sword falls to the floor at the approach of Fitzjames. In Canto II., stanza 15, the old minstrel explains this as an omen of the approach of a secret foe.

When we find Livy, in spite of a sort of apology, carefully reporting wearisome crops of prodigies every year, we need not hesitate to ascribe superstition to Cicero.

H. W. M. BURD.

VIRGIL, *AEN.* VII. 7. 641 ff.

MR. WARDE FOWLER in his interesting book, *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, says (p. 42), 'there is no very intelligible geographical order in the show.' But there is a method of arrangement, which I, or perhaps one of my pupils (I forget now), detected some time ago. Mezentius leads—the impious Mezen-

tius against pious Aeneas, as Servius said; and it is natural enough that Turnus and Camilla should close the procession. But what of the eleven chiefs who come in between? It is enough to set down their names in the order they are given: Aventinus, Catillus and Coras, Caeculus (Messapus), Clausus, Halaesus, Oebalus, Ufens, Umbro, Virbius. The order is obviously alphabetical. Messapus, however, is out of place. I do not imagine that the poet set any store on this alphabetical arrangement, or would have cared about disturbing it. But the difficulties of the Messapus-passage are great; the awkward zeugma (*habent acies and arces*), the unfinished line (*pulsa palus*), and the almost comic effect of the two similes in juxtaposition (*canoros, raucarum*); not to mention that Messapus is in another way out of place—the eponymous hero of Messapia with such followers. The paragraph was at least left by Virgil in an unrevised state, perhaps at the foot of the page or in the margin, and the editors were troubled. I should like to transpose them to the alphabetical place after Halaesus, for one would thus restore what I fancy was the intention—to mention the arms of the followers, beginning with Mezentius down to Virbius, only in every other case. It is true that special arms should be given to Umbro's troops, but the paragraph ends in a broken line. It may well be that for the time Virgil was puzzled as to what arms to give them, when he had already had recourse even to aclydes—boomerangs, as Mr. J. Y. Powell has shown. I would add on the question of unfinished lines that both Mr. Mackail (C.R., December, 1915) and Mr. Fowler (p. 93) have missed two; there are 57, not 55 of them. The missing two are, I suspect, 2,787 *Dardanis et diuæ Veneris nurus*, and 5,815 *unum pro multis dabitur caput*. A. M. COOK.

VIRGIL, *AENEID*, VIII. 28.

IN his *Aeneas at the site of Rome* Warde Fowler has again explained many obscurities in Virgil, but he has left the old crux of VIII. 23, with an admission

of its difficulty. The lines in question are:

sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aenis
sole repperçussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia pervolitat late loca.

Some commentators assume a mixed figure that borrows the language of the mint (*percutio nummum*), others a confused picture caused by the poet's carelessness in referring the point of reflection to the sun instead of to the water. But the precision of Virgil's visual sense can seldom be questioned with impunity. Perhaps the difficulty will vanish if we read the passage with the Epicurean conception of light in mind. From Siro and Lucretius Virgil had learned that light was a succession of particles emitted from its source in a constant stream. Indeed, he may here have had in mind the striking lines of Lucretius, IV. 189, 190:

suppeditatur enim confestim lumine lumen
et quasi protelo stimulat fulgure fulgur.

At any rate the Epicurean theory underlies such phrases of Virgil as 'aera . . . sole lacessita' (VII. 527) and 'quaerit pars semina flammae abstrusa in venis silicis' (VI. 6).

The simple form *perçussum* would have caused less difficulty, but the prefix *re* does not necessarily mean 'back' or 'again.' It sometimes has the force of 'down' (*reclinis, reclinis*), it may be intensive as in *redundo*, or it may imply continuity as in *respiro, revereor, redolere*. The passage seems therefore to mean: As when light, emitted by sun or moon, shimmering on the water, flits about.

I may add that except for the strange Pythagoreanism¹ of the sixth book, which was apparently assumed for reasons of plot, the whole of the *Aeneid* is best comprehended as the work of an Epicurean poet. And in so far I would question Warde Fowler's discussion of Fate (*ibid.* pp. 122-9). Virgil's inconsequential *Fatum* may be understood in the light of Lucretius II. 250-307, and his histrionic divinities are explained by Lucretius II. 600-660.

TENNEY FRANK.

Bryn Mawr, Penna.

¹ The poet, of course, did not seriously believe in an abode where souls appeared before birth in their future attributes.

TWO PASSAGES OF VIRGIL.

Aen. VIII. 376-378:

non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi
 artis opisque tuae, nec te, carissime coniunx,
 incassumve tuos volui exercere labores
 378 incassumque *M. pr. man.*

'As it seems to me, a very ill-elaborated passage, both in respect of sound and sense,' says Henry of the whole of 377-381; and it must be allowed that we have here a rough patch which wanted the poet's *ultima manus*. All the more, therefore, does it behove us not lightly to call in question the correctness of the text offered by our MSS. Despite this, and despite the fact that, from the very nature of the Virgilian tradition, the textual critic pipes always to readers who will not dance (nor do I very much blame them), I am moved to make a suggestion upon the text of line 378.

It is Latin, and it is Virgilian, to say *labor aliquem exercet* (see *Aen.* I. 431). It is Latin, and Virgilian, to say *labore aliquem exerceo* (see *Aen.* VIII. 412). It is Latin, though the phrase does not occur in Virgil, to say *aliquis exercet labores*: Virgil has *vires, iras, vices, exercere*, all of which are analogous; nor are *choros, cantus, exercere* much dissimilar. *humum exerceo, taurum exerceo* are Latin and Virgilian. But, unless one is addressing a field, or a beast of the field, is *te exerceo* Latin for 'I make you work, I work you'? and is *exerceo tuos labores* Latin for it either? or are the two together, with a connecting *-ve* (or even a *-que*), Latin for it? No editor seems to feel any doubt of it in this passage; and that the conjunct phrase, as = *te tuis laboribus exerceo*, is impossible it would be rash to affirm. But it is at least questionable.

A small change would rid us of all difficulty. I would suggest that the true reading in 378 is *incassum vetitos volui*: 'I did not desire (indeed it had been vain) that you should labour at forbidden toils.' The conjecture derives support from Vulcan's reply in lines 395-404. 'If you had asked me for arms,' he there says in effect, 'when Troy was about to fall, you would have

found that the labour you call *forbidden* could have been allowed:

similis si cura fuisset
 tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset;
 nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata *veti-*
bant 398
 stare, decemque alios Priamum superesse per
 annos.'

nec vetabant in line 398 lacks point (and is even obscure) if Venus has not referred to a supposed decree of fate making it *nefas* for Vulcan to make arms for Aeneas at Troy. *vetitos* in 378 supplies the required reference. *nec . . . vetabant* is rendered by Conington 'the fates did not forbid (if you had only known it).' With *vetitos* it will mean 'you were wrong when you said that the fates forbade.'

Aen. XII. 93-97:

validam vi corripit hastam,
 Actoris Aurunci spolum, quassatque trementem
 vociferans: 'nunc, o numquam frustrata vocatus
 hasta meos, nunc tempus adest: te maximus
 Actor,
 te Turni nunc dextra gerit.'

96. 'te maximus Actor: understand *antea gessit*,' says Conington. But is *Actor* here a proper name? or should we write *actor* (*te maximus actor nunc gerit*)? Statius has *actor habenae* (*Ach.* II. 134); and *actor hastae* is equally natural. Statius may very well have borrowed *actor* in this sense from Virgil. The play on the proper name *Actor* is quite in Virgil's manner. Thus at III. 183 he has *cassus Cassandra canebat* (*cassus Postgate*: *casus codd.*), and at VII. 791 *argumentum ingens et custos virginis Argus*.

H. W. GARROD.

*Merton College, Oxford.*CATULLUS 39, 11 *PARCUS*
UMBER.

IN 1894 were published some extracts from the *Liber Glossarum*, a huge encyclopaedia-dictionary which I believe (but cannot prove) to have been compiled at Corbie in the abbacy of Adelard (from about the year 775). Since they appeared in vol. V. of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* they have been ignored in this country, where Latin

Glossaries are by common consent relegated to the Gentiles' Court as things remote from the orthodox devotion of English Latinists, devotion to the conjectural emendation of the text of a few Latin poets. Yet they contain things that should interest all of us. They tell us, for example (on the authority of a lost *Vita Vergiliana*), that Virgil was called to the bar but held only one brief (*C.G.L.* V. 249, 17 'togam est consecutus; egit causam non amplius quam unam'). And they emend (without conjecture's precarious aid) a line of Catullus. One of the sources used by the Corbie compiler was a Collection of Examples (of the meaning of words) from Authors. The meaning of *pinguis* was there illustrated by Catull. 39, 11:

aut pinguis Umber aut obesus Etruscus,
a very suitable line, since it contrasts *pinguis* with *obesus*, the sleek embonpoint of the dairy-farmer of Sassina with the unhealthy 'undistributed middle' of the sensual Etrurian. How did *parcus* find its way into our MSS. of Catullus?

In that 'editio illepidā' of a lepidus poeta, that warning example how palaeography should *not* be used by an editor, the Teubner commentary of Friedrich, it is declared that Catullus wrote *pastus*, of which *parcus* is a faulty transcription and *pinguis* a gloss. But that Catullus wrote *pinguis* is, we may say, proved by the *pinguibus Umbris* of Persius (3, 74). *Parcus* may be a conjectural emendation of some miswriting of *pinguis*, or it may be a deliberate alteration by some Umbrian scribe of the archetype. Ellis thinks it may belong to a second ancient recension.

In the apparatus of the Oxford (Script. Class. Bibl.) text we find '... *pinguis* Gloss. Vatic. in Maii Class. Auct. VII. 574 *Pinguis*: grassus; nam obesus plus est quam *pinguis*: Catullus ait "Aut *pinguis*," etc. But how meaningless all this is to a reader! How differently it impresses him when he is told that Mai found the gloss in an inferior MS. of the Liber Glossarum; that the compiler of the Liber Glossarum took it from a Collection of Examples from Authors which is quite as likely to have been an ancient collection (like Arusianus Messius' Quadriga) as a Carolingian (like Mico's Prosody), since much of its

lore can be traced to Donatus (*Class. Quart.* XI. 128). And how necessary it becomes to elicit from the chief MSS. of the Liber Glossarum all possible information about this lost work! Goetz has published only extracts. But we must get all the items of the Liber Glossarum published which have come from this source.

And that is the object of this article. Are there half a dozen teachers of Latin in this country who have enough zeal for research to be willing to spend their forenoons for a week (or, still better, a fortnight) in one or other of the following libraries, where are the oldest MSS. of this Corbie dictionary: the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the Vaticana of Rome, the Bibliothèque de Ville of Tours, the Stadtbibliothek of Berne, the Königliche Bibliothek of Munich, the Ambrosiana of Milan? If there are, and if they will write to me, so that their labours may be distributed and directed, the thing will be done.

W. M. LINDSAY.

The University, St. Andrews.

THE DERIVATION OF LATIN 'RUDIS' QUASI SINGLESTICK.

It is deplorable to go backward in our scientific knowledge, but this is what has happened in regard to the etymology of Lat. *rudis*. Stowasser, in his Latin lexicon of 1900, explained the noun *rudis* by adding after it 'sc. *virga hasta*'; and under the adjective he cited the Virgilian instance, viz. *Aeneid* IX. 743,

ille rudem nodis et cortice crudo
intorquet . . . hastam.

This passage certainly suggests that the *rudis* was first a sort of knobkerry or an unwrought singlestick. This good explanation was silently withdrawn in Skutsch's revision of Stowasser in 1910. In 1915 Zimmermann, in his etymological lexicon, revived the suggestion—but, if I may say so, very coldly. Walde has disdained even to mention it.

One interested in root derivation might be disposed to connect the noun *ru-dis* directly with *ru-trum* and *rutabulum*, from a root *ru* (see Walde s.v. *ruo*), to scratch, so that the original sense of *rutrum rutabulum* will have

been 'scratcher, digging stick.' Even then it seems to me that Lat. *rudis* (rough < scratching) is earlier than *rudis*, knobkerry. Latin (from Greek) *ruta* (rue) will have meant, to start with, the rough plant or the plant of rough taste (cf. Lat. *asper*, of wine, brine). The root of *rudis* will be ultimately not different from the root of Eng. *rough*, Lat. *rau-cus*, rough of voice. This raises the question of the ultimate cognation of *rudis* (rough) and *rudis* (howls). Did the sense of 'grating' come from 'howling' or conversely? We should be cautious not to disbelieve the one or the other if we recall that, in point of derivation, Eng. *smooth* meant, to start with, 'creamy.'

But waving all question of the remoter cognates, I wish to record myself as entirely satisfied with Stowasser's derivation of the noun *rudis* (sc. *uirga hasta*) from the adjective *rudis* (rough). Cf. the Spanish noun *largo* (billiard cue), from Lat. *largus* (broad, expansive), though *largus* must in Spanish have got the sense of 'long' prior to the development of the nominal sense of 'cue.'

EDWIN W. FAY.

The University of Texas.

LIVY II. 30. 4.

sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperio suo vehemens mansueto permitteretur ingenio.

As the above passage stands in the MSS., there is no subject for 'permitteretur.' This difficulty is fully discussed by Professor Conway in his edition of Livy II. (C.U.P. 1912, p. 134), who takes Moritz Müller's suggestion and prints MAGISTRATUS between 'vehemens' and 'mansueto.' It seems evident that some word closely akin to 'imperio' and 'magistratus' has dropped out of the text, probably through haplography. Professor Conway mentions two proposals that have been made, but does not accept them. They are: (1) '*Imperii vis vehemens*' (Madvig); (2) '*Imperium sua vi vehemens*' (Frigell). Each of these proposals involves a twofold tampering with the text, apart from Professor Conway's objection (*loc. cit.*).

The present writer suggests the insertion of MUNUS after 'vehemens.' MUNUS

would be more likely to fall out between VEHEMENS and MANSUETO than would MAG^{RS}. (abbreviated for 'magistratus').

For MUNUS used in connexion with a magistracy, cp. est proprium munus magistratus, intellegere, se gerere personam civitatis (Cicero, *De Off.* I. 34. 124).

M. KEAN.

*Collegiate School,
Liverpool.*

LIVY XXI. 48. 3.

'Nummis aureis quadringentis Dasio Brundisino praefecto praesidii corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium.'

With hardly an exception, commentators have fallen foul of the words 'nummis aureis.'¹ On the authority of a statement of Pliny² they declare that gold coins were not struck in Rome before 217 B.C.,³ and conclude that Livy's allusion to them in connexion with events of 218 B.C. must be an anachronism.

This anachronism, if it be one, certainly does not stand alone in the pages of Livy, whose antiquarian accuracy was not above reproach. Yet Livy was certainly aware that in the earlier days of the Roman republic large sums of money were paid by weight.⁴ And the knowledge of this fact is not likely to have slipped from him in the present case, for in the above passage his method of expression is somewhat stilted and gives the impression of aiming at a studied effect. Our author therefore was on the alert, and we should think twice before we reproach him with a careless blunder.

But on second thoughts the objections

¹ Nash (1874); Capes (1878); Dowdall (1885); Dimsdale (1888); Tatham (1889); Traves (1899); Allcroft and Hayes (1902). Westcott (1892) tries to evade the difficulty by translating 'an amount of gold of the value of 400 aurei.' But this does excessive violence to Livy's language.

² *Hist. Naturalis* 33. 47: aureus nummus post annos li. percussus est quam argenteus.

³ This date, which some scholars reject in favour of 218 B.C., has recently been rehabilitated by Leuze (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1915, pp. 37-46).

⁴ *E.g.*, 22. 23. 3: argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret.

to Livy's version lose all their force. For one thing, it is by no means certain that Pliny's date for the first emission of gold coin at Rome is correct. Some leading numismatists have used the evidence of style—which is a safer criterion in expert hands than a second or third-hand snippet from Pliny—to date back the earliest extant gold pieces from the mint at Rome to the last years of the First Punic War, or to some other period anterior to the Second Punic War.¹ Again, it is quite arbitrary to assume that Hannibal's choice of gold coins was limited to the issues of the Roman moneyers. Indeed, if he paid in coin at all, he probably did not use Roman pieces. The earliest Roman gold coinage, whatever its date, was almost certainly an emergency issue. It was intended to cope with a stringency of money in Rome itself and therefore would not circulate widely outside the city. It is unlikely, therefore, that Hannibal could have hoarded a sufficient stock of these aurei to liquidate his transaction with Dasius. We should look beyond Rome for the provenance of the four hundred gold pieces.

Now if we take a survey of those mints whose coins might possibly have come into Hannibal's hands, we shall have to travel over quite a wide field. In Italy alone gold coins of the third century are known to have been struck at Volsinii, Capua, Heraclea, Tarentum, and among the Bruttii. In Sicily issues in the same metal were not uncommon in the fifth century, and in the third century the mint of Syracuse was singularly prolific of gold pieces. Carthage too issued gold currency in the early and middle part of the same century, and even some of the tribes of Gaul had followed suit.² Of the mints in the Eastern Mediterranean, it may suffice to mention that of the great Macedonian kings, Philip and Alexander.

Gold coins, therefore, were plentiful enough in Hannibal's time. And we

need not doubt that—setting aside the case of emergency issues—they had a wide circulation among the armies of that period, for they would be far more convenient to carry than the bulky silver pieces.³ Indeed some of the principal gold coinages, such as those of Syracuse and Tarentum, of Macedon and Carthage, and the pieces struck under Roman authority at Capua, were evidently meant in the first instance for military use. Their emission usually coincided with some important military effort, and was on such a scale as to exceed by far the needs of the local market.⁴ Almost any and every one of the issues above mentioned would have served Hannibal's purpose. The coins of Carthage would presumably be the easiest for him to come by; those of Macedon, and, in a less degree, of Syracuse and Tarentum, enjoyed the greatest international reputation; and the last-named were probably the most familiar to the recipient, a native of Brundisium.

But it is useless to break our heads in endeavouring to find in what particular species Hannibal paid Dasius. Suffice it to say that he probably had plenty of 'nummi aurei' of one sort or another at his disposal, and that there is no warrant for accusing Livy of inaccuracy in his description of Hannibal's bargain.

M. CARY.

University of London.

QUINTILIAN I. 9. 2.

I THINK it should be stated that the interpretation of this passage reprehended by Mr. F. H. Colson in the last number of the *CLASSICAL REVIEW* is assumed by M. L. Havet on p. xvi of his edition of 1895, where it is cited amongst the 'testimonia de Phaedro.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic*, introd. p. lv; vol. i., p. 12. Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, pp. 40-43. Hill's date (c. 242 B.C.) commends itself strongly on historical grounds.

² Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum* and the *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*.

³ The inconvenience of silver money to an army in rapid motion is amusingly illustrated in Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. ii., p. 348.

⁴ This is particularly true of the copious issues described in Evans' *Horsemen of Tarentum*, pp. 81-2, 97, 140-1.

POMPEY'S COMPROMISE.

PROFESSOR TENNEY FRANK'S suggestion¹ that Pompey's offer to prolong Caesar's command in Gaul till November 13, 49 B.C., was coupled with a provision for the insertion of two intercalary months in the early part of that year receives support from the following passage in Cicero's correspondence: 'leuissime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat' (Curio), transfugit ad populum' (*Ad Familiares* 8. 6. 5. Written by Caelius to Cicero in March, 50 B.C., some two months before Pompey made his offer to Caesar).

This passage shows that the question of calendar reform was in the air at the time when Pompey made his offer to Caesar. We do not know what attitude Pompey adopted towards Curio's scheme at the outset; but once Curio had abandoned his motion and left a free field to Pompey the latter had a double interest in reviving the question of intercalation. Not only, as Professor Frank points out, would a manipulation of the calendar enable him to make a specious offer to Caesar, but it would place his antagonist Curio in a dilemma. If Curio accepted Pompey's calendar reform, he would prejudice the interests of his patron Caesar. If he opposed it after himself introducing a similar or identical scheme, he would lay himself open to the charge of inconsistency. The second of these results, moreover, was one which Pompey was anxious to attain. His general policy of *riposte* against Curio at this time was to pretend that he, Pompey, and not Curio, was Caesar's true friend, that Curio was a mere irresponsible mischief-maker.²

There is, therefore, good reason for believing that Professor Frank has offered a valid explanation of a difficulty which has long baffled historians.

M. CARY.

University of London.

NOSTRUM NOBIS.

IN *Archiv* 15. 47 (anno 1908; cf. *Kleine Schriften*, p. 321), in a paragraph entitled *Ersatz des Komparationskasus*, Skutsch wrote as follows: Woher dies quam gekommen ist, lässt sich mit einem Worte sagen—und doch ist es nirgends gesagt. . . . Genau so ist im Lateinischen *hic clarior est quam ille* statt *clarior est illo* eingetreten nach der Analogie von *hic tam clarus est quam ille*. But in the *Classical Review* 8. 458 (anno 1894) I had written: A very transparent origin for the Latin *quam* (than) can be made out, e.g. *tam ego fui liber quam* (sc. *liber*) *gnatus tuus* (Plautus, *Cpt.* 310); it is but a step to *liberior quam gnatus tuus*. Also in my edition of the *Mostellaria* (anno 1902) I presented the case for interaction between comparison of equality and comparison of inequality at least as thoroughly as Skutsch. To my examples I may now add from Wycherley's *Gentleman Dancing Master* (i. 2), Thou hast made the best use of three months at Paris as ever English squire did. In his small volume on Horace (ch. vi., p. 110 of the Lippincott edition) Sir Theodore Martin got two types of comparison of inequality into confusion, viz. in the sentence: 'the wife so chosen seems to have been at pains to make herself *more* attractive to everybody *rather* than to her husband.'

EDWIN W. FAY.

University of Texas.

¹ *Classical Review*, May-June, 1919, pp. 68-9.

² *Ad Familiares* 8. 11. 3: Pompeius, tamquam Caesarem non impugnet, sed quod illi aequum putet constituat aut Curionem quaerere discordias.

REVIEWS

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM.

The Price of Freedom: An Anthology for All Nations, chosen by F. MELIAN STAWELL. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 165. 24 illustrations. London: Headley Brothers. Price 3s. 6d. net.

MISS F. M. STAWELL, in her interesting collection of extracts from the poets and thinkers of many nations, does not shrink from contemplating the harsh and cruel sides of life, which emerge so often in the age-long struggle for freedom. Her little book may thus prove a useful corrective to the serene beauty of Mr. Bridges' great *Anthology*, which inspired it. Twenty-four illustrations are added, most of them being happily chosen, though Rembrandt's 'Anatomy Lesson' might well have been omitted. Miss Stawell draws on German writers (chiefly Goethe and Nietzsche) and also, rather largely, on Walt Whitman and Browning, all of whom were passed over by Mr. Bridges.

For the *Classical Review* the main interest of the book lies in its quotations from the classics. We are struck by the entire absence of Latin, except for a few lines from Spinoza. Is there nothing to be found in Livy or Tacitus, Virgil or the Roman Stoics, to hearten the world in its fight 'pulchra pro libertate' (*Aen.* VI. 821)? It is noteworthy that Mr. Bridges also allows classical Latin literature to be represented by a single passage from the *Aeneid*. Some lover of Latin ought to fill up this gap, if it can be filled. The

Greek quotations are nearly all well-known ones. Unfortunately only four out of fifteen appear with an absolutely accurate Greek text: mis-spellings and wrong accents abound. It is a pity that such mistakes should have been allowed to survive the proof-sheets. The translations are generally Miss Stawell's own: that of the Thermopylae epitaph—'Stranger, tell the Spartans that we have obeyed their orders, and have fallen here'—reads very flat: the emphasis is on *τῇδε κείμεθα*, 'here we lie,' and the noble lines almost demand a couplet in verse. Antigone's answer to Creon (*Soph. Antigone* 523) is admittedly a difficult line, for which a perfect rendering has perhaps not yet been found; but Miss Stawell's lengthy paraphrase sadly weakens it. For the Athenian battle-song in the *Persians* (402-5) Browning's rendering is used. In spite of Browning's name, one misses the steady rhythm of the Greek, and a printer's slip in punctuation does not improve matters. Plato furnishes but one quotation, of six words only; Thucydides none. Altogether the Greek extracts grip the reader far less than they ought to do.

It is only fair to add that the Greek forms a very small part of the book, and that the translations from the French and German are well done, especially two fine prose passages, one from Zola (p. 78) and one from Victor Hugo (p. 90).

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

NATURAL SCIENCE AND THE CLASSICAL SYSTEM IN EDUCATION.

Natural Science and the Classical System in Education: Essays New and Old. Edited by Sir RAY LANKESTER. One volume. Pp. x+268. London: Heinemann, 1918. 2s. 6d. net.

THE Committee on the Neglect of Science have entrusted to Sir Ray

Lankester the publication of essays on 'Natural Science in Education,' by the Master of Balliol; on 'The Case against the Classical Languages' and 'A Modern Education,' by Mr. H. G. Wells; on 'Science and Educational Reconstruction,' by Mr. F. W. Sanderson; and 'The Aim of Education,' by the editor.

The last essay is a trumpet-call, as loud as possible, intended to rally the friends of science against their supposed enemy, the tradition of classical teaching.

In discussing the value of these essays I shall try to set out the lists for the encounter between the combatants as accurately as is needful. It might have been hoped that the champion of science as against the classics, the editor, would have anticipated the necessary explanations. But his command of scientific procedure is not adequate for the discussion before us.

We must begin by taking account of the several sciences. If we start with the more abstract sciences and proceed to the more concrete, we shall put mathematics first. Then in order will follow physics, chemistry, physiology both botanical and animal. As we thus proceed, each science takes for granted the results of the more abstract sciences which have preceded it. When, however, we leave physiology to go on to psychology, we find that it is only partly true that psychology demands a knowledge of its predecessors. A new element comes in. In the other sciences we study processes from the outside; in psychology we indeed study some processes from the outside, for example when we try to interpret the consciousness of animals. But the most characteristic part of psychology is that which is reached from the inside, by introspection, when consciousness expresses itself. It is at this point that we can enter fully upon anthropology, the scientific study of man, and not before. Not before this stage do we enter upon the subjects included under humanism. And when we do so enter, we find that we are no longer confined to the judgments of facts which make up the positive sciences, or, as Sir Ray Lankester calls them, the natural sciences. Sir Ray Lankester introduces an element of confusion when he removes the obvious and convenient distinction between those studies which are specially concerned with man such as folklore, comparative religion, history, literature, and so forth, and those studies such as physics and chemistry, which do not regard man as distinguished from the rest of the universe. So far as man is

something more than an animal, so far as the natural sciences with their judgments of fact need to be supplemented by humanist studies with their judgments of value, to that extent only (I must point out to Sir Ray Lankester) is man a spiritual being, as imperfect as you like, but still spiritual. When the editor was reprinting so large a part of the 'Essays on a Liberal Education,' why did he omit Wilson's paper 'On Teaching Natural Science in Schools'? The explanation is not far to seek. Wilson agrees (p. 256) that 'an education in science alone would not be the highest,' that 'in order to train men education must deal mainly with the feelings, the history, the language of men.' Such was the verdict of the one 'scientific' contributor to the volume in question.

We must therefore, in our systematic study of the problem, call in the assistance of human psychology and human ethics. It is the business of education, in the light of these sciences, to encourage the individual to form good habits of thinking, feeling, and acting. Perhaps the most effective, although not always the most satisfactory, means to this end is found in social opinion, social pressure, and social example. The boy who goes to school or the man who earns his living, needs, as far as he can, to understand and to value rightly these social forces, if only because he himself is a contributory element. And the individual cannot thus take his part effectively unless his imagination is exercised upon human affairs. Here, the natural sciences leave us at the threshold. They lack the watchword, the 'open sesame.' But the boy who in Latin has struggled as far as Caesar's Gallic War, or in Greek as far as the Anabasis of Xenophon, has had to construct in his own mind a picture, imperfect indeed, but yet a picture, of another age and another civilisation. Here we have a hint of the services of the classics in developing the boy's imagination: more than a hint is unnecessary. Now it is an ascertained fact that the development of the imagination accompanies to a very striking degree the development of the sense of language values. The Spirit comes often by way of the Word. Not all are susceptible

of this development to a very great extent, but there is reason for holding that to a small extent all human beings are thus susceptible. It has yet to be shown that English and modern languages, other than English, offer the like discipline to the imagination and the speech faculty, which is furnished, say, by the Greek New Testament. English teaching, under scientific influences, fails to apply judgments of value. I still smart under the injustice of being compelled for an English examination to learn by heart when a boy a second-rate poem like Parnell's 'Hermit.' And the case of English studies is no better in these latter days. The classical authors—'splendors of the firmament of time'—whom Sir Ray Lankester characteristically describes (p. 264) as 'more or less ignorant and deluded,' rarely condescend to the level of thought and expression which is found when students of natural science leave their proper province. And this leads me to my third point: the classical tradition puts a boy in the way not only of a cultivated imagination and an increased susceptibility to the exact use of language: he is familiarised, as he tries to enter into the varied styles of the classical writers, with the application of a standard of beauty. This exercise of taste is a common possession of all modern literatures, so far as they derive from the classics.

So far as the classical tradition has disappeared in craftsmanship, to that extent our English surroundings have become barren, stale, unprofitable. The Victorian age is in this respect a by-word. The application in England of science to industrial processes from about 1760 marked the beginning of the end. Since that time the world has not only become uglier day by day so far as human production is concerned, but the human mind has lost for lack of exercise the power of responding to the appeal of the beautiful. The craftsman and the artist live out their careers in an alien world. Mr. Wells (p. 187), in his capacity of a prophet of to-day, rightly interprets the mind of to-day when he says that 'beautiful writing or painting is educational by reason of its thought and illumination, and not by reason

of its beauty.' I had been waiting for 'thought and illumination.' I now understand why the 'educationalist' empties the House of Commons, committees, public meetings. He speaks for a world from which beauty is left out.

The exclusive pursuit of natural science narrows the imagination by concentrating it upon non-human facts. It leaves undeveloped, or cramps or distorts the power of expression. A colleague of mine unkindly complains that Huxley was the last scientific man who wrote English.

The industrial revolution, with science for its guide, has destroyed the beauty of human surroundings. And English scientific men are in the main unconscious of the external amenities of life, an unconsciousness which they share with their business contemporaries. But the workman has awakened to his loss in this respect, his ugly dwellings, and his mean streets. He has been exploited spiritually by his isolation from the ancient and lovely traditions of the exterior world. And if he 'rots inwardly and foul contagion spreads,' who shall say how far the guilt lies with those who have taken from his home the last touches of beauty?

Mr. Wells is better than his word. In a passage (p. 206) which doubtless escaped the notice of the editor, Mr. Wells proposes that the 'common arch of the whole system' of education should rest upon the two pillars of classical and scientific studies. And there I should be content to leave it. The widened sympathies of the classical student can find room and a welcome for the renaissance of science, especially when, as in Mr. Sanderson's pages, he catches echoes of the glorious Lionardo. In schools with an engineering side a boy, not infrequently, goes over from the classical fifth to the engineering side, and the classical boy in one year, often, so I am assured, catches up and passes the engineering boy who starts with a two years' advantage in his special subject. But there is no fundamental hostility between the classical and the scientific curriculum. They find room in turn and *in their due order* for the development of those varied in-

dividualities which, in proportion to their rich difference, contribute to the meaning of the world.

I wonder what the Master of Balliol thinks of the concluding essay of the editor? Unhappy turns of speech like 'the dismal fatuities of grammarians' (p. 259), or 'overgrown staff of "unable" teachers' (p. 267), are matched by the elaborate identification of knowledge with wisdom (p. 254) and the unscientific confusion between the natural and the human sciences. Sir Ray Lankester has indeed given away the whole case of science so far as he is concerned. Wisdom is not the inevitable companion either of classical or scientific knowledge. It stands above them both, for it determines the ends to which man must direct not only his knowledge but his actions. But the Master of Balliol must be careful of the company he keeps. The spiritual life of man would indeed be starved if its main food were confined to the excite-

ments of the unusually distant, say, Saturn and his rings, or the movement of the blood corpuscles as seen under a microscope (p. 3). I say nothing of the consolations of religion. But a quotation from another Oxford writer shall be set against Mr. A. L. Smith and the interesting reprints from 'The Essays on a Liberal Education':

The words of some classic author . . . passages which to a boy are but rhetorical common-places . . . at length come home to him, when long years have passed, and he has had experience of life, and pierce him, as if he had never before known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness.

Not even Mr. Sanderson's delightful exhibition of two years ago (p. 225) could give me the comfort which Newman and less eloquent souls have found in the loved pages of Virgil and Horace.

FRANK GRANGER.

University College,
Nottingham.

DIE PYTHAIS: STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER VERBINDUNGEN ZWISCHEN ATHEN UND DELPHI.

Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi. Inaugural-dissertation von AXEL BOETHIUS. Uppsala, 1918.

THE author, a pupil of Professor Sam Wide, has made a very useful study of the Athenian sacrifice at Delphi, which was offered from time to time and called ἡ Πυθαίς. His conclusions, which are based on a careful examination of the Delphic inscriptions, are as follows: at some early period, in response to a request from Athens, the oracle ordered that the sacrifice should be sent, when Zeus lightened above Harma (on Mount Parnes), and this led to the foundation of a sort of college of Pythaistae, who watched for the lightning three days and three nights in three months of the year. But so seldom did they observe it that ὅταν δι' Ἀρματος ἀστράψῃ became proverbial by the time of Pericles for 'seldom' or 'late,' as a comedian adapted the phrase to Pericles ὅταν διὰ Πικνὸς ἀστράψῃ. The observatory was

'on the wall between the Pythion and the Olympion' (Strabo). In passing let us observe that this is one more refutation of the theory of Dörpfeld that the name Pythion was anciently applied to the north-west corner of the Acropolis. Mr. Boethius is also definitely against connecting Euripides, *Ion* 285, with the lightning on Harma and the watch of the Pythaistae. When the sacrifice was actually performed, it took place with the ancient ceremony, alluded to by Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 12, in which axe-bearers led the way. Mr. Boethius thinks it most probable that the axes were originally votive, like the Tenedian axe. Either this was the case, or they were relics of the ancient ritual, as observed in the case of the Buphonia. Attic legend connected the ceremony either with the coming of the god from Delos to Delphi or with Theseus clearing the land of robbers (*Schol. Med.* 1 and 2). The route taken was *via* Oenoe and Cithaeron, not *via* the Tetrapolis and Tanagra, according to Mr. Boethius,

who however deals fully with the quasi-independent religious connexions of the Tetrapolis with Delphi and Delos, a subject treated by Philochoros. Special ceremonies of the Pythais were the Pyrphoria and Tripodophoria, in which Mr. Boethius rightly sees the acknowledgment of the original foundation of the Pythion at Athens from Delphi. After 330 B.C. there was a long interval during which the sacrifice was not offered. It was always quite distinct from the Panhellenic Pythia, and was an Athenian function performed at Delphi. In 138 B.C. the custom was revived, without the old watch for the lightning, and at first without the Pythaists. Between this year and 97 B.C. the processions can be reconstructed with the aid of Delphic inscriptions as having taken place four times. In 128 the well-known Paean of Limenius, to which the musical notes are attached, was sung, relating the old story of the coming of the god from Delos by way of Athens. In these years deliberate

archaism led to the restoration of the Pythaistae both adults and boys (an Icarian relief of the fourth century, of which Mr. Boethius gives an illustration, shows four such boys accompanied by an adult), while every effort was made by the Athenian state to lend dignity to the occasion by official representation. Even the Athenian guild of actors co-operated, and they were not only thanked by the Delphians, but a statue was erected with a complimentary inscription for their performances. Into the details of these later celebrations of the Pythais it is unnecessary to enter, but the general impression left by Mr. Boethius' work is that he has carefully studied the evidence and arrived at the best conclusions. His chief service is definitely to distinguish the Pythais from the Pythia, the Panhellenic festival, to which e.g. Demosthenes (xix. 128) refers. Why is a dissertation by a Swede written in German?

G. C. RICHARDS.

Oriel College, Oxford.

GREEK POLITICAL THEORY: PLATO AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors. 8vo. One vol. Pp. xiii + 403. London: Methuen and Co., September, 1918.

MR. BARKER'S volume is a recasting—indeed almost a rewriting—of the first part of his book on *The Political Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* published in 1906. The writing of it, as he says, has been 'pure pleasure,' and he will take it as a compliment that the reading of it, pleasurable in itself, should have sent the present writer back to the even greater pleasure of communing with the spirit of their common master. He will forgive him then if this notice should refrain from dealing in detail with the virtues and occasional deficiencies of what will undoubtedly become a standard book for students of Greek political thought, and should dwell on one particular aspect of Plato's work, to the full significance of which this latest study, like others, has not done full justice.

'A city, we must remember,' says Mr. Barker in his second chapter (p. 24), in a passage added since the earlier volume, 'always meant to the Greeks a community of persons rather than an area of territory. They spoke in terms of men where we . . . tend to speak in terms of acres' or rather of square miles. The contrast here drawn is not only true, but fundamental, and its implications are a good deal deeper than Mr. Barker and other modern students of Plato appear to have realised. For if Plato's city is not a territorial unit, like a modern state, but a spiritual unit, resembling rather a college or a church, much of his teaching will be inapplicable, or applicable only after careful allowance has been made, to modern political conceptions and conditions. Neglect of this obvious fact has led to much confusion of thought. Two examples from Mr. Barker's volume must suffice. The word *law*, he points out (p. 39), implied to the Greeks an inherited moral

sanction, while to us it means merely 'a set of regulations.' True, but on p. 268, forgetful of the distinction, he tells us that 'Plato's insistence on the rule of law within a system of politically independent states entitles him to rank as a forerunner of international law.' Of international morality, of *Sittlichkeit*, yes; but of the Permanent Court of Justice at the Hague, a tribunal suspended *in vacuo* above states and peoples of varying outlook and moral standards—emphatically 'no.' Plato never fell into the current modern error of thinking that a moral relation between diverse groups, whether tribes or large states, can be brought into existence by the fiat of a few carefully-collected sages.

Our other example is from a very different field. It concerns the much disputed question of Plato's attitude towards art. Plato disbelieved, Mr. Barker tells us (p. 371), in 'a general taste,' and so he fell back, in his search for a controlling authority, on 'State regulation.' 'With many of his regulations we of this generation instinctively disagree,' adds Mr. Barker; and no wonder, for the idea of a modern territorial state or municipality attempting to hedge round the intellectual and artistic initiative of the very mixed body of persons within its jurisdiction is plainly repugnant to us.

But if we remember that Plato is thinking in terms, not of a state, or even of a municipality, but of a society with an inherited social and artistic tradition of its own, of a 'school' in the full meaning of that word, the case is altered.

In the *Republic*, in fact, the modern man finds not one but two distinct problems treated—the problem of government and the problem of what

for want of a better term we must call 'nationality.' States have no art; or, when they have one, it bears all the marks of the patron's order or the parasite's flattery. But nations, groups of individuals with a common racial and social inheritance and common memories and aspirations, can and do produce art, and, with art, a common standard of taste and appreciation. What would be frank absurdity in Dublin Castle and even in the Dublin Municipality might be quite feasible for the Abbey Theatre or the Gaelic League or even for the National University of Ireland. Similarly the idea of an American art controlled from Washington merely excites ridicule, but readers of Miss Jane Addams' and other books on the life and activities of the different immigrant nationalities will realise how strong and life-giving a power resides in the artistic tradition which they have brought with them and which is sustained and nourished by deliberate communal action. A 'bazaar of styles' is quite as demoralising as the 'bazaar of constitutions' which Plato denounces in democracy, and the experience of modern national groups, reaching out to the expression of their corporate consciousness in art and literature and other forms of spiritual achievement, and reacting against the influence of a disintegrating cosmopolitanism, throws valuable new light on some of the perplexities which have troubled Mr. Barker and others on this subject.

To develop this point would carry one far beyond the limits of a review, and an apology is perhaps needed for having allowed Mr. Barker's excellent book to serve as an opportunity for suggesting it.

A. E. ZIMMERN.

DREAMS IN GREEK POETRY.

The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy. By WILLIAM STUART MESSER, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918. \$1.25 net and 5s. 6d. net.

THE Department of Classical Philology of Columbia University has approved this monograph as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication. We are happy to agree, and we hope that Mr. Messer will be able to fulfil his promise of further contributions to his chosen subject. He was led to the study of the dreams in Greek literature by the discovery—which every serious student of Latin literature will make—that without Greek you cannot get far into Latin; for he first set out to investigate Roman dreams (see *Mnemosyne*, 45, 78-92). His present work is really introductory to a more general study of the ancient dream, especially as portrayed in Latin literature. It deals particularly with the dreams in Homer, Hesiod, and the Tragedians, (1) as a part of the machinery, a motive force in the development of action, narrative, plot, and (2) as artistic ends in themselves, more or less complete, more or less refined, more or less natural or artificial. The author has collected, for his own purposes, all dreams and references to dreams that he can find in Greek or Latin literature down to the second century A.D., and his footnotes give proof of his wide reading and of the intrinsic interest of his materials. His style is somewhat inelegant, and his arrangement unattractive. His method is to plough solemnly through the whole field, noting and discussing each dream as it appears. Accordingly there is too much repetition, and a bewildering abundance of cross-references. If only he had added a short chapter summarising his results, his work would have been more likely to be recognised for what it is—a very sound and useful piece of not particularly inspired research. That the author is no mere

compiler is shown by many touches of just literary appreciation. He is at his best in pointing out that Penelope's dream of geese and eagle (*Odyssey* XIX.) is unlike other dreams in Homer, an allegorical vision which demands interpretation, 'a new departure for the epic, and a model for the allegorical dreams of tragedy.' The second part, in which the eagle returns and announces himself as Odysseus, is in the manner of the older type, the objective dream which tells its own tale without any mystery; and this addition, Mr. Messer thinks, is an indication that the poet felt uneasy about the introduction of the new technique (pp. 33-4). Excellent, again, is the remark (p. 57) that 'the immediate source of the dream in tragedy is to be found *not in religion and cult*, but in the *literature*.' So is the discussion (p. 81 ff.) of the dream in Sophocles' *Electra*, where the old literary *motif* is adapted, not so much for its mechanical effect upon the plot as for its value as a means and an excuse for the portrayal of character. Finally, the description of the dream in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* as approximating to 'the highly-chiselled miniatures in which the Alexandrian period delights,' strikes me as just and illuminating. Where Mr. Messer sticks to the literature and his own commonsense, his work is sound and useful. Sometimes, unfortunately, he is led, like most of us, into the dangerous by-paths of cult-conjecture. On p. 4, for example, after a sound sane statement in the text that Hermes is *not* portrayed in Homer as a god of dreams, and that *ὄνειροπομπός* as his epithet is *not* ante-Alexandrian, we are dismayed to read in a footnote that 'From Hermes *ὄνειροπομπός* to Hermes *χθόνιος* . . . the step was short.' Similar mental pressure produced, I think, the strange juggling with the meaning of the plain word *κακόν* on p. 12. But why, in the footnote to p. 16, Mr. Messer suddenly exclaims, 'Add Granger . . .' etc., I cannot conjecture.

J. T. S.

A GOLD TREASURE OF THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD.

A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period. By WALTER DENNISON, Swarthmore College. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XII. Studies in East Christian and Roman Art, Part II.). One volume. 11" x 8". Pp. 87. Fifty-four plates and 57 text illustrations. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. \$2.50 net.

THIS study was completed by the author just before his death in March, 1917. An In Memoriam notice is appended to the volume.

The book is a description of thirty-six objects said to belong to a gold treasure found in Egypt. The word 'said' is used advisedly, for, though there is enough stylistic resemblance to connect together several of the pieces, the evidence relating to the discovery of the objects is extremely unsatisfactory. The pieces were brought at different times by Arabs to a 'well-known antiquary of Cairo.' They were purchased from him by four collectors, with the result that they are now scattered in Detroit, New York, the Antiquarium in Berlin, and the British Museum. Four of the objects—two necklaces and a pair of serpent bracelets—are stated to have been found at Alexandria. They are clearly of earlier date (second-third century after Christ) than the bulk of the objects which the author rightly assigns to the sixth century.

The volume consists mainly of a very detailed and accurate description of the objects which comprise striking but somewhat florid examples of the Oriental jeweller's art. Chief among them are two pectorals set with Imperial coins and medallions of the fifth and sixth centuries, to which were attached medallion pendants (in one case with designs depicting the Annunciation and the Miracle of Cana). There are other medallions in gold settings, necklaces with jewel pendants, a breast-chain with openwork medallions, bracelets with openwork decoration and jewels, and a rock-crystal statuette of a woman of no

high artistic merit. The coins in the pectorals range from Theodosius I. (379-395) to Mauricius Tiberius (582-602).

The ornaments were no doubt found in Egypt (Assiût in Upper Egypt and the site of the ancient Antinoë are each mentioned as provenance), but no reliance can be placed on the statements made as to the find-spot. There is indeed doubt as to whether all the objects (excluding those assigned to Alexandria) were found together. The conjecture that Alexandria was the original place of manufacture has some plausibility, but there is no reason to suppose that there would be any marked difference between the products of Egyptian and Syrian jewellers at the period to which these ornaments belong.

The objects, though primarily of interest to the student of 'Byzantine' jewellery, are also instructive for those who study ancient jewellery as a whole. There can be little doubt that the bulk of what is known as 'Roman' jewellery owes its form and decoration to Eastern jewellers, primarily those of Antioch and Alexandria and later those of Constantinople. The pure Greek tradition dies out, as far as can be seen, in the second and third centuries after Christ—that tradition which laid stress on the exquisite modelling of gold into human or animal form. Survivals of this Greek tradition are seen in the Rams' head necklace (Plate XXIX.) and the Serpent bracelets (Plate XLVII.) of the present publication, objects which are admittedly of different origin and of earlier date than the bulk of this treasure. The other and main portion of these ornaments illustrate the development in the 'Byzantine' period of features which can be traced back to the jewellery of the Hellenistic period. Alexander opened and Pompey reopened the Nearer East to the Graeco-Roman world. It was in the Hellenistic period that precious stones became a prominent element in jewellery, and from that period they grew in prominence till we arrive at overloaded ornaments such as the lunate bejewelled necklace

of openwork shown in Plate XXXV. The openwork, which is so conspicuous in the ornaments of this find, begins on a modest scale in the first and second centuries after Christ, and is then developed with increasing complication and arabesque effects. A find from Tunis of the third century (*B. M. Jewellery*, 2,824, 2,866-7) may be cited as marking an intermediate stage both in the use of precious stones and also of openwork.

The pectorals of the present find show the use of coins as elements in jewellery—an element foreign to Greek taste—carried to extremes. The coin as a feature of jewellery appears to have been introduced into 'Roman' ornaments under Oriental influence about the first century after Christ, when the belief in its prophylactic virtues not improbably assisted in popularising it. Incidentally it may be noted that the statement on p. 105 that coins of Caracalla are the earliest framed gold coins known is not quite accurate. The

British Museum possesses a gold necklace with a pendant in the form of an *aureus* of Domitian in a plain gold setting (*B. M. Jewellery*, 2,735: from Egypt).

The way in which this interesting find has been scattered abroad reflects no great credit upon the control of antiquities in Egypt. A satisfactory control is notoriously difficult. It may be suggested, however, that a partial remedy could be found in making all trade in antiquities in a country such as Egypt a State Monopoly. The success of such a remedy would of course depend on the readiness of the State to pay finders the fair market price of the antiquities discovered. It could recoup itself by selling such antiquities as it did not require or could not afford to retain.

The book is admirably illustrated by heliotype plates, half-tone blocks, and line drawings.

F. H. M.

XENOPHON, *HELLENICA* I. V.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I. V. Translated by CARLETON L. BROWNSON. Loeb Series.

THE *Hellenica* in the original makes for tedium, and no translation could, as a whole, be more than tolerable. A literal translation is frankly intolerable; and unfortunately it is a literal translation that Mr. Brownson is providing. Opening the volume at random, we light on the following passage near the beginning of the Third Book:

'And when she had become mistress of the province, she not only paid over the tributes no less faithfully than had her husband, but besides this, whenever she went to the Court of Pharnabazus she always carried him gifts, and whenever he came down to her province, she received him with far more magnificence and courtesy than any of his other governors, and she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which he had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on

the coast which had not been subject to him—Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae—attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, while she herself looked on from a carriage; and when a man won her approval she would bestow bounteous gifts upon him, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid manner.'

Mr. Brownson might well ponder Chapman's rule: 'It is the part of every knowing and judicial interpreter not to follow the number and order of the words, but the material things themselves, and sentences to weigh diligently; and to clothe them with words, and such a style and form of oration as are most apt to the language into which they are concerted.' An English reader, knowing Xenophon only through Mr. Brownson's version, will surely wonder how Arrian or anyone else (cf. Lucian, *Quomodo hist. sit scribenda init.*) can have thought his prose worthy of imitation. The student who wants an accurate 'crib' to the

Hellenica will find it here; but those who look for something more must still go to Dakyns.

I think that Mr. Brownson would do better to follow Keller's text more faith-

fully. In disputed passages he sometimes returns to the readings of the MSS., and offers conventional renderings which the Greek words as printed cannot bear.

E. C. MARCHANT.

TWO TRAGEDIES OF SENECA.

L. Annaei Senecae *Thyestes*, *Phaëdra*. Recensuit, Praefatus Est, Appendicem Criticam Addidit Humbertus Moricca. Pp. i-xxvi, 1-122. Ex Officina Regia I. B. Paraviae et Soc.: Augustae Taur. 1917. Lire 2.50.

THE aim of the Paravia series, some volumes of which have already been noticed in the *Classical Review*, is to present Italy with a worthy collection of Latin texts revised by competent authorities, under the general editorship of Professor Pascal of the University of Pavia. An incidental aim is to free Italy from the need of having recourse to the foreigner (*ricorrere agli stranieri*), so that one perforce recalls the famous political motto in Italian history of the nineteenth century, '*Italia farà da se.*' It may be said at once that these handy volumes from Turin, each containing a scholarly introduction on the MSS., and a reasonably adequate, though not exhaustive, apparatus, are themselves destined to receive a welcome abroad.

The *Praefatio* to the *Thyestes* and *Phaëdra*, besides citing the *testimonia veterum* on the tragedies, and on Seneca as a dramatic writer, describes the classes of MSS. of the tragedies (of which a family-tree is given on p. xix), and summarises the textual principles of previous editors, as well as those of the present editor himself. His own attitude is more catholic and, in general, sounder and freer than Leo's. Signor Moricca agrees that the *Etruscus* (E) is the best authority, but when E is at fault he holds that the kindred MSS. M and N are to be consulted. Thinking more highly of the inferior A class than Leo does, Moricca has very sensibly recorded certain readings from A MSS. which both Leo and Richter have either omitted without good reason

or cited incorrectly. While, however, he thus does fuller justice to the A tradition, it is unfortunate that he has not broken with E far enough to accept such readings as *sericus somnus* for *certior somnus* in *Phaëdra* 520, and *rosae* for *comae*, *ib.* 769. I agree with the late Mr. C. E. Stuart's preference for these in *C.Q.*, 1911, pp. 33-35. Similarly, in the reference to the river Tagus, *Thyest.* 355, I believe with him (*C.Q.* 1912, p. 20) that the MSS. *c* and *p* of the A class certainly remove an error from the usual text of the passage (which is missing in E), inasmuch as they agree with τ (=readings supported by Treveth's commentary) in giving *caro . . . alveo*, not *claro . . . alveo*.

Signor Moricca in his text again and again displays a fidelity to the MSS. which declines to follow the sometimes amusingly arbitrary deletions and transpositions of lines indulged in by Leo. Refusing, for instance, to pull about the text of *Phaëdra* 465-480 as Teutonic editors have done, he says wisely: '*Ego autem versus ordine tradito nulli rationi obstare persuasum mihi habui.*' He has the good sense also to eschew Leo's postponement of *et . . . favoris* from *Phaed.* 343 till after 348, which is due to Leo's ignorance of the fact that stags bellow in the rutting season, and his consequent objection to *mugitu* in 343. Nor is the editor caught by every blast of vain emendation: he records but does not accept unnecessary changes like Leo's *ex quibus utrinque* for *ex cuius ortu*, *Ph.* 890, and his *sedesque mutas* for *sedesque mutat*, *ib.* 508 — conjectures which suggest that, though Seneca may not have been a great poet, he was not guilty of all that foreign scholars have ascribed to him. How could *mutas* suit spots resonant with the songs of birds and rustlings of branches?

Printer's errors are few. I have

noticed *espressit*, p. xxii, l. 31; *puchrior*, p. 76 (*Ph.* 743); and *tumit* for *tumuit* in the Appendix Critica, p. 113, on *Ph.* 1,007. In *Ph.* 146, which reads *tantum esse facinus credis et vacuum metu*, the word *tantum* cannot be seriously pro-

posed, but must be a misprint for *tutum*, the accepted reading, which is not mentioned.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

Armstrong College,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS.

Cicero's Letters to Atticus. With an English Translation by E. O. WINSTEDT. Vol. III. Loeb Classical Library, Heinemann, 1918. 7s. 6d. net.

WITH this volume—the first dates from 1912—Mr. Winstedt completes the Loeb edition of the *Epistulae ad Atticum*. In arrangement, of course, the book conforms to the familiar scheme. The introduction deals with Cicero's latter days, his manuscripts, and the obligations of his translator, in as much detail as could be reasonably expected within the compass of five and a quarter foolscap octavo pages. The text, 'based as usual on Teubner,' is faced by the version and accompanied by a modest contingent of footnotes, rather a liberal proportion of which turn on the reduction of sesterces to guineas. Then comes a chronological table of the letters, also based on Teubner, together with an *index nominum*, of the sort, unfortunately, in which 'Iunius Brutus (M.), murderer of Caesar,' is followed by fifteen lines of Arabic numerals and by nothing more helpful.

To the professional scholar Mr. Winstedt does not offer much in this edition. Where there is obscurity he is diffident of all but reflected light, and his book contains neither a new conjecture nor a new interpretation; he has been content to give the amateur a sensible and conventional text explained by a sensible and conventional rendering. Some, indeed, of the conventions which are loyally observed might with advantage have gone by the board, though Mr. Winstedt is only one of a highly distinguished company of sinners. He still indulges in those anachronistic jocularities which, as a rule, neither give the meaning of Cicero's Latin—

or Greek — nor recapture its tone. 'Ἀδόλεσχος (XVI. 11) has to him the connotation of 'gas-bag.' Cicero elsewhere declines to 'kowtow.' At XII. 4, the playful *de Catone πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον est* gives place to 'about Cato, that would puzzle a Philadelphian lawyer'; although at XIII. 28, where Cicero harks back to the phrase and the Philadelphian is not so easily introduced, we descend to the plain and inexact prose of 'an insoluble problem,' which at all events avoids sullyng the page, with the name of Archimedes. Apart, however, from the question of anachronism, Mr. Winstedt has, perhaps, a tendency to forget that some epistolographers are men of letters, that Cicero might be informal but could not be amorphous, and that, whatever the precise shades of his familiar style, he would scarcely write to Atticus in the schoolboy *argot* favoured by his translators as a refuge from the Chesterfield manner. This juvenility of diction—it is hard to call it anything else—is not so marked in Mr. Winstedt's last volume as in the other two, but it is still over-much to the fore. It is traceable in unlicked sentences such as 'I will write fuller and more about politics later, and do you write what you are doing and what is being done' (*plura et πολιτικώτερα postea, et tu quid agas et quid agatur*); in useless negligences such as 'let me know as soon as you know' (scribes *ad me cum scies*); and in idioms such as 'mess about' (*muginari*), 'go silly' (*τετυφῶσθαι*), 'act the giddy goat' (*κεκέπρωμαι*), 'is all bunkum' (*totum est σχεδίασμα*), 'that's jolly good news about Buthrotum' (*bene mehercule de Buthroto*). Quest'è quel Marco Tullio?

In general, Mr. Winstedt is unduly cold to the airs and graces of Marcus Tullius, who has a habit of being airy

and graceful even to Atticus. In particular, he ignores quite obvious verbal repetitions or variations. At XII. 14, Cicero no doubt reflected a moment or two as he wrote: *Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi haec ornata sint, quod ille ea, quae nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et, ne fierent, contenderit, et facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Horum quid est quod Aledio probare possimus?* It was worth the while to save a little more from the wreck than survives in the paraphrase: 'But he is a man who cannot properly be eulogised, unless these points are fully treated, that he foresaw the present state of affairs, and tried to prevent it, and that he took his own life by preference to seeing it come about. Can I win Aledius' approval of any of that?' A couple of instances, perfectly trivial but typical in more ways than one of Mr. Winstedt's easy-going style, may be added. *Est bellum aliquem libenter odisse et, quem ad modum non omnibus dormire, ita non omnibus servire: etsi mehercule, ut tu intelligis, magis mihi isti serviunt, si observare servire est* (XII. 49 *fin.*) becomes: 'It is quite a good thing to have somebody to hate with a will, and not to pander to everybody any more than to be asleep for everybody: though upon my word, as you know, Caesar's party are obsequious to me more than I to them, if attention is obsequiousness.' The balance is redressed at XIII. 10, where Cicero writes: *Minime miror te et graviter ferre de Marcello et plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret quod neque acciderat antea nec videbatur natura ferre ut accidere posset? Omnia igitur metuenda.* His translator dis-

dains the foible: 'I am not at all surprised at your being upset about Marcellus and fearing all sorts of new dangers. For who would have feared this? Such a thing never happened before and it did not seem as though nature could allow such things to happen. So one may fear anything.'

This indifference to the form extends at times to the content, though seldom with more serious results than to make the reader wonder why Mr. Winstedt is not satisfied to say simply what the Latin says—why, for instance, he should turn *ubi Brutum nostrum et quo die videre possim* into 'where Brutus is and when I can see him'; or *sed nulla iustior quam quod tu idem aliis litteris* into 'but none of them is better than one you mention in your letter'; or, a worse example, *tu de Antiocho scire poteris videlicet etiam quo anno quaestor aut tribunus mil. fuerit; si neutrum, saltem in praefectis an in contubernalibus fuerit, modo fuerit in eo bello* into 'You will be able to find out from Antiochus of course in what year he was quaestor or military tribune: if he was neither, then he would at least have been among the prefects or on the staff, provided he was in the war at all.' Unconsidered trifles of this sort, and there are too many of them, are a little apt to divert attention from the merits of the translation as a whole. Those merits are solid and unquestionable, and Mr. Winstedt deserves thanks for an edition which is a convenience to any reader and something like a necessity to those making their first acquaintance with the letters.

J. JACKSON.

SHORT NOTICES

The Old Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection. Part II.: *The Washington MS. of the Psalms.* Edited by HENRY A. SANDERS. 4to. Pp. 107+249, with 6 facsimile plates. New York: The Macmillan Company. Paper covers, \$2.00 net.

THE story of the discovery and subsequent purchase from an Arab dealer

near Cairo by Mr. Freer, in 1906, of this fifth-century MS., together with other Biblical portions, has been already told. The two parts forming the Psalms are now respectively designated A and A^a. They were found, as evidenced by the excellent facsimiles illustrating the volume, in a sadly decayed state, and have been skilfully restored by a process described at length.

Among other points of interest it may be noted that while the ink used throughout is dark brown, the oft-recurring Septuagint word *διαψαλμα*, which appears on the right hand margin, is, together with its abbreviations (also titles and numbers), in *red*, as becomes a rubrical direction. It occurs with some irregularity, possibly owing in large part to damaged leaves. It alternates with a kind of symbol which may perchance point to some lost system of the Hebrew '*Selah*,' which might be worth following up. That *διαψαλμα* (a word of uncertain meaning) should have been accepted as the equivalent of the even more dubious term '*Selah*' has never been explained. It seems likely that the LXX translators viewed the term '*Selah*' as conveying the idea of meditative pause, and that the Christian Church so used it. The MS. has characteristics peculiarly its own. There is a singular plan in the division and arrangement of syllables and words, and some of the large square uncials in use are set off by dots and strokes of varying shape. There are numerous liturgical abbreviations. Mr. Sanders offers no explanation of the series of dots and strokes, but the fact that the dots are generally found at the ends of lines, lend colour to the idea that suggests itself to our mind of some particular form of cadence. Many peculiarities occurring in Egyptian papyri are present in this MS. There is wellnigh a total absence of punctuation and accentuation. This irregularity in respect of later Greek MSS. from Egypt is worth attention. In a series of liturgical texts from Upper Egypt (now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York), Scripture quotations alone have accents, and these defy all ordinary laws. This feature may perhaps be explained on the theory that the Holy Scriptures were to be read (or intoned) after a customary manner. This fine reprint of the Greek text has the *lacunae* supplied from the Swete text with which the MS. is collated, accents and breathings being omitted, as in the original. As a Psalter text A is now the oldest representative, and this edition is in every way worthy of such distinction.

The New Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection. Part II.: *The Washington MS. of the Epistles of St. Paul.* Edited by HENRY A. SANDERS. 4to. Pp. 251+315, with 3 facsimile plates. New York: The Macmillan Company. Paper covers, \$1.25 net.

THE MS. fragment here described is of sixth-century date, written in Egypt by an expert scribe, and has much in common with other MSS. of this series. That a parchment MS., in such a woeful state of decay as that described, could have been brought to so serviceable a use seems wellnigh incredible. The text falls in well with the Alexandrian group of N.T. MSS., with important variations that lend weight to it. The Westcott and Hort text is generally used to supply missing portions, and variations are given by way of collation. The Epistle to the Romans and last part of 1 Corinthians are wanting.

Translations of Christian Literature. Series I. Greek Texts: *St. Dionysius of Alexandria.* Letters and Treatises by C. L. FELTOE, D.D. Pp. 110. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.

SOME years since Dr. Feltoe edited the letters and other remains of Dionysius in a volume of the Cambridge Patristic Texts, an esteemed work. The Introduction and much other illustrative matter is reproduced in a greatly condensed form in the present volume. In the writings of Dionysius, which are largely concerned with the controversies of the age, there is ample evidence of the purity of his style and literary attainments. The three treatises, if they can be so called, are fragmentary.

THE VALUE OF THE CLASSICS.

Value of the Classics. Edited by A. F. WEST. Demy 8vo. Pp. viii+396. Princeton University Press, 1917.

A CONFERENCE on classical studies was held at Princeton University in June, 1917. The volume before us contains the addresses which were delivered there, followed by statements affirming the value of classical training. These

statements were made by the leading representatives of every side of American life. President Wilson, ex-President Roosevelt, and Mr. Lansing are in the vanguard of an army of experts to whom the general world will perhaps pay more attention because the striking statistics at the end of the book show that in American secondary schools the number of pupils who take Latin is continually advancing. Greek, however, occupies an insignificant place.

The impression left by reading this valuable summary of opinion is not only that, in practice, Latin and Greek develop the powers of expression and thereby of clear thinking, but that the attempt to revive before the mind the outlines of antique culture generally, strengthens in a unique manner that constructive imagination of which we are in such pressing need. The classics along with pure mathematics offer, to two different types of intelligence, alternative and indispensable disciplines. It is probable that the leadership in the intellectual world will remain with those peoples who refresh themselves at these ultimate springs. Unfortunately in England whereas physical science, as well as mathematics, is compulsory in our new secondary schools, Latin is falling more and more into the background and Greek is disappearing.

It is worth considering whether—to repeat a suggestion of Matthew Arnold—the Latin Vulgate might not be used

as an introduction to Latin studies. The Vulgate reaches back to the living language of the early Empire and forward to the languages of modern Europe. It is nearer also than Ciceronian Latin to the international language of the middle ages.

FRANK GRANGER.

The Letter of Aristeas, with an Appendix of Ancient Evidence on the Origin of the LXX. By H. ST. J. THACKERAY. Pp. 116. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net.

THE most ancient account of the Septuagint is that derived from this letter by Aristeas, who asserts that he was an officer in the service of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.). The story of the LXX. translation is open to the gravest suspicion, and the letter abounds with improbabilities and is now generally regarded as more or less fabulous. Its date may be assumed to be 170-130 B.C. It was used by Josephus and probably known to Philo. The leading facts of the history of this version have, however, been widely received by early authorities of note. Dr. Hody (*Aristea Hist.* Oxon. 1705) fully exposed the inconsistencies and anachronisms of the author. It clearly belongs to the class of Graeco-Jewish writings promoted to give effect to religious susceptibilities. These several publications, which are under the joint editorship of Dr. Oesterley and Canon Box, are highly commendable.

NOTES AND NEWS

GREEK MUSIC.

AN ordinary meeting of the Northumberland and Durham Classical Association was held in St. John's College, Durham, on Saturday, May 24, when a paper was read by Mr. J. F. Mountford, M.A., Lecturer in Classics, Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the subject of 'Greek Music: Methods of Study and Results.' A few illustrations on the piano were greatly appreciated. After questions and discussion, in which Professor Cruickshank, the Rev. C. G. Hall, Mr. Gilbert

Richardson, and Miss C. M. Shipley took part, Professor J. Wight Duff proposed, and the Rev. Dr. Dawson Walker seconded, a motion of hearty congratulation to Mr. Mountford on the recent award to him, for his researches on Greek music, of the Cromer Greek Prize administered by the British Academy.

The Society for the Reform of Latin Teaching, which has been in abeyance during the war, will hold its fourth summer school at Oxford, September 1-10. The secretary is Mr. N. Parry, 4, Church Street, Durham. Two

of its most active members, Captain J. L. Mainwaring and Captain Paine, have died for their country.

THE May number of the *Geographical Journal* contains a remarkable paper by Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Beazley on Air Photography in Archaeology. The air-picture of the district round Samarra

disclosed the plan of an ancient city, with wide streets, public gardens, and all sorts of details. The detail was not recognisable on the ground. By the same means was disclosed the plan of the ancient irrigation system of the country, with detached forts to protect it. The paper and its accompanying plates deserve attention.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

*** Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

Carra de Vaux (B.) *Notes d'Histoire des Sciences.* 9" × 5½". Pp. 16. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. Sur l'Origine des Chiffres (Extrait de 'Scientia,' pp. 273-282). 9½" × 6½". Tableau des Racines Sémitiques (arabe-hébreu). 11" × 8½". Pp. 36. Paris: Rue La Trémoille, 1919.

Classical Studies in Honour of Charles Foster Smith. By his Colleagues. 9¼" × 6". Pp. 192. University of Wisconsin: Studies in Language and Literature, No. 3. Madison, 1919. \$1.

Danby (H.) *Tractate Sanhedrin, Mishnah and Tosefta* (Translations of Early Documents). 7½" × 4¾". Pp. 148. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 6s. net.

Farnell (L. R.) *The Value and the Methods of Mythologic Study.* 9¾" × 6½". Pp. 16. Oxford University Press, 1919. 1s. 6d. net.

Foucart (M. P.) *Le Culte des Héros chez les Grecs.* 11" × 9". Pp. iv + 166. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1918. Fr. 6.20.

Harris (R.) *The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity.* 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 42. Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults. 10" × 6½". Pp. 50. Manchester: University Press, 1919. Paper boards, 2s. 6d. net.

Hearnshaw (J. C.) *Select Extracts from Chronicles and Records relating to English Towns in the Middle Ages* (Texts for Students, No. 8). London: S.P.C.K., 1919. 9d. net.

Hellenism in Turkey. Published by the London Committee of Unredeemed Greeks. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 22. London: Hesperia Press, 1919.

Herford (M. A. B.) *A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting.* 10¼" × 6½". Pp. xxii + 125. Manchester: University Press, 1919. Cloth, 9s. 6d. net.

Hoppin (J. C.) *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases.* Vol. I. 9¼" × 6". Pp. xxiv + 472. Oxford University Press (for Harvard University Press), 1918. Cloth, 35s. net.

Horn (Fredrik.) *Zur Geschichte der absoluten Partizipialkonstruktionen im Lateinischen.* 9½" × 6¼". Pp. viii + 105. Lund: Greerupsche Universitätsbuchhandlung.

Jastrow (M., jun.) *A Gentle Cynic: Being the Book of Ecclesiastes.* 8¾" × 6¼". Pp. 254. London: J. B. Lippincott, 1919. Cloth, 9s. net.

Kutrzeba (S.) *The Rights of Russia to Lithuania and White Ruthenia.* 9" × 6". Pp. 12. Paris: M. Flinikowski, 1919.

Laurand (L.) *Manuel des Etudes grecques et latines.* Fasc. II.: Littérature grecque. 2^e édition. 9" × 5¾". Pp. 99 + 260 + xvi. Paris: A. Picard, 1919. Fr. 3.50.

Lutoslawski (W.) and *Romer* (E.) *The Ruthenian Question in Galicia.* 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 32. Paris: Imprimerie Levé, 1919.

Lutoslawski (W.) *Bolshevism and Poland.* 9¼" × 6¼". Pp. 38. Paris: M. Flinikowski, 1919.

McClure (M. L.) and *Feltoe* (C. L.) *The Pilgrimage of Etheria* (Translations of Christian Literature, Series III.). 7¼" × 4¾". Pp. xlviii + 103. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 6s. net.

Robin (L.) *Etudes sur la Signification et sur la Place de la Physique dans la Philosophie du Platon.* 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 96. Paris: F. Alcan, 1919. Fr. 4.40.

Slipper (E.) *Eene Eigenaardigheid van Tacitus Zinsbouw.* 8½" × 6". Pp. 60. Kemink and Zoon, over den dom te Utrecht, 1918.

Stampini (E.) *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, Anno XLVII.* Fascicolo 2^o. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 161 + 320. Torino: G. Chiantore, 1919. L. 5.

Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. 1914, 9½" × 6½", vol. xlv., pp. 254 + cii; 1915, xlv., pp. 248 + lxxxii; 1916, xlvii., pp. 234 + xciv; 1917, xlviii., pp. 152 + liv. Boston: Ginn and Co. \$2 each.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1919

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE NEW LYRIC FRAGMENTS—III.

THE following paper contains some further attempts to restore the new Oxyrhynchus fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus, together with some corrections of the suggestions published in this *Review* in the May of 1914.¹ The restorations are made, where this is possible, by the tracing method explained in previous articles, and all the doubtful letters involved both in these and my earlier suggestions have now been examined in the actual papyri and discussed with Professor Hunt. I take this opportunity of thanking him, not only for allowing me to inspect the papyri in his rooms, but for bearing with my interruptions for three whole days.

I take the fragments in the order in which they appear in Vols. X. and XI. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

SAPPHO 1231. I. i. 13-34. The Anactoria fragment :²

In l. 6 (18 Hunt) the traces would seem to admit of no alternative to *περσκόπεισα*, unless we presume a second-aorist form *περσκέποισα*, which would perhaps improve the syntax, but which without a parallel I should hesitate to print. Two lines below, *κρίν[ν]ε κάλ[ιστον]*, involving of course the change of *κάλλιστον* above to *κάλιστον*, would be more suitable than *κρίννεν ἄριστον* to the meaning of the poem as a whole. I offer a new solution of the problem of the all-important lines 15 and 16. On inspection of the actual papyrus I see that *οὐδὲ* is impossible, and that probably no part of the *ν* of my *τὺ* is visible; but, on the other hand, I feel no doubt that the scribe

wrote *παρεόσας* and not *ἀπειόσας*. What we want here is the application of the general remark introduced by γὰρ two lines above, which itself arose out of the instance of Helen which preceded it. Dr. Hunt's *τῇλε νῦν* involves among other difficulties the lack both of a connecting particle and of a personal pronoun. Read :

[ἄμ]με νῦν <F>ανακτορί[α, τὺ] μέμναι-
[σ' οὐ] παρεόσα<ι>ς,

'And so mind that you, Anactoria (now that you have gone off to Lydia with your soldier-husband ?), remember us (Sappho and Atthis ?) when we are not with you.' I take it that, owing partly to the unusual accusative with *μέμναισο*, and partly to the omission of an apostrophe, *σ' οὐ παρεόσαις* became *σου παρεόσας* — unless indeed *παρεόσας* may be regarded as a mere Atticisation of *παρεόσαις*. The mention of Lydia suggests a connexion with the beautiful Berlin fragment¹ about the girl who has gone to far-off Sardis, and doubtless often thinks of her life with Sappho and Atthis, 'when you were like a glorious Goddess to her and she loved your song the best. And now she shines among the dames of Lydia as, after the Sun has set, the rosy-fingered Moon beside the stars that are about her,' etc. And I would now substitute Anactoria for Mnasicida at the beginning of that poem thus :

[Ἄτθι, σοὶ καὶ Ἄνακτορία φίλα]
[πηλόροις ἐνὶ Σάρδε[σιν]
[γαίει] κτλ.,

and would suggest that in *ἀελίῳ δύντος* Sappho hints that if she compares her beloved Anactoria to the Moon, she

¹ See also *Class. Rev.*, June, 1916.

² See *Class. Rev.*, May and June, 1914.

¹ See *Class. Rev.* June, 1909, and August, 1916.

might compare her still more beloved Atthis to the Sun. Now that the Sun has set—that is, now that she and Atthis are no longer together—Anactoria's beauty has full play. The reason for the elaboration of the simile thus becomes clearer, and the whole poem is seen to be in effect a delicate piece of lover's flattery. But returning to the new ode, let me add that in the last stanza we should read *ὃν ἀνθρώποις* (Pap. *ἰανθρώποις*), literally 'throughout mankind,' comparing for this use of *ἀνὰ* *Od.* 14. 286.

1231. 10:

This is the fragment which contains the new word *δόλοφυν*. I have taken this with Professor Hunt as a by-form of *δελφύς*; cf. *φέρενα* for *φερνή*, *E.M.* 790. 42. It is apparently nominative, cf. *κίνδυν* fr. 161 and *Φόρκυν*.

[αἱ δέ μοι γάλακτο]ς ἐπάβολ' ἦσ[κε]
[τωῦθατ' ἢ παίδω]ν δόλοφυν ποήσ[ει]
[ἀρμένα, τότ' οὐ] τρομέροις πρ[ὸς] ἄλλα
[λέκτρα κε πόσσι]

5 [ἤρχομαν· νῦν δὲ] χροά γήρας ἦδη
[μυρίαν ἄμμον ρύτι]ν ἀμφιβάσκει,
[κὼν πρὸς ἄμμ' "Ερο]ς πέταται διώκων
[ἀλγεσίδωρος.]

'If my paps could still give suck and my womb were able to bear children, then would I come to another marriage-bed with unfaltering feet; but nay, age now maketh a thousand wrinkles to go upon my flesh, and Love is in no haste to fly to me with his gift of pain.' In 1. 6 *ἔμον βρύτιν* (cf. *βρύτιδες* *E.M.* 214. 32) would fit, but I cannot restore 1. 7 satisfactorily with *με*.

The epithet *ἀλγεσίδωρος* I have placed here from Maximus Tyrius 24. 9 (Sa. 125), where he is comparing Sappho with Socrates: 'Diotima (in the *Symposium*) says that Love flourishes when he has plenty, and dies when he comes to want. Sappho, putting these characteristics together, called him *γλυκύ-πικρος* and *ἀλγεσίδωρος*.' But I am by no means satisfied that it really belongs here.

1231. 16. 2-4:

These lines are identified by von Wilamowitz with fr. 12; but apart

from the rather excessive length involved by this identification for the gap in l. 3 (see Hunt *ad loc.*), the supposed cretic *ὅ]τινα[ς*, if we may judge the length of the preceding gap by l. 12, must, I think, belong to an earlier part of the Sapphic line and scan as a dactyl.

1231. 56:

The last two stanzas of Sappho's First Book I restore very tentatively; for as the gaps are on the right, the suggestions have not to be of equal written length. The poem, as Professor Hunt saw, is an epithalamium. The words *φιλότατα καὶ* are due to Professor von Wilamowitz. In l. 7 *ὄσσον . . . ὄσσον* is equivalent to *τόσσον . . . ὄσσον*, as in Theocr. 4. 39 *ὄσον αἰγὴς ἐμὴν φίλαι ὄσσον ἀπέσβης*. The construction is probably a survival from the time when the distinction between relative and demonstrative had not been fully worked out; cf. such constructions as *ὅτε μὲν . . . ὅτε δέ*.

πάρθενοι δ[ὲ] ταῖςδεσι πρὸς θύραισι]
παννυχίσδομ[εν, πολύολβε γάμβρε,]
σὺν αἰείδοι[σαι φιλότατα καὶ νύμ-]
5 φας ἰοκόλπω.

ἀλλ' ἐγέρθε[ις εὖτ' ἐπίησιν αὔας]
στεῖχε, σοῖς [δ' ἄγοι πόδας αὐτος
"Ερμας]
ἦπερ ὄσσον ἄ[μμορος ἔσσε' ὄσσον]
ὑπνον ἴδωμε[ν.]

' . . . And we maidens spend all the night at the door singing of the love that is between thee, thrice-happy bridegroom, and a bride whose breast is sweet as violets. But get thee up and go when the dawn shall come, and may great Hermes lead thy feet where thou shalt find just so much ill-luck as we shall see sleep to-night.' The playful conceit in the last line has its parallel in the latter part of the fragment of Sappho preserved in Julian *Εἰρ.* 59—on the return of the beloved (Atthis?)—where I restore:

. χαῖρ' ἄμμι, χαῖρε
πόλλα καὶ *Φισᾶριθμα* τόσφ χρόνφ
ἀλλάλαν ἀπελείφθημεν - υ - .

'Bless you, I say, thrice bless you, and for just so long as you and I have

been parted.' The present fragment is of peculiar interest, not only as a choral poem in the Sapphic metre, with which we may compare Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, but as supporting, by its position among poems on various subjects in Book I., the view that there were two editions of Sappho's works current in antiquity, one arranged according to metre and the other according to subject; for we know that in the edition used by Servius the Epithalamia formed a book to themselves. It is worth noting here that Hephaestion, 138, speaks of two editions of Alcaeus, one that of Aristophanes, and the other that of Aristarchus.

1232. 1. i. 8:

Perhaps, with the short-*o* aorist subjunctive exemplified in *χαλάσσομεν*, Alc. *Ox. Par.* 1234. 2. i. 10, we might read:

[.] ἀλλ' ἄγιτ', ὦ φίλαι,
[ἀοίδας ἀπυλῆξομεν.] ἄγχι γάρ ἀμέρα.

'But come, dear maidens, let us end our song; for day is nigh at hand.' This may be an ἐπιθαλάμιος διεγερτικός, cf. Schol. Theocr. 18.

1232. 1. ii. 2. *The Marriage of Hector and Andromache*:

Perhaps

κάρυξ ἦλθ[ε] θό[ων δυνάμι μ]ελέ[ων] ἔθεις
Ἰδαίος τάδε κ[ἀ]λα φ[όρ]εις τάχυσ ἄγγε-
λος,

'... came a herald sped by the might of his swift legs, bringing in haste to the people of Ida these fair tidings.' The papyrus would probably have δυνάμει.

Ibid. 9:

There seems hardly room for κάλα, nor do the traces quite suit it. Read:

λία τ' αὖ τ[ρό]να,

'and smooth embroideries,' comparing, for this form of λεία, χρύσια for χρύσεια or χρύσεια in the line above.

Ibid. 12:

Φίλοις is almost certainly wrong. Read:

φάμα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ πτόλιν εὐρύχορον
Fίλω,

'And the news went forth through the spacious city of Ilus.' I suppose the true Aeolic form to have been *Φίλλος*, with the single-consonant by-form *Φίλος*. Cf. e.g. ὄρρανος and ὄρανος, and *δισχελίοις* 1234. 1. 8 beside *χέλλιοι* E.M. 817. 1 and *χέλληστυς* Inscr. 1.

Ibid. 17-20:

I would suggest, retaining my earlier suggestion in l. 18:

ἵππ[οις] δ' ἄνδρες ὑπᾶγον ὑπ' ἄρ[ματα],
σὺν δ' ἴσαν]
π[άντ]ες αἰθεοί· μεγάλωσσι δ' [ἔν] μέγας]
δ[άμος], κἀνίοχοι φ[αλάροισι] [κεκαδ-
μέναις]
π[ώλοισι] ἔ'ξαγο[ν]

'... And the men did harness horses to the chariots, and the young men went with them one and all; till a mighty people moved mightily along, and the drivers drove their boss-bedizened steeds out of [the city]'—to bring Hector and Andromache from the place where they had landed.

1232. 2. 1-3. (Continuation of the same poem):

Perhaps

[ὅτα δηῦτ' ὀχέων ἐπέβαν ἱ]κελοι θεοί[s]
[Ἔκτωρ Ἀνδρομάχα τε, σὺν]αγνον
ἀόλ[λεες]
[Τρώες Τρωῖαδές τ' ἐράτεν]νον ἐς Ἴλιον.]

'Then, when the godlike Hector and Andromache were mounted in the chariots, the men of Troy and the women of Troy accompanied them in one great throng into lovely Ilium.' With *σύναγνον* compare Hesych. ἀγνεῖν· ἄγειν Κρήτες and ἀναγνῶν Lasus 1 (see Bergk *ad loc.*). *σύναγνον* would be for *σύναγμιον* representing *συνάγνεον*, cf. *χρυσότερα* for *χρυσεότερα* fr. 123. Ἴλιος is called ἐρατεινή in *Il.* 5. 210.

ALCAEUS 1233. 2. ii. 2:

For *παῖσι* Φρύγεςσιν I would now suggest *παῖσι* Τρόεςσιν, and for Φρύγες τε in l. 15 Τρόες τε. The identification of the Trojans with the Phrygians apparently belongs to a later time. For the short *o* cf. *Τροία* and *Τροῖα* beside *Τρώα* and *Τρωῖα*.

I233. 33. 5-7:

The metre points to these being the first lines of a poem, which I should be inclined to identify with Bergk's fr. 60. I restore them thus *exempli gratia*:

Ἔπετον Κυπρογενή[ς] παλάμ[αισιν]
[δολομήδεσσι τύπεις·] ὅπποσέ κ[εν γὰρ]
[ἄλος ἢ γὰς προφύγω, κῆσ]ε πόλω[ν με]
[κίχεν Ὀρος]

'I am thrown by the wily arts of the Cyprus-born; for whithersoever on sea or land I flee, thither ranging hath Love overtaken me. . . .'

Alcaeus probably wrote πόλεις.

I234. 1:

This fragment, after being published in Vol. X., was reprinted in Vol. XI. with an addition comprising the beginnings of several lines. Those who in restoring papyrus fragments rely on estimates of the number of letters missing, should take warning from the fact that the estimates for a short gap of at the most seven letters have proved to be too great or too small in three cases out of five. The fragment includes the end of one poem and the beginning of another, both addressed to Zeus. Adopting Professor Hunt's ἐκάβολον, μῖσος, and στάτηρας, I suggest the following restoration of ll. 2-8 and 12-15, that of ll. 2 and 15 being *exempli gratia*:

(a) [οὐκὶ προ]ταίρει,
π[ό]ν <F>εκ[ά]βολον, πάτερ, ἀπ[λά-
νην τε]
κ[αρδία]ν κήνω, πάτερ, ἀ[λλὰ πάντας]
5 το[ίς] κεν ὀναίσχυντος ἐπ[ιπνέ]σι
μ[ε]σος ἀλιτρον.

'[As for him who] doth not take up (?) . . ., make thou far-darting, Father, and unerring the mind of him, Father; but all such as are inspired by the shameless one, them do thou make a sinful thing of hate.'

(b) Ζεῦ πάτερ, Λῦδοι μὲν ἐπ' ἀ[λλοτέρ-
ραις]
συνφόραισι δισχελίοις στά[τηρας]

9 ἄμμ' ἔδωκαν . . .

12 . . . ὅδ' ὡς ἀλώπαξ
ποικιλόφρων εὐμάρεα προλέξαις
ἤλπετο λάσην

15 [μὴ 'κτελέσσαις τοῖσι Φέοις πολίταις.]
'Father Zeus, while the Lydians, in other men's time of misfortune, gave us two thousand staters . . ., this man, like a cunning-hearted fox, made fair promises to his own fellow-citizens and then reckoned he would escape scot-free if he failed to perform them.' For ἀλλοτέρραις cf. Hdn. II. 303. 23. In l. 15 the papyrus would probably have τοισινεοις.

I234. 4. 6-12:

[οὐδ' αὖ σφρί[γ]αίς ἄ παν [τέ]κνον
[ἀκλέων]
[σφρίγαι τοκ]ήων ἐς φαί[κρο]ις [δόμοις]
[στρώφασθ'] ἔδαπτε σ' ἐν [δ']
ἀσ[ά]μ[οις]
[ὦν ἔτι <F>οί]κεος] ἦσκ' ὄνεκτον.

10 [ἀλλ' ὡς] π<ρ>οτ' ὕβριν καὶ μεγά-
θε[ι] π[ό]θ[ε]ις
[δραίη] τά τ' ἄνδρες δραῖσιw ἀτάσ-
θαλοί,
[τούτω]ν κεν ἦσκ' ὄνεκτον [οὐ]δε[ν]
[νῦν δ' ὅ]τα πόλλακίς κτλ.

' . . . Nor yet did he harm thee [the city] in that he itched, as every child of unfamed parents itches, to go in and out of garish houses; for being still at home among the obscure, he was bearable as yet. But when he did the deeds of wicked men in wanton presumption and drunken with power, there was no bearing such things as those. And now that,' etc. I retain φαί[κρο]ις in l. 7 with some hesitation, as the letter-traces after φ are very doubtful. In l. 8 δ' is practically certain. What looked like part of the loop of ρ is the apostrophe, and δ exactly fits the gap. I translate 'for,' though it is really the idiomatic 'but' after a negative sentence. For ὦν in l. 9 Alcaeus probably wrote εις. For πόθεις 'drunk' I have no exact parallel, and the letters εις are very uncertain. But parallels from Latin and other languages make it a reasonable extension of the use of the passive past participle of the verb 'to drink.' In l. 14 the papyrus must, I

think, have had *ονωρθώθημεν*, not *ονωρθώθημεν*, and in l. 15 *μέμεικται* rather than *μέμικται*.

1234. 6. 7-13:

[*κᾶγω μὲν οὐ μέμναιμ'· ἔτι γὰρ παῖς*
[*τρόφῳ 'πὶ γόνυ]φ σμῖκρος ἐπίσδανον·*
[*πάτρος δ' ἀκούω]ν οἶδα τίμ[α]ν*
10 [*τὰν ἔλαβεν παρὰ] Πενθίλῃος*
[*κῆνος πάροιθα· νῦν δ' ὁ πεδέτρ[οπε]*
[*τυραννέοντα τὸν κακοπατρίδα*
[*Μεγάλῃχρο<ο>ν <κ>αὐτος τ[υράν]*
νευ-
[*ων ἔλαθ' ἀμμετέρας πόλῃος.*]

'And as for me I remember it not; for I was still a little child sitting on his nurse's knee; but I know from my father the honour you man received of yore from the son of Penthilus. And now he that overturned the despotism of the traitor Melanchrus is himself, ere we knew it, become despot of our city.' The son of Penthilus is Dracon, whose sister became the wife of Pittacus. In l. 12 *τυραννέοντα* represents *τυραννέ-Φοντα*. In l. 13 I have to presume the loss of the two bracketed letters. In extenuation it may be pointed out that the *ον* of *μεγαλῃχρον* would come immediately beneath the *ον* of *τυραννεοντα*, and the *κ* before *αὐτος* is not necessary to the sense.

1360. 1. 9-13:

Οὐ πάντ' ἦς ἀπ[ἀτηλος ο ο ο ο -]
οὐδ' ἀσύνετος, ἄμμεσσι δ' ἀ[πομ-
μόσαις]
βώμῳ Λατοῖδα τοῦτ' ἐφυλίζα[ο]
μή τις τῶν κακοπατρίδαν

5 εἴσεται φανέρα τοῖσιν ἀπ' ἀρχάφ[

'You were not altogether a knave . . . , . . . , nor yet a fool, but kept the oath you swore to us by the altar of the Son of Leto that none of the Children of Treason should know truly who it was to whom in the beginning . . .' As these are the opening lines of a poem, l. 1 probably contained a name in the vocative; one would also expect there something to express the time to which ἦς applies, e.g. *ποτά* or *πέρυσιν*. In l. 2 the papyrus has *αμμοισι*, but as something meaning 'having sworn' is practically inevitable in the gap, there will

be nothing for it to agree with, and if it is to mean 'our party' *τοῖς* is surely necessary. If Alcaeus could say *ἄμμεσι*, he could also, I think, have said *ἄμμεσσι*. For the ictus-lengthening of the second syllable of *ἀπομόσας* cf. e.g. *ὀννώρινε* 1234. 2. ii. 8. The dative *βώμῳ* (Pap. *βώμω*), 'by the altar,' is a rare but not unparalleled use with *ἄμνυμι*; it might, however, be regarded as a locative, 'at the altar.' In l. 4 *κακοπατρίδαν* is apparently a mock-patronymic, probably a substitution for *Ἀτρεΐδαν*, that is, descendants of the founders of Lesbos, the clan to which Pittacus' wife belonged. In l. 5 *φανέρα* seems to be used as an adverb like *λάβρα*. The fragment gives the earliest example of one of the Horatian Asclepiad metres.

1360. 2:

This fragment could be reconstructed with tolerable certainty from the scholia if these were entirely legible. Unfortunately there is some doubt about the phrase *νεκρῶν ἱεροὶ μύσται*, so that the words between the brackets must be taken with a rather larger grain than usual. It should be noted, however, that ll. 1-4 and l. 6 when traced out correspond in written length to l. 5, which is restored with considerable certainty, while l. 8, though, along with l. 7, it must have begun the next column, can be taken unchanged from the paraphrase. The scholia are as follows: on l. 4—*ὑμεῖς δὲ σιγάτε ὥσπερ νεκρῶν ἱεροὶ μύσται* [οὐ]δὲν δυνάμενοι ἀντιστῆναι τῷ τυράν[νῳ], on l. 5—*ἀλλ', ὦ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἕως ἔτι καπνὸν μόνον ἀφήσι τὸ ξύλον, τοῦτ' (ἔστιν) ἕως οὐδέπω τυρανν[εύει], κατὰσβητε καὶ καταπαύσατε ταχέως μὴ λα[μπρό]τερον τὸ φῶς γένηται*. I restore the text thus:

[.] ὁ δὲ πλάτυ
[*ὑμῖν ὑπερστείχων*] κεφάλαις μάτει,
[*ὑμῖν δὲ σίγατ' ὥτε μύσται*]
[*τὸν κάλεσαν νέκυν εἰσίδοντες*].

5 [*ἀλλ', ὦ πόλιται, θᾶς ἔτι τὸ ξύλον*
[*κάπνον παρ' ὑμῖν*] προῖει μόνον,
[*κασβέσσαι*] ὥς τάχιστα, μὴ π[α]
[*λαμπρότερον τὸ φῶς γένηται.*]

' . . . But he goes striding wide over your heads, and you hold your tongues like initiates when they behold the dead

they have called up. Nay rather, my fellow-countrymen, up and quench the log while it but smoulders among you, lest the light thereof come to a brighter flame.' The papyrus has a point before μάτει, indicating that it does not go closely with κεφάλαις. This restoration of l. 3 just fills the gap, but the line might, of course, have been shorter. In

l. 4 Alcaeus perhaps wrote εσφιδοντες. The form θᾶς for τέως in the sense of ἕως I take from 1234. 2. i. 8, where, however, one would perhaps have expected τᾶς. For ὕμμεσιν cf. fr. 100, and for ὡς τᾶχιςτα the Berlin Fragment (*Class. Rev.* 1917, p. 10).

J. M. EDMONDS.

Jesus College, Cambridge.

THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

XIII.

Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

IN dealing with the passage 399-406 (*Class. Rev.*, February, 1916) I inadvertently and unaccountably associated Mr. Evelyn-White with the suggestion for 402, ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδὲ νόησεν, which seems to belong only to Matthiae and myself. I apologise to Mr. E.-W., who must have been much surprised at the attribution, as his conjecture was very different, ἐπεφράσαθ' ὥστε νοῆσαι. I cannot, however, think this an improvement, even if it be graphically possible. In this case 'reflection' on the part of the sailors could not produce or result in knowledge of any kind, and not only would the expression ὥστε νοῆσαι be cryptic, but ὥστε with an infinitive to follow, a construction so common in later Greek, is very doubtful in early epic. The two instances are ρ 21, where Lehrs would read οὐδ', and l. 42, where ὥδε might stand or, as Lehrs suggests, ἀπονέεσθαι.

Referring to my plea for σοβῆσαι, I find with some satisfaction that the eminent Dutch scholar, van Leeuwen, whose signal services to Homeric scholarship can hardly be valued too highly, evidently pursuing the same line of thought, has already suggested φοβῆσαι, the disappearance of which would however be somewhat harder to explain, and if, as is likely, σοβῆσαι was originally σοφῆσαι, it would be slightly nearer to the νοῆσαι of the tradition.

427 εὔτε Φεράς ἐπέβαλλον. . . .

Possibly ἔνθα Φεράσδ' ἐπέβαλλον 'then it lay for Pherae.' So also ο 297.

There is an ellipse of ἰστία 'set sail for.'

437 ἔπλεον, ἡγεμόνευε δ' ἄναξ Διὸς νῆος Ἀπόλλων.

Either omit δέ or adopt the formula of 514 ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφι ἄναξ.

447 μέγα γὰρ δέος εἶλε ἕκαστον.

All the MSS. but one read εἶλεν ἕκαστον, which is easily made metrical; M alone has ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστῳ, which is obviously unmetrical, irremediably so. The editors with one exception all adopt the reading offered by the majority of the MSS. and dictated by reason, knowledge, and common sense. Allen and Sikes alone with singular perversity blindly print what M has clearly borrowed from the corrupt Λ 11 μέγα σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστῳ. But they are dogmatic as usual: 'There is no reason to prefer the variant εἶλεν ἕκαστον.' These great critics know not Bentley, neither probably do they know that the expression ἐμβάλλειν δέος is unknown to the early epic. Δέος is an active force in Homer: it invariably seizes (αἰρέει, ἐμπίπτει).

449 ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος αἰζηῷ τε κρατερῷ τε.

Both here and Π 716 the latter part of this line should probably be read:

δέμας αἰζηῷ κρατερῷ τε.

Cf. N 45 εἰσάμενος Κάλχαντι δέμας, P 555, β 268, 401, and 222 of this hymn δέμας δελφίνι εἰκώς. For the ictus on the first syllable of αἰζηῷ sufficient warrant is afforded by ἀλλήλων and ἀνθρώπου (-ων). It is the traditional position here that is really objectionable, v. Leaf's *Iliad*, Appendix N (4) ff.

In the next line *χαίτη* (*χαίτη* cod. Γ) is, of course, right.

456 τίφθ' οὕτως ἦσθον τετιηότες ; . . .

Neither Matthiae's ἔσθητε τεθηπότες nor Cobet's τίπτε κάθησθ' οὕτω seems a satisfactory solution of this absurd dual ἦσθον. I would suggest

τίφθ' ὡς ἦσθ' ἦτορ τετιηότες ; . . .

But Allen and Sikes are here thoroughly retrogressive and obstructive. They are encouraged by the fact that this hymn contains two other specimens of this misuse of the dual denounced by Aristarchus. Two blacks make one white. Three must produce a quite dazzling argent. Otherwise they must be placing the author of this hymn on a level with Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus, and Oppian. Their note is a curious blend of both views. The latter they strongly assert ('We must assume that the writer like Aratus and others,' and so on), clearly showing that they are unable to distinguish between the genuine old epic and the later Alexandrine imitation.

The other two corrupt places in this piece of unquestionable old epic are:

487 ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθητον λύσαντε βοείας
501 εἰς ὃ κε χῶραν ἔκησθον ἔν' ἔξετε πλοῖα νηόν.

Kuehner reaches the height of learned stupidity when he defends the dual in 487 because the sailors sit at the oars in two groups, one on each side of the ship. He might with equal cogency defend it in 501, because they necessarily walked on two legs.

In 487 Cobet's *καθέμεν λῦσαι δέ* (perhaps *λῦσαι τε*) is highly probable *pace* Allen and Sikes, firstly because it conveys in clear terms the undoubted meaning; secondly, and this is a consideration of great importance, because here graphical approximation is not so paramount as in such passages as *H. Dem.* 13, or 101 or 144, or 398, or *H. Apoll.* 539, to which I am coming later. What is of more moment is the view the later Greeks would take of *καθέμεν λῦσαι τε*, supposing that to have been the original reading. *Καθέμεν* as an infinitive was for them obsolete, and would rather suggest an un-augmented first plural aorist indicative. E 487 and οἱ θέλοντες συγχεῖσθαι τὰ

δυϊκά παρ' Ὀμήρῳ amply account for *λύσαντε*, even if we suppose that it preceded the natural correction *κάθητον*. The position therefore is this: we cannot rationally accept the traditional reading, and there is considerable probability in favour of Cobet's emendation, sufficient indeed to justify any editor in giving it the preference over a tradition that cannot possibly be right.

To those who still believe in the doctrine of *hiatus licitus* 501 can present no difficulty whatever. They will see in *ἔκησθον* only a wicked interference with *ἔκησθε*, owing to the Greeks of the great literary Athenian epoch not being acquainted with the metrical views of a German named Ahrens. To me the matter is far more serious and troublesome. I am obliged to have recourse to transposition, and to suggest an original:

εἰς ὃ χ' ἔκησθ' ἐς χῶρον, ἔν' ἔξετε πλοῖα νηόν.

For the insertion of *ἐς* there is ample warrant in usage, *cf.*

Θ 60 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ρ' ἐς χῶρον ἔνα ξυνιόντες ἔκοντο,

ζ 176, ο 186, ρ 539, ω 237, and reference may be made to the discussion of *ε* 55 in *Homericæ*, p. 65 ff., where the loss of *ἐς* before this word *χῶρον* is shown to have occurred in ι 181.

459 ὀππότη' ἂν ἐκ πόντοιο . . . ἔλθωσιν. . . .

There can be no object in preserving *ὀππόταν* (Allen and Sikes) instead of *ὀππότη' ἂν* (Hermann and editors generally), but it is quite possible that *ὀππότη' ἂν* (*sc. ἀνέλθωσιν*) is the true reading. Most certainly in 461 *ἕμερος εἶλεν* is necessary, *cf. H. Aphr.* 57, and *Homericæ* on λ 43.

464 ξείν', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι καταβνητοῖσι ἔοικας,

There is no need to exhibit on the printed page the two digammas of *ἔοικας*, but for all that no wise editor need disfigure his text with the misleading paragogic *ν* attached to *καταβνητοῖσι*. A more pressing question, however, is how to deal with *ἐπεὶ* . . . γάρ. Both cannot be right, and the suggestion of Franke has much in its favour,

ἐπεὶ οὐ τι βροτοῖσι καταβνητοῖσι. . . .

Καταθνητοί is never used elsewhere as a noun, nor does it look like one.

Otherwise we must at least change γάρ into δή, cf. ο 280 οὐ μὲν δὴ σ' ἐθέλοντα, μ 209 οὐ μὲν δὴ τοδε μεῖζον, Θ 238 οὐ μὲν δὴ ποτέ φημι.

472 νόστου ἰέμενοι ἄλλην ὁδόν, ἄλλα κέλευθα.

A transposition, ἰέμενοι νόστου, is necessary to convert the iambus of the third foot into a spondee. No confirmation of this is required, but the contemplation of ο 69 ἰέμενον νόστοιο may be helpful to editorial weakness.

In 476 τὸ πρίν, for which πρόσθεν would serve, probably represents an archaic original πρόπριν.

477 ἔς τε πόλιν ἐρατὴν καὶ δώματα καλὰ ἕκαστος. . .

The inventor of ἔς τε πόλιν ἐρατὴν doubtless complacently disregarded the defect of his second foot because of his pretty epithet; but probably the writer of the hymn was more concerned for his metre, and wrote

ἔς πόλιν ὑμετέρην,

remembering that he had already done justice to Knösus by a much more definite and descriptive epithet πολυδένρεον (475), cf. E 686.

491 πῦρ ἐπικαίοντες, ἐπὶ τ' ἄλφιστα λευκά θύοντες.

This is a curious example of perversity of judgement on the part of Allen and Sikes. In three lines 490-491 we have an injunction. In three lines 508-510 we have its fulfilment, *verbatim*, so far as narrative can be, save in one point that in 509 δ' stands in the tradition after πῦρ, but is omitted in 491 (where however a few MSS. MGO have γ' after ἐπικαίοντες, which looks like the correction of an attempt to improve the metre by transferring δ' to a more useful, but impossible, position).

Now it is as plain as daylight—logic, common sense, and established early epic usage alike enforce it—that if δ' be right in one of these two lines, it must also be right in the other. Ilgen saw this and duly inserted the particle in 491, because without it the participles must go with ποιήσατε (490), i.e. the fire is kindled, and the sacrifice is offered while the altar is being built, which, as he says, is absurd.

But our editors are not satisfied, and attain a higher level of dogmatic eccentricity than usual in the following spirited remarks: 'The tense of the present participles need not be pressed; in strict logic they are hardly more applicable to what follows them than what proceeds.'

'Strict logic' is good, but can hardly be invoked to prove that

(a) Build me an altar while you are kindling a fire on it and burning white barley-meal on it,

is a rational direction to issue, and involves 'hardly more' difficulty than

(b) While you are kindling a fire on the altar and burning barley-meal on it, then make your prayer.

A poet is not bound to be a 'strict logician,' but we must not needlessly and of malice prepense make him write crazy nonsense (a).

Considerations of metre indicate καὶ ἐπ' for ἐπὶ τ' before ἄλφιστα, and πρῶτον περ (cf. Ξ 295) for τὸ πρῶτον in 493.

495 ὥς μοι εὐχέσθαι δελφίνιῳ. αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς αὐτὸς δελφίνιος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσsetai αἰεὶ.

Here difficulties arise, of which the later expression ὁ βωμὸς is not the most formidable. Editors complain bitterly of the incompatibility of δέλφειος or δελφίνιος and ἐπόψιος, and violent hands have been laid on the former epithet with excruciating results of misapplied ingenuity. I cannot believe for a moment in Hermann's αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἀφνειός, or Ilgen's αὐτόθι ἀφνειός, or Preller's αὐτοῦ δὴ λιπαρός, or Baumeister's αὐτοῦ τηλεφανής, and for this reason. The poet has told his story about the dolphin ending with the building of the altar on the beach. In these two lines evidently he sets himself to show that a recognised epithet of Apollo and some local nomenclature prove that his tale is true. We would rather say that the resemblance of Delphi to δελφίς is at the root of the myth, just as δελφύς has made Delphi the centre of the earth, the γῆς ὀμφαλός. The poetical view, however, the poet's intention, is what I have stated. Therefore δέλφειος should not be tampered with. Even M's δελφίνιος (*pace* Ruhnken) is to be deprecated. Δελφίνιος has

given evidence in 495 metrically. Why call up the same witness again in spite of metre in 496? Let δέλφειος under warrant of nearly all MSS. appear, though we may not know this witness by sight. We cannot order him to stand down for that. It is ἐπόψιος that we should mistrust, not δέλφειος. If there had been a hoopoe, ἔποψ, in the story, the case would be very different. As it is, I would read:

ὡς ἐμοὶ εὐχέσθαι Δελφινίῳ· οὐ τ' ἀπο βωμὸς
αὐτὸς Δέλφειος καὶ ἐπάκτιος ἔσσεται αἰεί.

The altar is 'on the shore,' just as the story said it was to be.

In defence of οὐ τ' ἀπο for αὐτὰρ ὁ, which cannot be right without some modification, it should be noted that it involves the change of two letters only, ο for α at the beginning and π for ρ towards the end. The translation would be, 'from which circumstance,' 'and that is the reason why.'

In 506 νῇ ἐρύσαντο should certainly be νῆα ἔρυσσαν, and in 517 Πυθῶν' ἰδ' ἡπαιήον' αἶδον might be recommended. In 521-2 Allen and Sikes exhibit lack of judgement in reverting to ἔμελλεν . . . τετιμένος against 'the editors,' as they say themselves.

In 527 for τῷ σῷ I would suggest τὸ τεῷ or even τὸ γε σῷ, nor do I think the form ἄνωγμεν is genuine here (528). The poet probably made his leader of the Cretans say ἄνωγα, which some grammarian altered because of the preceding βιόμεσθα, from which no inference can reasonably be drawn against the first person singular (cf. 543-4).

529 οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἦδε γ' ἐπήρατος οὐτ' εὐλειμων
ὥς τ' ἀπὸ τ' εὐ ζῶεν καὶ ἄμ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπηδεῖν.

There is some defect even with οὔτε for ἦδε (D'Orville) and ἐπήρατος (Barnes) οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπήρατος, cf. θ 168. In the next line the use of ὥστε or ὥς τε with an infinitive is alien to the early epic speech. It is astonishing that, like other later usages, it has not been more freely introduced or superinduced into the tradition. I suggest, therefore,

ἥς ἀπο τ' εὐ ζῶεν καὶ ἄμ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπηδεῖν.

The words seem to me to have been somewhat misunderstood. The speaker is not thinking of ministering to mankind or of helping mankind by producing food for pilgrims (Matthiae).

He is simply concerned about the future of himself and his men. 'From which we could live in comfort and do as other men do,' lit. 'follow mankind,' who till the ground and live on the fruits of their labour. So Apollo understands him in his reply, v. 532-3. At the moment the prospect before them is not inviting. They seem likely to become a sort of Swiss Family Robinson, a small troop of Robinson Crusoes in a barren land. They wish to be with their fellow-men, not separated from them, and as it were marooned. 'Οπηδεῖν really means no more than this, cf. E 216 ἀνεμῶλια γάρ μοι ὀπηδεῖ, θ 237, H. Herm. 209.

Minor corrections are needed in 534, which with its prototype λ 146 should probably read ῥηίδιον τι ἔπος ἐρέω: in 535 δεξιτερῇφι ἕκαστος (Fick), in 536 σφαζέμεν, and in 537 ὅσσα κ' ἐμοί γ' ἀγάγωσι are indispensable, each particle occupying its legitimate and proper position.

538 νηὶν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύν τε μάλιστα
ἡέ τι τηύσιον ἔπος ἔσσεται ἡέ τι ἔργον. . . .

So Mr. Allen, making confusion worse confounded by removing the fullstop after μάλιστα and by assuming a lacuna of two lines between 539 and 540. These two lines Mr. Evelyn-White most unwisely prints in his Loeb edition.

The crux of the passage is, of course, 539, which has been sadly mangled in the tradition, and ineffectually treated by many editors from D'Orville to Gemoll. 'Ἐμὴν ἰθύν has I believe given me the key to the mystery: not that I agree with Allen and Sikes, who say 'ἰθύν is no doubt genuine.' They are invariably wrong when they become most positive. They are wrong now.

Let us write ἐμὴν ἰθύν in the older uncials

ΕΜΕΝΙΟΤΝ.

This is not very far from ἐμ' ἐντυν. For ιθ substitute τ, and there emerges ἐμ' ἐντύνεσθε. We find in E 761 ὃς οὐ τινα οἶδε θέμιστα a neuter form of the more usual θέμιστες . . . ας. Is there anyone who lives so far from the sun that he cannot now see the true reading must be

καὶ ἐμ' ἐντύνεσθε θέμιστα?

Even if the graphical probability be minimised to the utmost, and there are many who distrust the futilities of palaeography, more especially when it claims to be scientific, the sense of the words is so apt and appropriate that dissent becomes very difficult to maintain. Apollo is explaining the duties that must be discharged by his conscripts. This is the third duty, perhaps the most important of all, 'Arrange ye my ordinances.' The ordinances are the oracles, *cf.*

π 403 εἰ μὲν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μέγαλοι θεμίστες.

These oracles require embellishment; they have to be put into verse. The verb *ἐντύνω* expresses this with quite sufficient accuracy (*H. Aḗn.* VI. 20 *ἐμῇν δ' ἔντυνον αἰοιδῆν*). The temple

authorities would be obliged to admit that this versification was their function, for they could not expect even the most credulous of the faithful to believe that Apollo, the leader of the quire of the Muses, himself composed such bad verses. Read then without lacuna:

νηὸν δ' εὖ πεφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φῶλ' ἀνθρώπων
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων, καὶ ἔμ' ἐντύνεσθε θέμιστα·
εἰ δέ τι τηύσιον ἔπος ἔσσεται, ἥέ τι ἔργον,
ὕβρις θ', ἢ θέμις ἐστὶ καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ἄλλοι ἔπειθ' ὕμιν σημαντόρες ἄνδρες ἔσονται,
τῶν ὑπ' ἀναγκαίῃ δεδμησέσθ' ἡμάτα πάντα.

εὖ πεφύλαχθε (538) Schneidewin. 540 εἰ δέ Franke, Baumeister. The warning in 540 seems to me to be not only general, but also special in reference to the *θέμιστα*.

T. L. AGAR.

ΔΑΙΜΩΝ IN HOMER.

THE word *δαίμων* has been generally understood to mean in the Homeric poems either a god or, more commonly, indefinite and not clearly personalised divine power; in the latter sense its use seems to have been not unlike that of our word 'Heaven' as distinguished from 'God.' But Professor Finsler (*Homer* [1914], 268-270) tries to show that when used in the singular it means 'an evil spirit.' 'Besides the Gods,' he writes, 'daemons are often mentioned. When they appear in numbers (three times, and only in the *Iliad*) they are not to be distinguished from the gods. . . . The daemon is a power by itself, a spirit never appearing in human form, never speaking, but remaining ever in mysterious darkness. His appearance usually means harm. He is rarely friendly. . . . That the bounds separating gods from daemons occasionally overlap is natural, but a god who has been mentioned by name is never designated as a daemon in the passages on which our exposition is based.'

There are vital defects in Professor Finsler's exposition. In the first place, one naturally queries why the plural of *δαίμων* should refer to gods, and the singular to an evil spirit. Again, the author repeatedly forces the interpreta-

tion to support his theory. In the simile in which the Trojans besetting the wounded Odysseus are likened to jackals about a wounded stag (*Λ* 474-482), the poet adds: *ἐπὶ τέ λῴν ἡγάγε δαίμων*. Finsler comments: 'The lion has been led there by a hostile power.' But how does Finsler know that the poet is taking the jackals' point of view rather than the lion's? The latter seems at least as probable, since the lion is mentioned to make the comparison fit also the rescue of Odysseus by Menelaus and Aias. In 381, where *δαίμων* inspires the comrades of Odysseus with great courage, Finsler, while admitting that 'the daemon' in this instance is friendly, adds: 'But at the same time this the vengeance-spirit, helping against Cyclops.' This, again, is mere assertion: we have not the slightest evidence that Odysseus so regarded *δαίμων*. To take only one more example, when Philoetius expresses the wish that *δαίμων* may bring Odysseus home again (*φ* 201), Finsler translates, 'Would that a daemon might bring him hither!' and adds the comment, 'For the neatherd is thinking only of revenge, as the context shows.' But it is hardly a devil who one hopes will bring home a beloved master.

These interpretations, strained as they seem, might have more chance of acceptance if they were reinforced by other considerations. But quite the contrary is true. For we may note as a further defect in Finsler's discussion the failure to take account of a principle of Homeric technique, pointed out by Jörgensen (*Hermes*, XXXIX., 1904, 357-382), according to which the characters refer to the cause of some unnatural or unexpected action as *θεός*, *δαίμων*, *θεοί*, or *Ζεὺς*, whereas the poet himself commonly tells us the name of the particular divinity who is acting. Hence the dozen or more passages from the *Odyssey*, which Finsler cites (p. 270) as evidence that 'a daemon' is an unfriendly power, have no weight. All that can be said is that in these instances, without exception, one of the *dramatis personae* ascribes to *δαίμων* the source of some action which seems to be out of the natural order of things—and by no means can all of these actions be due to an unfriendly power (cf. η 248, μ 169, τ 138, υ 87). In the *Odyssey* the word *δαίμων* is used only in speeches, never by the poet himself in his narrative; in the *Iliad*, the singular is used, outside of *oratio recta*, only in the simile mentioned above (Λ 474 ff.), in the oft-repeated comparison, *δαίμονι ἴσος*, and in two other passages (Γ 420, Ο 418). On *δαίμονι ἴσος* Finsler comments, 'Here we cannot understand a god by the word daemon, for that would not give a clear picture at all. The only god to whom charging warriors are compared is Ares; Patroclus is likened to Ares and to a daemon in a single breath (Π 784, 786).' This passage seems to the present writer to justify the equation *δαίμων* = *θεός*. But at least we may say—and we think Finsler's should have noticed—that the author of the Hymn to Demeter, when he tells us that Demophon grew in stature *δαίμονι ἴσος*, means by *δαίμων* neither a vengeance-spirit nor a devil, but a god. 'Grew like the devil' may have found its way into our vernacular, but we cannot think of it in a Homeric Hymn.

The two passages where the poet himself uses *δαίμων* not in a simile and in the singular, Finsler fails to mention

in his discussion of 'daemons'—rather unfortunately, for they disprove his statement that the poet never refers by the word *δαίμων* to a god who has been named. In Ο 418, *ἐπέλασσε γὰρ δαίμων*, seems clearly to refer to Apollo (cf. Ο 259), although possibly Ameis-Hentze may be right in saying that there is no definite reference to this divinity. But in the other verse (Γ 420) *ἦρχε δὲ δαίμων* unquestionably refers to Aphrodite, who has been mentioned by name in verse 413. If Finsler has failed to note these verses in discussing the meaning of *δαίμων* because they are not included 'in the passages on which his exposition is based' (cf. p. 270), then his whole method of exposition is unconvincing. At the beginning of the section on religion (p. 220) he recognises the diverse religious elements that must have entered into the Homeric poems, but sees running through both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with the exception of the 'Olympic scenes' of the *Iliad* and the *Θεομαχία* of Books XX. and XXI., certain uniform views of the gods, which, he adds, it is his task to portray. The excepted portions he regards as sufficiently distinct to warrant a separate treatment. These portions, therefore, he excludes from his exposition and later (pp. 276-287) indicates the ways in which the gods are differently convinced by their author. Now in the first place he gives the reader no clue to the precise limits of the passages which he excludes. In the case of the omitted verses, however, we should be able to infer that they are not excluded, since he cites verses from the episodes of which they form a part.¹ Secondly, in his treatment of the excluded portions he refers to Γ 420 as follows (p. 284): 'In the light of such views of life we comprehend the words of the gentle Priam that it is not Helen [who is to blame] but only the gods, who are the cause of all unhappiness. We understand how far above Aphrodite the poet places Helen, and when the goddess has abused her superior power he (*i.e.* the poet) angrily cries out: 'So

¹ E.g., p. 230, note 2, of Apollo going to the assistance of Hector, Ο 237; p. 240, note 1; and p. 247, note 3, of Aphrodite's activity in Book III. (vv. 374, 439).

they departed, and the daemon went ahead.' In the eyes of the poet the goddess is a devil. Hence according to Finsler himself—even if Γ 420 belongs to a portion of the *Iliad* which shows a different conception of the gods—the *Weltanschauung* in so far as it concerns δαίμων is the same as in the other portions, and this passage should have prevented him from making the statement that δαίμων is not applied to a divinity who has been mentioned by name. To the other passage (O 418) I can find no reference in his whole discussion of religion.²

Professor Finsler's forced interpretations, his failure to take sufficient account of Homeric technique and his omission of passages which disprove his statements, make it improbable that his interpretation of δαίμων will be accepted by scholars. Furthermore, the faultiness of his method in this

particular instance will tend to produce a sceptical attitude of mind towards his other conclusions—e.g., that Homer is the author of the *Iliad*, but not of the *Odyssey*; that the *Odyssey* was composed about 600 B.C., etc. Since his book has already passed into a second edition and is meant for a somewhat wider circle of readers than the specialists in Homer, it has seemed desirable to point out one example of the weakness of the author's reasoning, so that his book, useful and suggestive as it undoubtedly is, may be used with due caution, and its results tested carefully before being accepted.

SAMUEL E. BASSETT.

University of Vermont,
Burlington, Vermont, U.S.A.

² I have not cited *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 531, where the god himself is referred to as Θεῶν ἐριούνιε δαίμων, because of the recognised lateness of this part of the Hymn.

EURIPIDEA.

1. *Iphig. in Aul.* 990 f.

ἀλλ' εὖ μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶπας, εὖ δὲ καὶ τέλη·
σοῦ γὰρ θελόντος παῖς ἐμὴ σωθήσεται.

Must we not read τέλει? With σοῦ γὰρ θέλοντος we shall then supply εὖ τελεῖν, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 210 κείνου θέλοντος εὖ τελευτῆσαι τάδε. There is the same confusion of τέλει and τέλη in Soph. *Tr.* 238. For the construction cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 219 ἀλλ' εὖ τ' ἔπεμψεν εὖ τε δεξάσθω χθονί. For εὖ τελεῖν cf. εὖ τελεῖ θεός Aesch. *Sept.* 35, εὖ τελεῖν *Pers.* 225. It is regularly used of the right carrying out of a promise or a task: Soph. *Aj.* 528 εἰάν μόνον τὸ ταχθὲν εὖ τολμᾷ τελεῖν. Cf. the use of the simple τελῶ in Soph. *Tr.* 286 ταῦτα γάρ ποῖσις τε σὸς | ἐφέειτ', ἐγὼ δέ, πιστὸς ὦν κείνω, τελῶ, and the simple τελευτῶ in Eur. *Alc.* 374 καὶ νῦν γέ φημί καὶ τελευτήσω τάδε.

I greatly doubt whether ἀρχὰς εἶπας in the sense which the traditional text demands here is justified by such a phrase as κατ' ἀρχάς. But in any case surely τέλη could not have the sense ascribed to it. I assume ἀρχαί to be used much as in *Iph. in Taur.* 939 λέγοιμ' ἂν· ἀρχαί δ' αἶδε μοι πολλῶν πόνων, and it refers not to the beginning of Achilles' speech as opposed to the

end, but to his speech as a whole contrasted with the carrying of his words into execution.

2. *Troades* 568 ff.

Ἐκάβη, λεύσσεις τήνδ' Ἀνδρομάχην
ξενικοῖς ἐπ' ὅχοις πορθημενομένην;
παρὰ δ' εἰρεσία μαστῶν ἔπεται
φίλος Ἀστυάναξ, Ἐκτορος ἱνις.

All editors, I think, take εἰρεσία μαστῶν together. Apart from other difficulties it is extremely awkward to have εἰρεσία following immediately on πορθημενομένην if the metaphor of a boat is not kept up. εἰρεσία should naturally mean the car or the occupant of the car, and it will have this meaning if we take μαστῶν . . . φίλος together, perhaps a subconscious echo of Aesch. *Ag.* 717 ff. λέοντος ἱνι . . . φιλόμαστον. φίλος, if it stands alone, seems rather weak.

3. *Troades* 562 ff.

σφαγαὶ δ' ἄμφιβάμιοι
Φρυγῶν, ἐν τε δεμνίοις
καράτομος ἔρημία
νεανίδων στέφανον ἔφερεν
Ἑλλάδι κουροτρόφῳ
Φρυγῶν δὲ πατρίδι πένθος.

Tyrrell in his edition (1897) reads νεανίων for the MSS. νεανίδων and notes: 'The meaning is "the young men butchered, alone and defenceless, added laurels to the crown of Hellas,

nursing mother of brave boys." . . . The MSS. gave *νεανίδων*, but this must be wrong. The young women would be carried away as captives; the young men who were butchered would be such as were surprised alone, and so could not offer any successful resistance.'

To this there are what seem to be quite conclusive objections. First, since there is no antithesis between *σφαγαί* and *καράτομος*, both indicating precisely the same kind of slaughter, the only antithesis must be between *ἀμφιβώμιοι* and *ἐν δαμνίοις*. Now it is impossible to conceive why the (presumably) older men perish at the altars, while the young men perish in bed! Even if there were conscientious objectors in Homeric times, at least they should have died at the altars. But secondly, Tyrrell's version gives a wholly trivial meaning to the very significant turns of phrase: *στέφανον ἔφερον* . . . *κουροτρόφῳ*, and *Φρυγῶν πατρίδι* in place of the simple *Φρυγία*. If this, then, is the best that is to be made of *νεανίδων*, which is Bothe's emendation, we prefer the MSS.

But even so the precise meaning is not easy to determine. When a Greek poet paints the horrors of a captured town, it is not the fate of the young men that awakes his pity. They have 'done their bit'—*νέω δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν ἀηικταμένῳ κείσθαι ἐνὶ προμάχοις*. What he dwells upon is the fate of the old men and the women and children, or just the old men and the women. And the typical fate of the old men is to be slain at the altar, as Priam was slain at the altar of Zeus Herkeios. It seems, then, quite clear that in the present passage *σφαγαί ἀμφιβώμιοι* refers exactly to such slaughter of the old men. The remainder of the passage obviously pictures the fate of the young women. Unfortunately this is expressed in ambiguous language. *Καράτομος* may refer to cutting off the head as in Eurip. *Rhes*. 605 f. *τὰς δ' Ἐκτορος | εὐνὰς ἔασον καὶ καρατόμους σφαγὰς*, or to cutting the hair, as in Sophocles *Electr.* 52; so in Aberdeenshire you may say 'get your head cut' for 'get your hair cut.' *ἐρημία* may refer to mere want of help, the mere absence of friends—as the Apharetidai *ἀμᾶ δ'*

ἐκαίοντ' ἐρήμοι Pind. *N. X.* 72, *ἔρημος ἐτελεύτα φίλων* Plato *Phaedo* 58 C: or to the 'single sleep'—*ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσεως θρόνου* in the *Agamemnon*; or to absolute emptiness—*εὐνὰς ἐρήμους* Eurip. *Rhes*. 574: to the desolation of Scythia (P. V. 2 and Aristophanes) or Arabia Deserta (Pind. *P. IV.* 22).

If now *καράτομος* here, as might be suggested by *σφαγαί* two lines before, refers to 'cutting off the head,' the meaning must be that the defenceless young women had their throats cut upon their beds, and this brought a garland of glory to Hellas but to Phrygia sorrow. I think this implies a very bold use of language, but I am not going to deny that it is possible. But it utterly fails to give point to the phrasing of the immediately succeeding lines. And there is, moreover, the objection that this is not the typical fate of the young women *τῶν ἄστῃ ἀλώῃ*, which is to be haled into captivity—*ἰππηδὸν πλοκάμων*, which at least involves the retention of their heads.

But suppose now that *καράτομος* here refers to 'cutting off the hair.' Read our passage alongside Soph. *El.* 51 ff. *ἡμεῖς δὲ πατὴρ τύμβον . . . καρατόμοις χλιδαῖς στέφαντες* and Aesch. *Ch.* 5 f. *πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον, τὸν δεύτερον δὲ τόνδε πενθητήριον*. Euripides, it seems to me, had the first meaning, 'cutting off the head,' clearly in his mind. But he deliberately adopted here the second, and it was the second that he developed. In the natural course the maidens would have shorn their hair and given their tresses as a *στέφανος* to their *κουροτρόφος*, to Phrygia Kurotrophos. As it is, 'The Flowers o' the Forest are a' wede awa'; and the maidens for whom it must always be *ἐγὼ δὲ μὴνα καθεύδω* shear their locks, not for marriage but for mourning, and Hellas, not the fatherland, receives the Nurse's garland:

The old men slain the altar steps imbrue :
On desolate bed
The widow-maidens, never to be wed,
With inauspicious shears
Cut off their locks, the Nursing Mother's due,
For Hellas, but for Phrygia shed,
In place of tresses—tears !

A. W. MAIR.

Edinburgh University.

VIRGIL'S RHYTHMS.

VIRGIL'S use of one-syllable endings in various rhythms has often been noticed, but, so far as I know, they have not been examined in their context. This I now propose to do for the *Aeneid*.

The first occurs in I. 65, in the half-line *divom pater atque hóminum réx*. This was borrowed from Ennius, and was therefore as familiar to his readers as to us are the scriptural tags which John Bright likes to put in place of an argument. No one, I suppose, would feel this well-known tag to be harsh; but it serves as a kind of hint, a preparation for some variation more striking of Virgil's type.

Sure enough, the hint is followed up by a real violation of the usual rhythm forty lines later (about four minutes in reading) in 105 *praeríptus áquae móns*, where the rough rhythm was doubtless meant to echo the sense. This device may easily become a cheap trick; but we shall see how sparingly Virgil uses it, and admire his self-restraint. A little later, in 151, at nearly the same interval as between the first two, the faintest possible echo is given by *si fórtē virúm-quem*, which is not really an instance of our type, because *quem* is enclitic, and therefore the accent falls as I have marked it; but it has just enough of variety to serve as a call upon the ear in the change of accent upon *virum*. Similarly *si quem* in 180 reminds us of *virúm quem* without being in any way abnormal. There are no others in Book I.

We find the next in II. 170 *aversa déae méns*, where the sense again is reinforced by this back-striking accent. It is true that there is *ex quo* in 163, but this is normal, and I believe therefore that *déae méns* breaks on the ear suddenly, and is meant to do so. In 216 *et iam* is a new variety, which serves to emphasise *iam* firmly but not violently; but 250 is a stroke of genius, for *vertitur interea caelum* is from Ennius, and although *ruit océano nóx* is not,¹ the

suggestion is unconsciously received that it is, which excuses its roughness; whilst the roughness itself serves simply the purpose of relieving the smoothness of the rest, like a touch of cayenne pepper to an oyster. In 355 is *lúpi cel*, and 647 brings in *divom pater atque hóminum réx* again, as if with a spice of malice to insist on the authority of Ennius for 250. Again Ennius comes into our ken in III. 12 *cum sociis natoque penatibus et mágnis díis*, which analysed proves to be a greater dislocation of Virgil's rhythm than any of the preceding: Virgil is getting bold. Ennius's actual words are *doque volentibus cum magnis dis*, and it will be seen that Virgil, while he intends beyond a doubt to recall these words, keeps the exact rhythm, and yet avoids one roughness which he had deliberately discarded, the elided *s*. In 151, *quá sé* is a real novelty in having two distinct accents; but what a far-away dim echo of the last grating example, which of course has no excuse in the sense, and passes because of its associations of antiquity and dignity. It is not long before we receive another shock in 390 *inventa sub ilicibus síis*, a rhythm which recalls with a slightly grotesque touch¹ *ruit océano nóx*; and this again has a dim far-away echo in *quí nunc* 695.

The fourth book presents us with a quaint novelty in *odora cánum vís* 130, again with no imitation of the meaning: so far, that device has only been used once. The phrase recalls Ennius's ending *ópum ví* in sound, but it seems to have a genial and half-comic effect.² But 314 *dextramque túam té* is a new and completely successful effect, such as all masters of rhythm aim at, where the attention is held by an unusual rhythm. There are no more in the fourth book, but there are two in the fifth. In the first, 481 *procumbit húmí*

¹ It is, of course, not possible to be sure that Virgil felt this as grotesque; but Horace has the same rhythm and the same sound in his certain grotesque, *ridículus mís*.

² Ennius has other examples of this final rhythm: *áquae vís, méum cór, férat fórs, híemps ét, lócis dánt, réfert rém, hómo réx*.

¹ Ennius has however this rhythm: *exóritur sól, praetérca fíx, restítuit rém, Servílius stc.*

bós the sense-imitation is obvious, and as I think obviously comic. The remarkable thing is that there are no more of this sort, although there are plenty of good openings; but Virgil knows well how easy it is to make this device cheap. Before and after this we have *quí sé* in 372 and *ó géns* in 624, which by this time pass almost unnoticed, if I am not mistaken. But 638 *iam tempus ági rés* is of the more intellectual type, which calls attention by a forced rhythm. Ennius has *írvat rés*, and he is fond of this rhythm.

In the sixth book there is nothing at all (for *nec te* in 117 would certainly strike no ear) except the one solemn passage in which Fabius Maximus is described with Ennius's own line, *unus qui nobis cunctando restítuit rém* 846. Nor is there anything in VII., not even one of the faint possible echoes, until we reach *nutu Iunonis éunt rés* 592, *íam tím* 643, at the four-minutes' interval, and the more striking *iam saetis obsita, íam bós* 790, which seems to me quite perfect.

But after this considerable interval, which includes the most elevated part of the whole poem, we have a little shock on meeting once more an old friend, the *inventá sub ílicibus síis* (43) of the third book, which is repeated in 83, *procubuit viridique in litore conspécitur síis*, in which line the rhythm is remarkable for another reason. No better way could be found to fix on our minds that this is that which was to come.¹ To keep this in mind there is another echo of the third book in *penatibus et mágnis díis* 679.

The ninth book, after a few trifles like *hinc commínus atque hínc* 440, *hoc míhi dé te* 491, and *sí qua* 512, of which only the first is a variation on the normal accent, the last two being really disyllables, we come to a new trace of Ennius in 532 *summaque evertere ópum ví*,² where the cross-accent may be meant to imitate the sense. There is no shock now in this mild variant, nor is there in *quí casus ágat rés* 723, already familiar.

¹ *Méns est* in 400 is not in point, since *est* is enclitic, and the same is true of phrases like *supra est* (*súprast*).

² Ennius: *summa nituntur ópum ví*, see XI. 552.

The tenth book opens with a solemn old-fashioned sentence, containing the Ennian *divom pater atque hóminum réx*, followed up by *aut hós* 9 and *quam quisque sécat spém* 107, *vígilasne déum géns* 228, *ut nós* 231; but *pugnaeque parént se* 259 is probably enclitic. There seems no particular point in any of this group, but there is in 360 *haeret pede pes densusque vítro vítr*, which also is partly Ennius and partly Furius (*pressatur pede pes, mucro mucrone, vítro vítr*). The last phrase is repeated in 734 *seque vítro vítr contulit*, and actually *divom pater atque hóminum réx* 743, which has ceased to attract any attention. *Mole síia stát* 771 is another of those which use the device to attract attention to a word (*sua*), but *tectusque tenét se* is normal, *se* being enclitic. Again we have the emphatic use in 843 *praesaga máli méns*. There seems only a literary reason for *aperit sí nulla víam víis* 864—that is, the alliteration and the slight variation give a kind of piquant touch. There is an unusual number of instances in this book, and there are other metrical variations besides.

The first in Book XI. is 164 *nec foedera néc quás ímixinus hospítio dextras*, an extra accent, but not enough to attract attention; similarly in 170-1 we have two lines of an exquisitely balanced rhythm, to which the extra accent on *quam* is essential:

*quam pius Aeneas, et quam magni Phryges,
ét quám*

Tyrrhenique duces, Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis.

An admirable use of the emphatic accent is found in 373 *étiam tú, sí qua tíbi víis*. In 429 we have again *ét quós*, in 632 *legítque vírum vír* (as twice before). Thus there is nothing new in this book, only what we have heard already. The extra accent balancing a phrase in the same line, which has evidently found favour in Virgil's ear, occurs in XII. 48 *pro me . . . pró mé*. In 360 is *quí mé* (unless *me* be enclitic, as it may be); the intention of *núnc*, *núnc* 526 is quite clear. After so many normal abnormalities, if I may say so, we come at last to what my ear has long been craving for, another echo of Ennius in 552 *summa nituntur ópum ví*,

and anon a second 565 *Iuppiter hâc stat*. If 850 *déum réx* be not drawn from the same source, it sounds as if it were.

Thus the poem ends in the same key as it began, with echoes of the solemn music of Ennius.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

HARLEY MS. 2610, AND OVID, *MET.* I. 544-546.

victa labore fugae tellus ait hisce vel istam (544)
quae fecit ut ledar (facit ut laedar *celt.*) mutando
perde figuram,
fer pater, inquit opem, si flumina numen habetis.
vix prece finita *cel.* (547)

It takes Dr. H. Magnus, in his recent edition, close upon a hundred lines of Latin to array the evidence here and to summarise the theories to which that evidence has given birth. He has also—it should be added—done students of the matter a signal service by appending to the note aforesaid facsimiles of the text of the essential pages from three of the leading MSS. Those who will may study in his book the material so bountifully provided. Here we have space only for the essentials.

Two of these three MSS.—viz. M and N—unfortunately fail us, but not altogether, for the facsimiles make it perfectly plain that, as he says, the original scribes (M¹ and N¹) recognised as authentic only two lines of text, not three.

The reliques of M¹ are these:

victa labore fugae (544)
qua nimium placui mutando perde figuram. (545)

The second hand, M², has erased half of line 544, adding *in rasura* 'spectans peneydos undas,' and in 545 has drawn the pen through the last three words and written above them 'tellu' ait isce vel istam.' From N¹ only the first three words of the two lines remain: *erasa cetera*. Both, as the facsimiles show, went straight on from the end of 545 to 547, 'vix prece finita.' The additamenta in the margin of M and between the lines of N are both in hands so recent that they may fairly be ignored: they add nothing to what the other MSS. supply, and can claim no precedence.

(2) Happily, however, there is another witness of first-rate importance available here, viz. ε, the Harleian MS. 2610, saec. X.-XI., a MS. at least as good—so Ellis believed and proved—as

M and N for that portion of the poem which it preserves. The scribe's spelling is often fantastic, but his *bona fides* is above suspicion. And ε offers without any perplexing erasures or variants the text as printed at the head of this note.¹

(3) Now the parents of Daphne were Earth and Water—Tellus and Peneus;² and some authorities credit the mother, not the father, with causing her transformation at the critical moment. Hyginus (*Fab.* 203) tells the story thus: 'Apollo Daphnen, Penei fluminis filiam, cum virginem persequeretur, illa a Terra praesidium petit. Quae eam recepit in se et in arborem laurum commutavit. Apollo inde ramum fregit et in caput imposuit.' Ovid, strangely enough, does not commit himself—except for line 546 of ε's text. He records the change—'Daphne in laurum'—but not the hand by which the change was effected.³

It is just because 'Lactantius'—i.e. Ovid's early editor, not Ovid—in his prose 'argument' says 'patrem invocavit,' without expressly mentioning any cry of 'Mother!'⁴ that later editors tend almost unanimously to reject as spurious the *manus prima* of ε and to accept instead the *manus secunda* of M, backed as to a certain extent it is by the rest—with the important exception of L, which Hensius ranked high (it is his 'Mediceus Primus'), and which Madvig and Merkel placed second only to M.

¹ The fourth line ('Qua . . . figuram'), which Dr. Magnus ascribes to ε, is not in the *manuscript*. (Dr. Gilson, the Keeper of the MSS., has very kindly verified the point, and endorses my report.)

² Or, according to others, Tellus and Ladon: see Munro on *Aetna*, line 6, and the works there cited.

³ Lines 577 to 578 might be thought to imply that the father had not intervened, Earth being apparently the agent.

⁴ But cf. 13. 880 (*q.v.*), Et "fer opem, Galatea mihi, mihi ferte, parentes."

(4) Now the appeal to Tellus, coming as it does from a daughter of Earth, would in any case be singularly natural and appropriate here. But there is another point which is strongly in its favour. The expression is almost proverbial. It is as old as Homer: *τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρέϊα χθών* (*Δ.* 182; *Θ.* 150). It recurs three times in Vergil: 'Tellus optem prius ima dehiscat' (*Aen.* 4. 24; *ib.* 10. 675; 12. 883), and at least twice in Ovid himself. The passages are in the *Heroides*: viz. 'Hiscere nempe tibi Terra roganda fuit' (6. 144) and 'Devoror ante precor subito Telluris hiatu' (3. 63). The prayer is proper to a person in terrible trouble or perplexity, and we might *a priori* expect to find it followed by a prayer to river or sea also to swallow up the sufferer.

So Io, in the *Prometheus Vincit*,¹ after the conventional appeal to Earth, 'ἄλυν' ἂ δᾶ!' of line 567 (Sidgwick), breaks into the cry: 'πυρί με φλέξουν ἢ χθονὶ κάλυψον, ἢ ποντίοις δάκεσι δός βοράν!'

But we have only to transpose lines 545 and 546, to get just such an appeal here:

'Tellus,' ait, 'hisce, vel istam

'Fer, Pater,' inquit, opem! si flumina numen habetis

'Quae facit ut laedar mutando perde figuram!'

(5) The margins of early Ovidian MSS. bristle with glosses and variants, and the words 'spectans peneydos undas' look very like a gloss. As for the alternatives, 'Quae facit ut laedar' and 'Qua nimium placui,' there is really not a pin to choose between them. Ritschl wished to eject the

former. As however the words happen to be the reading of so good a MS., it may seem rash to agree with him. One really vital question is the authenticity or non-authenticity of ver. 546. There is no apparent reason why it should have fallen out of M and N;¹ but they drop a score of other lines without the slightest provocation.

The scribe of *ε*, however, occasionally omits but never interpolates a verse. On the other hand, he is elsewhere, though very rarely, guilty of transposition;² and as two first-rate MSS., F and *Palat Vatican.* 1669, reverse his order here, giving line 546 before line 545, the arrangement proposed has good MS. authority. 'Ait' taken up so quickly by 'inquit' may or may not be justifiable in excited narrative; cf. 3. 673; 5. 195; 7. 681, f. If the iteration be unjustifiable, a good second-class MS. 'e'³ the *Erfurtensis Prior* offers 'aut' for 'ait'; and so did 'multi ex antiquis Heinsii.' This may point to some slight dislocation and corruption at the end of line 544, and tempt us, *ut in loco vexato*, to emend and read:

victa labore fugae 'Tellus aut Unda dehisce!'

'fer, Pater,' inquit, 'opem!—si flumina numen habetis,

quae facit ut laedar, mutando perde figuram!'

D. A. SLATER.

Bedford College,
University of London.

¹ If in some 'forbear' of theirs line 544 began with *fessa* (see 5. 618), not *victa*, the omission might easily have occurred.

² To the two examples in Ellis (*Anecdota Oxon. Class. Ser.* 1. 5, anni 1885) at 2. 823 and 3. 172, add another, viz. 2. 755, which is not 'omitted' but placed before 754:—a total of three only in some two thousand lines and more.

³ = the symbol for "equals."

⁴ vel 'dehiscas!'

¹ Since this was written, I notice that Merkel in the Preface to his second edition also cites these two passages from Aeschylus. He keeps the half-line which others reject; but his text of the whole is not altogether satisfactory.

THE 'PROSPECTIVE.'

MR. FRANK FOWLER'S article in the August-September number (pp. 97-99) demands an answer from me; but I must try to be brief.

In the first place let me express my satisfaction that Mr. Fowler is in such close touch with me, though he hardly knows

it himself, as to the fundamental meaning of the subjunctive. German scholars generally deny nowadays that there is such a thing as a 'Grundbegriff' of the subjunctive, but Mr. Fowler, though he substitutes the term 'compulsion' for my term 'obligation,' really means

exactly what I mean, viz. that the subjunctive expresses fundamentally that something *is to be done* or *was to be done*.¹ It is true that he does not go so far as I do in recognising this meaning as the basis of 'volitive' expressions; he draws a sharp line of distinction between (say) *faciat* in the sense of 'let him do it' (a command) and *faciat* in the sense of 'he is to do it,' which he calls compulsive. To my mind the only difference is that in the former use the thing that is to be done by the person spoken of is *also* willed or desired by the speaker; but the thing is still *to be done* by the person spoken of. The person who *is to act* is always indicated by the personal inflexion; hence *facias* 'you are to do it'—sometimes = 'do it' (a command in Old Latin), sometimes without any intervention of the will of the speaker. In the case of *facias* (second person) the person who is to act is the person addressed instead of the person spoken of. Let Mr. Fowler, however, if he chooses, draw a sharp line of demarcation between the volitive and the compulsive meanings. But what right has he to accuse me of 'not seeing that in a purpose clause we have to do with a *willed* result.' He would be blind indeed who did not see that. I see it and have shown that I see it in my *Unity of the Latin Subjunctive*, p. 35, where I say that the kinship of final subjunctives with subjunctives of volition is 'obvious and universally admitted'; also in my *New Latin Grammar*, § 338, where I say 'Many adjective and adverb clauses with a *shall*-subjunctive denote what is *desired*'; cf. § 320. Nevertheless, the final subjunctive is also an expression of what *is to be done*—i.e. it is merely a species of the one great genus.

Probably the source of Mr. Fowler's misconception of my position is that I did not sufficiently emphasise in my *Unity* the distinction between the fundamental meaning of the subjunctive and its developed usages.

¹ My 'obligation' is not limited to the sphere of either the ethical or non-ethical 'ought'; I use the term in a wide sense and with full consciousness that no single term quite expresses the idea which I have in mind. See my *Unity of the Latin Subjunctive*, p. 19 (John Murray, 1910).

Now as to the prospective subjunctive in particular. Mr. Fowler denies that there is any such thing as a 'prospective' or 'anticipatory' or 'futural' subjunctive, though he does not deny that there is 'a contextual implication of futurity' in many instances. I freely admit that contextual implication will explain some instances; but it cannot explain them all. There is no contextual implication of futurity in the conjunctions *antequam*, *priusquam*, *donec*, *dum*, etc.; these may be just as well followed by a past tense of the indicative (denoting past fact) as by a prospective subjunctive. Take one of Mr. Fowler's instances (Livy. V. 33. 5); does he mean to say that *Ducentis quippe annis antequam Clusium oppugnaverunt* (for *oppugnarent*) *in Italiam transcenderunt* would be bad Latin or bad sense? The reason why Livy used the subjunctive *oppugnarent* was simply that he wanted to mark the action as *to be done*, not as a past fact. Yes, Mr. Fowler will say; but by the subjunctive Livy marks the action as 'externally determined' or 'compulsive': it is this modal idea which is expressed, not the temporal idea of futurity. Good. In this particular instance *antequam Clusium oppugnarent* may well be translated 'before they were destined to make war on Clusium.' I have myself quoted instances like this on p. 35 of my *Unity*, and I will add a good parallel to Mr. Fowler's instance from Tacitus, *Germania* 29: *in quibus pars imperii Romani fierent* ('they were destined to become'); cf. too *Agricola* 34 *in quibus ederetis* (which, however, may be regarded as final). But when Mr. Fowler insists that the full meaning of external determination or what I call 'determined futurity' or 'natural necessity' (*Unity*, p. 7) is present in all instances of the subjunctive after *antequam*, *priusquam*, *donec*, *dum*, etc., I regard this as an exaggeration, due to a failure to recognise that in the developed usages of the mood the full fundamental meaning suffers certain changes. In the large majority of instances of the subjunctive after one of the above mentioned temporal conjunctions the meaning of determined futurity is modified or weakened, so as to be

hardly distinguishable from an expression of bare futurity. How forced it would be to translate *Exspectare dum hostium copiae augeantur* by 'to wait till the forces of the enemy are bound to be increased' (Caesar *B. G.* iv. 13; cf. iii. 18, iv. 23, ii. 12)! No; the Latin expression of what *is to be done* has here come to denote little or nothing more than is denoted by these English words in many instances, especially in old-fashioned (seventeenth century) English: e.g. 'The Prime Minister *is to return* (= will return) next week.' Here, then, you have my definition of a Prospective Subjunctive; it is a subjunctive in which the fundamental idea of obligation or natural necessity or determined futurity has been weakened into an expression of little more than bare futurity. A temporal idea? Yes. There is no hard and fast barrier which separates modal from temporal meaning. This prospective subjunctive may either refer to the future from a *present* point of view, denoting what *is* to be, or to the future from a *past* point of view, denoting what *was* to be; in the latter case we have the *past prospective* meaning, e.g., *delitui dum vela darent*. 'I lay hidden till they *should* set sail' (*Aen.* II. 136); *te, boves olim nisi reddidisses . . . voce dum terret, viduus pharetra risit Apollo* (*Hor. Od.* I. 10. 9-12), 'Apollo while threatening thee unless thou *shouldst have restored* the oxen, was robbed of his quiver and laughed.' Every example of a Past Perfect Subjunctive that represents a Future Perfect Indicative of *oratio recta* is a prospective subjunctive. Mr. Fowler is quite right in saying that the time of the subjunctive in *Tusc.* iv. 22 *priusquam manus consererent* is past: but that does not prevent the tense from being prospective. It is a tense of past time which has a reference to what then lay in the womb of the future. I am surprised that this conception of the future in the past presents

so much difficulty to grammarians. It is a perfectly simple and a fundamentally necessary grammatical concept, the importance of which was fully recognised by the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology in its report of 1911. There is, then, no difference of opinion between me and Mr. Fowler as to the fact that the time of expressions denoting what *is* to be done is present and of expressions denoting what *was* to be done is past. But in both of these expressions there is also a reference to the future, and in many instances the idea of compulsion practically disappears.

I hope it will be clear that I do not wish to extend unnecessarily the sphere of influence of the prospective subjunctive. On the contrary, wherever the full fundamental meaning of the mood can be discerned, the better I am pleased. The Latin subjunctive is very like the English 'shall'; it often passes into an expression of mere futurity, but the fundamental idea of obligation shines through in a large number of instances.

I will add that I do not fully grasp what Mr. Fowler means by saying (p. 99, note 1) 'What he (Mr. Sonnenschein, *Unity*, pp. 36 ff.) sees as the fundamental and unifying meaning of the Latin subjunctive—"obligation"—is nothing but the essential character of modal ideas in general: it belongs to the Greek Optative and to the English periphrastic modal expressions.' Modal ideas in general is a very vague phrase; and English periphrastic modal expressions include some which have nothing obligatory about them. If Mr. Fowler merely means that the Greek Optative (so called) may also be said to express fundamentally the idea of obligation in my sense of the term, I agree with him. But that is a long story, into which I cannot enter to-day.

E. A. SONNENSCHN. E.

'VIRGIL, AEN. VII. 695-6' AGAIN.

Hi Fescenninas acies aequosque Faliscos
Hi Soractis habent arces Flaviniaque arva.

THE writer of the note on this passage, which appeared in *Class. Rev.* for February, 1905 (Vol. XIX. p. 38), may perhaps be permitted to express his gratification at finding that Dr. Warde Fowler¹ and his most recent reviewer² tend to agree in the interpretation of 'acies' as = Edges, which was there, to the best of his knowledge and belief, put forward for the first time.

But are these two eminent scholars right in challenging as they do the authenticity of the term, 'Soractis arces'? The poet who in the *Georgics* (IV. 461 and I. 240) characterises 'silver Rhodope' and the 'Scythian hills' as 'Rhodopeiae arces' and 'Rhipaeae arces' respectively, may surely be allowed in the *Aeneid* a variant of the same phrase to describe snow-clad Soracte? Whether Conington's rendering 'mountain heights' is altogether adequate is quite another matter. Perhaps on the whole the Biblical phrase, 'high places,' might come nearer to the connotation of the original. For to Dr. Warde Fowler's question, 'What shall we say of *arces*?' the answer would seem to be abundantly clear. 'Arx' here and elsewhere stands for the stronghold of a god. The only point that admits of doubt is whether in this passage the 'arces' are the work of Nature or of man—a temple or a crag.

'Apollo had a temple on the top of Soracte' says Conington in his note at *Aen.* XI. 785. Now (a) is Virgil alluding to that temple here, just as Ovid appears to be alluding to the temple of Venus on Mt. Eryx, when he writes (*Am.* III. 9. 45), 'Avertit vultus Erycis quae possidet arces,' and Statius to the

temple of Iupiter (?) on Mt. Anxur when in the *Silvae* (I. 3. 86 f.) he uses the same word, 'arcesque superbae Anxyris'?¹ or (b) in such contexts is the crag itself—temple or no temple—*per se* the stronghold? In Greek and Latin poetry we constantly find the gods 'located' on the hill-tops.² The most famous instance is perhaps Homer's ἀκροτάτη κορυφή πολυδαιράδος Οὐλύμποιο (*A.* 499), which becomes in Virgil (*Aen.* I. 250) the 'arx caeli' and in Ovid (*Metamm.* II. 33 and elsewhere) 'arx' pure and simple. Clearly the word and the spot had religious associations,³ and would seem to carry us back beyond the dawn of history to a time when primitive man dreaded these 'high places' as the special abodes and fastnesses of superhuman powers, much as in the Middle Age the superstitious fancy of Petrarch's peasants peopled the hill-tops with demons and spirits.

Virgil himself (*Aen.* VIII. 347 ff.) makes Evander say of (what Tacitus, *H.* III. 69, calls) the 'arx Capitolii,' long before the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus stood there:

... 'Hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem
(Quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum
Credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigram Aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.'⁴

Nor was the belief confined to Italy and Greece. In Exodus (XIX. 12 f.) Mt. Sinai is invested with a similar sanctity. It is from the high places of the mountain that God speaks to Moses. The parallels from the New Testament I forbear to quote. They will occur at once to every reader.

¹ At *Aen.* III. 553 the meaning of *arces* is uncertain. In Ovid, *Am.* III. 3. 35, 'Iuppiter igne suo lucos iaculatur et arces,' *arces* by itself seems to stand for 'temples.'

² *Aen.* VI. 805, 'Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigres'; Catullus, LXIV. 390 f.; Ovid, *Metamm.* II. 219, V. 284, 'Virgineusque Helicon.' These are only two or three of the numerous passages which might be cited in illustration of the tendency to identify gods and goddesses with particular heights.

³ As in Horace's sacrificial 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.'

⁴ See Dr. Warde Fowler's *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, pp. 73-74.

¹ See *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, Blackwell, 1916, pp. 64 f.

² 'J.W.M.' in the *J.R.S.*, Vol. VI., Part 2, pp. 214 ff. Yet 'J.W.M.' in *The Aeneid of Virgil translated into English*, Macmillan and Co., 1885, rendered line 695: 'These are of the Fescennine ranks and of Aequi Falisci.' Dr. Conway did the theory the honour of giving it his whole-hearted support years ago: *Proceedings of the C.A.* IV. 29, *alibi*.

All this may have been pointed out before, but if so it has been lost sight of, and the case needs restating.¹ As for the choice between 'Soracte's peak' and 'Soracte's shrine,' who would venture to decide? Whichever of the two roads we take, these 'high places' clearly harboured a community, no matter how small, which sent its quota of volunteers to the 'great war.' Further, to this community ('qui Soractis habent arces') belonged, it would seem,²

Arruns, the slayer of Camilla, for it is to Apollo of Soracte that he prays at the crisis:

Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus . . .

But this leaves us with a fresh conundrum. Was Arruns an anti-feminist? Or why did he kill one of his own leaders? Perhaps here again we have traces of unrevised work.

D. A. S.

CLASSICAL TEACHING.

AN unimportant and very recently elected member of the Classical Association, I note that one of the objects of the Association is to improve the practice of classical teaching.

I am perfectly ignorant of the manner in which the classics are taught in our schools at the present day, and the suggestions and remarks which follow are founded upon recollections of my own schooldays at Eton in the seventies, and upon three texts of Virgil with notes respectively by Conington, Papillon and Haigh, and Page, who will be referred to henceforward as C., PH., and P. Of these I have found P. by far the most useful, but even he is lacking in information for which I have sought. I speak as one with no pretensions to scholarship, but as one who has tried to keep up his Latin and his Greek as far as Homer throughout a busy professional life.

Take the *Georgics* to begin with; none of the editions concerned gives any explanation of what Virgil meant by the rising or setting of stars or groups of stars as aids to the times and seasons for agricultural operations. No edition which I have come across does so except the Delphin. Again in the account of agricultural operations and

implements, no description or pictures are given of these as they exist to-day in the East. I never really understood Virgil's account of ploughing, threshing, winnowing, a threshing floor and the like, until I was travelling through Transcaucasia and Northern Persia, where I saw a primitive plough, an 'area' and the use of the 'tribulum' and 'trahea,' and the process of winnowing by tossing up the mixture of corn and chaff with a large wooden shovel into the wind. The heavy grain fell down in a heap, and the light chaff was blown away to fall down farther on.

PH. on *Georg.* I. 164 does say that the tribula were weighted, roughened boards, and that similar instruments are used in the East, but it would have been much better to give a picture of the process.

Georg. I. 2: 'ulmisque adjungere vites.' P. says, 'elms were specially grown to train vines upon.' It would have been better if he had added that they are only about eight feet high, for I remember how puzzled I used to be by this phrase when at Eton, for the only elms I knew were some eighty feet high, those in the playing fields for example, and not until I went to Italy and saw a vineyard did I understand.

I. 164: 'iniquo pondere rastri.' P. says that the rastrum clearly differed from a modern hoe in being very heavy. Now the so-called Canterbury hoe is obviously the ancient rastrum, and any one who tries breaking up heavy ground or hard clods with this implement for ten minutes will have no doubt about the iniquity of the weight.

¹ Just as, in *C.R.* XXXIII. 30, Mr. Williamson found it necessary to recall us to the interpretation of *Aen.* I. 460, with which 'every schoolboy' is familiar in Conington's Translation and Commentary, but which, since Henry, it has apparently been the fashion to discard for something more subtle and recondite.

² So 'Aelius Donatus apud Servium,' cited by Nettleship at *Aen.* XI. 785.

I. 81: 'Cinerem.' P. is the only commentator I have met with who explains that these are wood ashes, and 'would therefore form an actual fertiliser.' His note would have been better still had he explained that wood ashes contain potash.

Irrigation is another process upon which commentators are sadly lacking. P. does give a slight description in his notes on *Georg.* I. 106 *et seq.*, but not enough to make the matter clear to one who has not seen an irrigated field. The arrangement is difficult to describe in words, but it would be easy to give a picture and diagram of how the irrigating channels are arranged and of how the water is let out from one channel into another. Incidentally such a diagram would explain that curious passage in Deuteronomy xi. 10: 'Thou wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs.' I never understood this until I saw a cultivator in Persia watering a melon garden by walking along between the channels and now and then breaking down the little walls of earth with his foot, so as to let the water out into the bed.

Why do commentators follow one another like sheep, without verifying references? Here is an instance; P. on *Georg.* I. 427 says, 'Kennedy well explains: "When the new moon is very clear, besides the bright crescent which reflects the sun's rays, the rest of the orb is dimly seen by the rays reflected from the earth and back from the moon. This phenomenon is referred to in the Scotch ballad of Sir Patrick Spence:

I saw the new moon late yestreen
Wi' the old moon in her lap.

If the air is vaporous, the earth's rays are lost to sight, and the moon appears as described by Virgil here.'" PH. give the same explanation and quotation. Kennedy must have quoted from memory, for the usual reading is:

I saw the new moon late yestreen
Wi' the auld moon in her arm.

Moreover, the whole point of the sailor's remark comes in the preceding and following couplets:

Now ever alack my master dear
I fear a deadly storm.
and,

And if we gang to sea, master,
I fear we'll come to harm.

The phenomenon of the old moon in the new moon's arms is a well-known sign of bad weather, as any one who lives in the country knows, but Kennedy and his followers evidently take it as a sign of good weather.

Commentators' notes often miss points of interest by omitting to give modern instances of grammatical forms. In *Aen.* I. 37, 'Mene incepto desistere victam,' both PH. and P. explain that the accusative and infinitive used interrogatively without a principal verb express strong indignation, and the former translate: 'I to desist, thus baffled from my purpose.' There is an admirable example of both the accusative with infinitive and the strong indignation in a quite modern English book which, were it given, would fix the meaning in any boy's memory—namely, in Surtees' *Mr. Sponge's Sporting Tour*, p. 10, where Peter Leather having been asked to put on 'a Quaker collared blue coat, with a red vest, and a pair of blue trousers with a broad red stripe down the sides,' declined, saying: 'Me make a guy of myself! Me put on sech things! Me drive down Sin Jimes Street!'

Aen. I. 212-13: PH. say "'tremencia," yet quivering, this indicates their haste. "Veribus figunt," "impale on spits," rather than "transfix with spits."

No commentator whom I have come across seems to realise the force of the expression 'tremencia' in this place. Of course they were in a hurry, for they were hungry, but also because, as any one who has travelled in wild countries knows, if fresh-killed meat be cooked before rigor mortis sets in—i.e. while still quivering—it is beautifully tender. If rigor mortis has set in before cooking, it is uneatably tough, until after hanging. What they did was to cut off small cubes of meat as soon as the skin was off, stick them on spits and grill them as quickly as possible. That is the meaning of 'tremencia.'

P., commenting on the same passage, pokes fun at Conington for suggesting that the water in the 'aena' was for washing. Surely Conington is right, and P., who is generally so informing, has made a slip. The men were tired

and had been soaked in salt water, which had dried on them, which produces a most uncomfortable sensation. They would probably do as did Odysseus and Diomedes after the raid on the Trojan camp (*Iliad* X. 572-576), who had a bath after a preliminary wash in the sea. P. implies that the cauldrons were for boiling meat, but no hungry man would boil his meat. First of all it takes a much longer time than grilling, and, secondly, plain boiled meat is very tasteless.

Aen. XI. 9: 'Telaque trunca.' C., P., and PH. explain this as the broken darts which had shivered against Aeneas' shield (*Aen.* X. 882 ff). But Virgil says nothing about the darts being shivered on the shield. On the contrary, he says that they stuck in the shield until Aeneas got tired of carrying them about and equally tired of pulling them out.

Surely the darts on the trophy were broken to prevent the ghost of Mezentius making use of them, the idea being the same as that pointed out by Dr. Warde Fowler in his delightful book on *Aen.* VIII., p. 95, in a note on line 562, 'scutorumque incendi victor acervos.'

I would like to make a suggestion here as to Dr. Fowler's rendering of 'stricturae chalybum.' He says, p. 79, 'I believe, though I own I cannot prove it, that in each line chalybs means a pig of iron.' I think that Dr. Fowler is in error here. A pig of iron is a cast mass of the metal obtained by allowing the fluid iron to run into a mould. Now primitive smelting processes never, I believe, raised the heat sufficiently to melt the iron. The melting point of iron is from 2,500 to 3,000° F. The process employed in early times was more or less as follows: The purest obtainable oxides of iron—*e.g.* haematite or the iron rag of the Sussex Weald—were used. The ore was smelted with charcoal, and sometimes chalk was added as a flux, though in very early times the use of chalk or lime was unknown. As the oxide reduced, a mass of spongy iron formed, containing liquid slag, probably a silicate of alumina, in its pores. This slag had to be squeezed or hammered out until the metal was homogeneous.

I would suggest, therefore, that the 'stricturae' were these lumps of spongy iron, which had to be squeezed, rolled, or hammered to get rid of the slag, and that they were so called because they were meant to be squeezed, just as a particular kind of playing card is known as 'squeezers' because they are meant to be squeezed up in the hand.

To resume the consideration of strictures in another sense. Commentators' notes are often contradictory, which is puzzling to the youthful mind. In their notes on *Georg.* I. 328-334 both P. and PH. quote with approval Kennedy's note on the passage, a kind of criticism which is now, I trust, a thing of the past. Having been told by Kennedy that 'ille' and the thrice repeated 'aut' expresses the 'majestic ease of omnipotence,' the unhappy student is then informed by both commentators that in line 329 'molitur' expresses 'effort.' If the boy thinks at all it must strike him that 'majestic ease of omnipotence' and effort are incompatible.

To turn to more general matters in the teaching of the classics. Are boys who learn Latin now confined as they were in my school time to Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Livy, Caesar, and Tacitus? At Winchester, I learn from a contemporary, they also read Catullus and Pliny's letters. I do not think that most of us at Eton had any idea that the great Latin authors were men of like passions with ourselves, who wrote literature such as Shakespeare, Macaulay, Napier, Herrick, and Milton wrote. We had no idea that Horace was a kind of combination of a poet-laureate and Prior or Praed, and not merely a juggler with metres. None of us realised that Latin was a living spoken tongue not merely in Roman times, but for some 1,600 years after the Christian era. I am sure that if boys were given passages from some of the late Roman authors, such as Statius's poem on 'Sleep,' Rutilius' panegyric on 'Rome,' where an intelligent teacher could point out the similarities between the Roman and the British Empires, and in addition passages from the mediaeval and renaissance writers, it would familiarise them with Latin forms, and they would realise that Latin

literature is not only a matter of 'periods,' 'hypermetric lines,' 'hendiacads,' 'oratio obliqua,' and all the other fetters of grammarians. If a boy were allowed to read some of the mediaeval pilgrim journals—e.g. *The Evagatorium* of Fabri or a Renaissance Latin book like Caius' *De Canibus Britannicis*, he would take much more interest in his Latin. All boys are made to read the Greek Testament; why should they not be given passages from the Vulgate? Mediaeval Latin is not classical Latin, but Alexandrian Greek is not classical Greek. What is necessary is that boys should understand that Latin is not only a grammatical exercise. In Greek the matter stands on a different footing, for no one can read Homer, even the merest tyro, without feeling that his poems are real living literature.

One other point: do boys at school still do Latin verse, and, if so, are they confined in elegiacs to the 'dissyllabic' pentameter? This was a strict rule in my time, but I never could see, and cannot see now, why a boy should not be allowed to write a couplet metrically like, if like in no other respect:

Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis
contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.

or a spondaic hexameter such as:

Sunt apud inferos tot milia formosarum.

The reform of classical teaching is to-day very much to the fore. I have been unable to follow the controversy thoroughly, though I have read with great interest Mr. Livingstone's excellent *Defence of Classical Education*. But what I have read of the matter inclines me to the belief that the views put forward are mainly those of teachers, and it is with the desire of making known the views of at least one learner that I have written these lines.

I may add one piece of information, which took me a long time to obtain, and that is that there is a simple account of the meaning of the risings and settings of stars to be found in Autolycus' *De Ortubus et Occasibus* (Greek and Latin, Teubner, 1885). There is also an excellent passage on the same subject in Mr. A. W. Mair's edition of Hesiod (Oxford translations).

H. P. CHOLMELEY.

NOTES

HERODOTUS III. 104.

In describing the climate of the Indus Valley, Herodotus says: θερμότητος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἥλιος τοιούτοις τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι τὸ ἐωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίας, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσις, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῶ μάλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτω ὥστε ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτοῦς ἐστι βρέχεται τηνικαῦτα.

This story has been generally discredited by commentators, and Herodotus' assertion that the noontide heat outpaced the sun like a summer-time clock has been taken as evidence that he had utterly mistaken notions of the shape of the earth and the sun's daily course.¹

But a parallel to Herodotus' tale has

been supplied by Rawlinson,¹ who quotes a modern travel description relating to the Niti valley in the central Himalayas. In this country an intensely hot wind blows in the morning but abates in the afternoon, thus sending the thermometer to its highest point in the early part of the day.

A similar story is told by a mediaeval explorer whose reputation for truthfulness stands high. Speaking of the climate of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, Marco Polo says: 'During the summer season the inhabitants do not remain in the city, but retire to their gardens along the shore or on the banks of the river, where with a kind of osier-work they construct huts over the water. . . . Here they reside during the period in which there blows, every day from about the hour of nine until noon, a land-wind so intensely hot as to impede respiration,

¹ See Blakesley, Sayce, Stein, and How and Wells *ad loc.*

¹ *Herodotus*, vol. II. p. 493 n. 9.

and to occasion death by suffocating the person exposed to it. None can escape from its effects who are overtaken by it on the sandy plain. *As soon as the approach of this wind is perceived by the inhabitants, they immerse themselves to the chin in water, and continue in that situation until it ceases to blow.*¹

These variations from the normal curve of temperature are of course due to special local conditions, and Herodotus was mistaken in transferring them to the Indus valley. But his story is not a mere invention, based on a calamitous ignorance of geography and astronomy. It has a solid foundation of truth, and errs merely in accuracy of detail.

The tale about the Indians protecting themselves against the heat by putting themselves to soak after the fashion of mediaeval penitents has usually passed unchallenged. But Professor Sayce has condemned it along with all the rest of the narrative,² and Herodotus himself evidently had misgivings about it, for he represents it merely as 'λόγος.' Nevertheless, this part of his story is amply borne out in later records of travel. Too much weight indeed need not be assigned to the recurrence of this yarn in Sir John de Mandeville's description of the 'Ethiopians and Indians,'³ for this may be no more than a plagiarism on the Greek historian. But the passage quoted above from Marco Polo is based on autopsy, and supplies independent testimony in favour of Herodotus. Furthermore, recent editors of the Venetian traveller have discovered the same story of compulsory bathing in the works of various modern explorers ranging from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.⁴ These accounts prove that the custom mentioned by Herodotus obtains not only at Ormuz, but in Sind, *i.e.* the very country to which Herodotus refers it. This part of his story may therefore be accepted as perfectly correct.

M. CARY.

University of London.

STATIUS, *SILVAE* I. vi. 7, 8.

adsint, dum refero diem beatam
laeti Caesaris ebriamque † parcen.†

So Professor Phillimore in the Oxford Text prints the lines described by Klotz as *locus desperatissimus*. Professor Phillimore's own conjecture, *aparchen*, he relegates to the *apparatus criticus*; it is the closest to the reading of M, and gives a good sense, but is apparently not quoted from any Latin author. A Greek word, as Vollmer and others have seen, is the best explanation of M's *parcen*. Thomson's *noctem* was printed by Markland and many succeeding editors, and is supported by the general sense, as well as by the reference at the end of the *Praefatio*, *noctem illam felicissimam*, etc., and by line 97 of the poem :

in serum trahor ebrius soporem.

However, Professor Slater (*Journ. of Phil.* XXX. pp. 146-7) seems right in saying that *noctem* is palaeographically impossible. He would read

diem beatam
laeti Caesaris ebriumque *Circum*

quoting Suet. *Dom.* 4, to prove that Domitian gave *spectacula* in the circus as well as in the amphitheatre. He thinks that 'the one word absolutely essential is a word to indicate the scene of the carnival, and anticipate the (otherwise) abrupt allusion to the *linea* in the next verse but one.' It would appear to me, in the first place, that it would be unnecessary to mention the spot by name, as all Rome had just assisted at the festival, and, in the second, that it is, at least, more likely that the scene of a celebration of such magnificence was the amphitheatre.¹

I should like to keep Professor Slater's *beatam*, and to propose very diffidently the reading,

diem beatam
laeti Caesaris ebriamque *raptō*.

In Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 317, for *parcere parto*, the Mediceus has *parcere raptō* (probably not right, of course), which

¹ *Travels*, ch. 19.

² N. I *ad loc.*

³ *Travels*, ch. 18.

⁴ See the editions of Masefield (p. 65) and Sir Henry Yule (vol. I., p. 119).

¹ See Professor Verrall, 'The Feast of Saturn,' in *Collected Literary Essays*, Cambridge University Press, 1913.

suggests that the transposition of the first three letters would be easy. For the rest, the reading appears to me to be an improvement on the others; it gets rid of the somewhat unpleasing assonance

... diem beatum

... ebriamque noctem (or any other accusative)

at the end of two successive lines.

The sense is satisfactory, and is supported by line 16:

largis gratuitum cadit *rapinis*,

and lines 79, 80:

desunt qui *rapiant*, *sinus* que *pleni*
gaudent dum nova lucra comparantur,

(where *pleni* has perhaps a suggestion of *ebriam*). *Rapto* would also refer forward to *linea* in line 10,

iam bellaria *linea* pluebant,

as desiderated by Professor Slater. Martial's lines (viii. 78), on a similar occasion, should be compared, especially lines 7, 8,

omnis habet sua dona dies : nec *linea dives*
cessat et in populum multa *rapina* cadit,

and line 11:

nunc *implere sinus* securos *gaudet*.

In Statius's poem note also *divessparsio* (line 66). What is *sparsio* on the side of the Emperor is *rapina* on the side of the populace, and the event in this double aspect is one of the great features of the day. Statius's fondness for the repetition of words has often been noticed; there are various other instances in this poem, which any reader may observe for himself.

If it is objected that *diem beatam* in line 7 does not correspond to *hic dies* in line 98 (as well as *hunc diem* in line 37), it may be noted that in *Silvae* II. vii. (also Phalaecian) there is in line 1,

Lucani *proprium diem* frequentet

and in line 20,

vestra este *ista dies*, favete, Musae.

Also *Silvae* V. iii. 219,

tuus ille dies

230,

illa dies,

and in III. ii. 127,

illa dies.

Doubtless other examples could be quoted.

G. M. HIRST.

Columbia University.

NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES' PAX.

72-3 ἐχθὲς δὲ μετὰ ταύτ' ἐκφθαρεῖς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι
εἰσήγαγ' Ἀιτναῖον μέγιστον κάνθαρον.

WHY Ἀιτναῖον? The two explanations given by the scholiast may certainly be set aside: (1) that a large species of beetle was found on Etna—a mere inference from the text; (2) that the meaning is 'as big as Etna.' Far more probable is the view that the reference is to the famous horses of Etna (cf. Soph. O.C. 312, Ἀιτναίας ἐπὶ πῶλον βεβῶσαν), and that κάνθαρος is then a παρά προσδοκίαν substitute—possibly for κανθήλιον as van Leeuwen suggests. But there is, I think, no evidence to show that the horses of Etna were a particularly large breed. Is not the allusion simpler, namely to the γηγενεῖς of Sicily, of whom Ence-ladus, after the battle with the gods, was buried under Etna? The meaning is then simply 'gigantic'; 'Brobdingnagian,' as we might say.

114-7 ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πάτερ, ἄρ' ἐτυμὸς γὰρ
δῶμασιν ἡμετέροις φάτις ἦκει,
ὥς σὺ μετ' ὀρνίθων προλιπὼν ἐμέ
ἐς κόρακας βαδιεῖ μεταμῶνιος;

The words μετ' ὀρνίθων have been generally suspected by the editors, chiefly on the ground of the scholiast's adscript ἀντὶ τοῦ μετὰ ὀρνέων on ἐς κόρακας. Van Leeuwen omits σὺ μετ' ὀρνίθων altogether, and Sharpley would like to read ὥς σὺ μὲν ὀρφανικῇ. Surely the text is not merely good sense as it stands, but μετ' ὀρνίθων is badly needed to anticipate and bring out the point of ἐς κόρακας. Trygaeus is now up in the sky among the real birds, he will soon be going down 'to the crows.' This I take to be the meaning of the scholiast's note: not that ἐς κόρακας is 'equivalent to' μετ' ὀρνέων, which is nonsense, but that ἐς κόρακας is 'in contrast to' μετ' ὀρνίθων: Trygaeus is going 'to the crows instead of up among the birds.' Grammatically the scholiast is not quite accurate, but he has seized the meaning better than the expunging editors.

250 ἰὼ Σικελία, καὶ σὺ δ' ὥς ἀπόλλυσαι.

Palemos is mixing the salad in his mortar, and throws in, as he mentions each state, either a characteristic product (garlic for Megara) or a punning

substitute (leeks for Prasiae). It is generally supposed that in this case it is the former—Sicilian cheese (van Leeuwen compares the Sicilian cheese which is the subject of the trial in the *Wasps*, 838, 896 ff.). May it not as likely be a pun on σίκυος, 'cucumber,' which in 1001 is one of the products for whose restoration Trygaeus prays in 1001? C. BAILEY.

Balliol College.

THROWING ARROWS.

HOMER, *Odys.* VIII. 229, Δουρὶ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος τις οἷστῳ. This, I say, means, 'I can throw a spear farther than any other man can throw an arrow.' It is a perfectly plain and unambiguous line. Why should Homer have the grotesque absurdity thrust upon him of saying, or of meaning, 'I can throw a spear farther than another man can shoot an arrow'? A man can shoot an arrow even, I believe, up to 400 yards. I have seen American Indians practising arrow throwing; they throw them with good force about 60 or 70 yards. Xenophon mentions that his men threw, as javelins, arrows shot against them by the Persians. The practice must have been common in battles. And battles in ancient Greece seem to have been as frequent as strikes in England, so that the allusion would have been readily understood.

Odys. IV. 442 I always thought a poetical exaggeration until I read a passage in Darwin's *Cruise of the Beagle*, where he relates that he was rowing alongside of some rocks in the Southern Pacific on which seals were lying, crowded together like pigs. Only, he says, pigs would have been ashamed to find themselves in the filth and stench in which the seals lay. It was so bad, I think Darwin says, that he and his men had to fly from it.

Now, in Homer's time, seals were as plentiful in the Mediterranean as in Darwin's time in the South Pacific probably. There are many allusions to them in the classics. And I've no doubt that sailors had told stories about the seals which Homer had heard. So the line is no exaggeration after all.

J. S. O. ROBERTSON-LUXFORD.

ON THE SUGGESTION ΠΟΡΚΕΙΑ IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, XV., 20, 29.

THE note in the *Classical Review*, XXXIII., p. 100, calls for some comment. Πορκεία is indeed not in Liddell and Scott, and, I am assured on the highest authority, will not be. If there were such a word, it could only mean 'piggishness,' and be an abstract from πόρκος, like μοιχεία from μοιχός, λαγνεία from λάγνος; and if Greek wished to take the Latin word *porcus*, and form a substantive meaning 'pork,' the form would be πόρκεια (sc. κρέα), like ψεία, βόεια, πουλυπόδεια, and the ghastly παιδείων κρεῶν in *Agam.* 1593, which mean 'baby,' not, as usually translated, 'his children's flesh.' The fact is, Mr. Gladstone, like the originator of the suggestion, confused the Greek with the Latin way of forming words expressing meats, where the singular feminine is used with *caro* supplied, like *suilla*, *agnina*. But a greater scholar than he is involved. Bentley had already suggested χοιρέας in the passages in the Acts (*Critic Sacra*, p. 25). But he did not perpetrate πορκείας, though his suggestion is open to the same objection. His words are: 'lege καὶ τῆς χοιρέας pro πορνεύας. Glossarium: χοιρέα, "porcina" χοιρέα σάρξ, "lardum"; μωσχεία, "vitulina"; ἀρνεία, "agnina"; vid. LXX.' It is strange that he did not see that there are four mistakes here: three wrong accents, and the phrase χοιρέα σάρξ, which is not Greek; for neither classical nor Hellenistic Greek join σάρξ with an adjective of this kind. His reference to LXX. must be to Symmachus' rendering in Isaiah lxvi. 17, which he probably read in Montfaucon's edition published in his day, 1713; ἐσθιόντων τὸ κρέας τὸ χοίρειον (Field, *Origenis Hexapl.*, vol. ii., p. 565); the only place in the LXX. in which χοίρειος is found, for the adjective used with this meaning in all other places is ψείος.

Who first suggested πορκείας I have not discovered. Alford writes in his last edition of the Greek Testament: 'πορκείας has also been conjectured (probably not by Bentley, as stated in Meyer, *De W.*, and this work, ed. 1.)' Wendt, in Meyer's *Commentar*, says: 'Bentley hat conjicirt χοιρέας oder

πορκείας.' But Wetstein mentions Bentley's conjecture χοιρείας only, and 'Wetstein is the most likely to be accurate,' Dr. Lock, to whom I owe these last references, tells me. But who it was matters little; for, as Farrar says (*Life of St. Paul*, ch. xxi.), 'there is not the faintest atom of probability in it.'

J. U. POWELL.

*St. John's College,
Oxford.*

AN UNCIAL FRAGMENT OF PLAUTUS.

IN the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for May of this year are two papers by Professor Degering on a parchment leaf in uncial script, containing lines 123-147 (148) 158-182 of the Cistellaria. The leaf was sold by a Leipzig second-hand bookseller, Karl W. Hiersemann, to the Berlin Library, where it is now MS. lat. qrt. 784. Degering assigns to it the symbol *N*. Hiersemann's catalogue (No. 462) declared it to have been part of the binding of a twelfth-century MS. of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a MS. which he has now sold. Both the former and the present home of this Ovid MS. seem to be 'wrop in mistry'; but Hiersemann's catalogue (No. 460) cites from it a half-illegible Latin entry with mention of Friuli and of Fontanelle (a town in the Friuli district).

Degering's palaeographical account of the leaf is excellent. The Plautus codex must have been a noble volume of rather larger pages than *A*, but with some 37 lines (*A* has 19) to the page (if we allow two to the Scene-heading) or 38 (if we allow three) or 36 (if we allow one); and—a notable novelty—written in purple ink (the royal tint). The uncial characters seem 'as old as they make them' (Degering provides a good photograph); so we have now three Plautus MSS. of the ancient world, two actual: *A* and *N*, and one hypothetical, *P* (the archetype of *BCDT*).

But Degering's attempt at Ueberlieferungsgeschichte and his 'stemma codicum' are based on the erroneous theory that *A* and *P* are mere transcripts of one archetype. Still he sees

rightly that *N* is nothing but a representative of the 'Palatine' edition. It has lines 126-129 (omitted in *A*); it reads in line 132 *p(er)dit(a) est* (where *A* has *deperit*), in line 144 *suppositionem eius rei* (*suppositionemque eius A*), in line 145 *solae scimus* (*scimus solae A*). Yet it is not without value. Not to mention such trivialities as its *postquam* in line 176 (where by a mere accident of transcription, our minuscule MSS. omit *quam*), it throws some light on the 'Palatine' text in antiquity. For, like our minuscule MSS., it presents line 159 in this form:

Vinulentus, multa nocte, in via,

and line 168 in this:

Ille clam observavit servos.

So long as these torsos could be traced no farther back than the ninth-century parent of our minuscule MSS. (*A* lacks this portion), editors felt themselves at liberty to make regular Senarii out of them:

<Vi>, vinulentus, multa nocte, in via (with a questionable hiatus after *nocte*).

and

III' clam observavit servos <qui eam proiecerat>.

But now that we find them in *two* ancient copies of the 'Palatine' edition, the case is altered. And what of the omission in *N* of *eum* in line 132? Is it an arbitrary alteration by the scribe of *N* (or the corrector of the exemplar of *N*)? Did he (like Professor Degering) think that *eum haec perdit(a) est* 'she was madly in love with him' was an impossible construction for Plautus? Or was it the real 'Palatine' reading, while the *eum* of *P* has come from a suprascript entry of the 'Ambrosian' reading *eum haec deperit*? The last was Seyffert's explanation (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 16, 285). But cf. *Mil.* 1253.

It will take time to think out these problems, but I write at once to prevent the misconception that a 'third recension' of Plautus has been discovered.

W. M. LINDSAY.

*St. Andrew's,
Fife.*

A PASSAGE OF FRONTO (NABER, p. 203).

PAGE 265 of the Fronto palimpsest has perished entirely except for a few marginal notes, which show that the page had reference to Cato's *Origines*. The writer of these notes was in the habit of repeating (generally verbatim) in the margin words or passages which struck him as noteworthy in the text. One of these notes is given by Naber (after Mai) as follows: '... in navium ... deus al ... in ... tur tuendi eius ergo denominatus.'

Professor Hauler of Vienna reads the same passage thus: '*Rei factae mater natura: in navium apparatu Apollo deus alitis pin<n>as, ut eas effingeret homo, natura tueri dare. Ius ergo de natura. Catus,*' etc.

It is evident that many of the letters have had to be inferred from very slight indications. I suggest that the passage originally ran: '*Rei factae mater natura, in navium apparatus accomodans alitis pinnas, ut eas effingeret homo natura tuenda; remus igitur de natura. Catus,*' etc. Cf. Prop. IV. 6, 47, *classis centenis remiget alis*.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

Grammar School,
Manchester.

NOTES ON LATIN AUTHORS.

LUCILIUS, l. 1266 (ed. Marx):

pro obtuso ore pugil piscinensis reses.

This fragment comes from Festus, p. 213, 5, but in Festus the form of the fifth word is given as *pisciniensis*, and the alteration is due to Turnèbe. As long ago as 1898 I pointed out that the recorded form should be kept in the text, in view of an inscription found at Baiae with the words *embaenitariorum pisciniensium*. Though this note of mine appeared in a German periodical (*Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.* xi. pp. 130 f.), it was overlooked by Marx. The *i* will not of course disturb the metre, being semi-consonantal. It says much for the purity of the Festus tradition that it should have been preserved. In *Atheniensis*, *Carthaginiensis* we have words too well known to be misspelt, but *Hipponiensis* often appears as *Hipponensis*. Compare also with *pisciniensis* the exactly parallel *saliniensis*.

Cicero, *Or. post red. in sen. hab.* § 29 (l. 10, ed. Peterson):

Possum ego satis in Cn. Pompeium umquam gratus uideri?

Probably it was possible for Cicero so to utter this sentence that it would be understood to be a question, but I venture to think that we ought to read: *possum<ne> ego*, etc. Nothing would be easier than for *ne* to fall out between *m* and *e*, and the sentence becomes easier if it be inserted.

Virgil, *Georg.* II. 23-24:

hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore
matrum
deposuit sulcis, etc.

According to Ribbeck's second edition, all but two of his MSS. give *abscindens*. Those two give *abscidens*, and I think they are right. Does the poet really intend to suggest that the woodman tears off the twigs (that is what *abscindens* means)? Does he not rather mean simply that he cuts them off? In my experience, *abscidere* is often corrupted to *abscindere*, but I recall no instance of the reverse corruption. The later mediaeval scribes seem to have regarded *abscido* as a corruption of *abscindo*.

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* V. 19:

nec enim umquam uiri mei uidi faciem uel omnino cuiatis sit noui, sed tantum nocturnis subaudiens uocibus maritum incerti status et prorsus lucifugam tolero.

For *subaudiens* read *obaudiens*. Purser's note will show that *subaudiens* is difficult. In fact it is everywhere else in Latin used as a transitive verb, in the same sense as *subintelligere*, namely 'to understand (something that is unexpressed).' Here it is obedience that is wanted. Lest anyone should cavil at the spelling *obaudiens*, let me point out that it is at least as common in good MSS. of late authors as the other spelling *oboediens*, also that it is definitely attested for Apuleius, e.g. III. 15 (p. 63, l. 16, ed. Helm²), *obaudiunt*; also at *dogm. Plat.* p. 1099 (ed. Valpy), the note concerning Brantius suggests that the MSS. of that treatise everywhere spell it so. For the type of error here, compare *iudicii sublati* of six MSS. (Ps-Aug., *Quaest.* p. 337, l. 1), for *iudiciis oblati* of two MSS., the latter being the right reading.

A. SOUTER.

University of Aberdeen.

REVIEWS

ATTIC RED-FIGURED VASES IN AMERICAN MUSEUMS.

Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums. By J. D. BEAZLEY. Harvard University Press. 30s. net.

THE task of assigning to definite painters some portion of the red-figure Attic vases, which are found in such numbers in almost every museum of classical archaeology, was begun by Hartwig and Klein, and continued with success by Furtwängler and Hauser; but the honour of reducing the whole mass of material to order and of establishing the relations of the various groups of vases thus formed has fallen mainly to J. D. Beazley. The work is a notable one, demanding high scholarship, rare patience, a peculiarly retentive memory, and—what is more rare—an artist's eye. Possessing all these qualities, Beazley has succeeded in forming, on grounds of style, over fifty hitherto unrecognised groups of vases, seeing in each group the hand of a single artist. Further, he has made far-reaching corrections to attributions already made by other scholars, and many additions likewise. He has completely corrected the tendency to give undue attention to the signed vases in preference to the unsigned, by the discovery of anonymous artists possessing merit equal to that of any artist whose signature we possess.

Thanks, therefore, to Beazley in the main (for other scholars have contributed notably to the study), the characteristics of the most important painters of Athenian red-figure vases (down to the Meidias Painter), their relations to each other, in fact the real artistic history of Attic ceramics in the fifth century, have been made clear to any scholar who has a sufficient acquaintance with the material.

In saying this, I assume that Beazley's attributions are in the main right. From such opportunities as I have had of testing a small fraction of them, I can say that they most certainly *are* right—not necessarily all, but by very much the larger number; and I am convinced

that the examination of any impartial scholar will bear me out.

The present book contains very much more than the title leads you to expect. It is, in fact, at once a résumé of Beazley's various articles on vase-artists and the vehicle of a mass of new information of a similar kind. His descriptions of the important red-figure vases in America—interesting and valuable as they are in themselves—are but incidental in the whole book, the object of which is to attribute to their authors or schools most of the important known red-figure Attic vases from the earlier times to the Meidias Painter, and to trace the influence of one school on another.

The bulk of the book is taken up with bare enumerations and attributions of vases, and the remarks on the style and position of the various artists are cut down to the smallest possible compass. In fact, the whole book is exceedingly compressed. But Beazley's criticisms are always illuminating and very much to the point. They have a clear-cut character which leaves in the mind of the reader a vivid differentiation of the various artists. His criticism of Epiktetos that, 'you cannot draw better, you can only draw differently,' gives one at once the right way of thinking about archaic art. The description of the Pan Painter's figures as 'lean, surprising, devilishly elegant,' brings out most successfully their peculiar quality. Equally adequate are his descriptions of tendencies and influences—see the illuminating though brief description of the influence of painting on ceramics on page 142.

Minor objections can be made to some things, to occasional preciousness of style (would the Panaitios Painter have liked to be called an 'admirable anonym?'), to the christening of some of the nameless painters (the 'London Death and Sleep Painter' is certainly rather ludicrous), and to the arbitrary division of all vases into 'cups' and 'pots' (though here the objector should

be prepared to suggest something better).

The illustrations are admirably chosen and well produced. The indices are notably full and adequate.

What, it may be asked, is to be the upshot of these new discoveries in the region of vase-painting? At present, the information about them is possessed by a limited number of specialists alone, though Miss Herford's *Handbook of Greek Vase-Painting* should spread it more widely. One looks forward to the time when black-figure and late Attic vases have been thoroughly classified, and one would like to see a very simple history of Attic pottery written from the artistic side, dealing with the best works of the best artists only—something that would make comprehensible to the generally cultured public the style and position of such artists as, say, the Taleides Painter, the Berlin Master and the painter of the late Attic Peleus and Thetis, pelike from Rhodes in the British Museum.

A book of this kind, however, would

not be enough in itself; the museums would have to co-operate. It is to be hoped that directors, who are satisfied with the attributions made by Beazley and others, will group and label their vases accordingly. To label the works of the more important artists only would be quite sufficient as a beginning.

A wider knowledge of Greek vase-painting would be the best thing to counteract the still-existing conception of the average intelligent museum-visitor that Greek art is best represented by the chalk-like Roman copies of Greek sculpture, which fill so much space in many of the museums of Western Europe. Even the ordinary classical student is inclined to labour under the same impression. The intelligent study of Attic vases is an invaluable guide to what the average Athenian and average Athenian art were really like; and for this study the wide dissemination of the discoveries of Beazley and others is of the greatest importance.

E. M. W. T.

A HANDBOOK OF GREEK VASE PAINTING.

A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting.
By M. A. B. HERFORD. Manchester University Press (Longmans, Green and Co.). 9s. 6d. net.

A SHORT book of introduction to the study of Greek vases has long been needed in English, although there is a good little book in German by Buschor. Miss Herford has made a praiseworthy attempt to fill this need. In many points she has succeeded; and at any rate no one can complain that she has not packed a great deal of solid information into a small space. To write a good introduction to so complicated a subject is, however, a very difficult thing, and I think that Miss Herford, by attempting to say too much, has written a book which, by being too technical and by assuming a too high standard of knowledge, is unsuitable for a beginner. It would have been better if she could have resolutely excluded much matter, and arranged the remainder in a better and more easily

comprehensible form. Her obvious interest in and acquaintance with questions of technique has tempted her to give a quite disproportionate space to this side of the study, to the neglect of the historical and artistic side, in which a beginner is more likely to be interested. Had she confined her remarks on technique to Part I., where the general condition of the potter's craft, technique, shapes, etc., are clearly, shortly, and adequately discussed, it would have been much better, but the continuity of Part II. (Historical) is constantly being broken by technical discussions, which leave you with no clear idea of artistic growth—this applies specially to the treatment of Attic red-figure vases. For instance, Chapter VI. begins with a discussion of the transition from black to red-figure technique, in which the name of Andokides is mentioned. It goes on to discuss the use of *καλός*-names, under which heading the popularity of the *kylix* is mentioned, and Andokides,

although he has no connexion with *καλός*-names, is again discussed; and then refers to the *ἐποίησεν* and *ἔγραψεν* questions, which had already been treated in Part I. Such carelessness of arrangement is to be deplored.

The treatment of early vases (Chapter IV.) is clear and sufficient, but that of the latest Attic vases—of the Kertch and Cyrenaica type—and of the South Italian wares is not adequate. It is incorrect, for instance, to say (p. 103) that in the latest Attic wares 'polychromy carried all before it'; in the larger vases of this ware colour is merely an accessory. Nor is it true (p. 108) that of the South Italian wares Lucanian has the greatest affinity to Attic; the Campanian vases which Patroni

attributed to Saticula are generally much closer than average Lucanian work. The 'Pronomos' vase at Naples, figured on Plate II as Apulian, is not Apulian, but Attic.

In spite of the faults alluded to, the book is a good guide to technical questions, and is likely to prove a useful handbook to anyone who has already some knowledge of Greek vases.

I have noted one or two misprints: P. 14, 'apotropaic'; p. 88 (note), *ἄστρος* (for *ἄστρος*), and *μαυρός* (for *μαῦρος*); Plate IId, Median (for Meidian). On p. III, 'Roman rule at Paestum, under the new name of Posidonia,' 'Paestum' and 'Posidonia' have been inverted.

E. M. W. T.

A HANDBOOK OF ATTIC RED-FIGURED VASES.

A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases.

By J. C. HOPPIN. Vol. I. Harvard University Press. 35s. net.

PROFESSOR HOPPIN'S book is, as it were, a dictionary of Attic red-figure vases, comprising every vase which has been attributed to specific vase-painters, but wisely excluding such as have been quoted as being merely in the style of such-and-such a painter. It does not profess to be original, and is, in fact, a very valuable tabulation of all the work that has been done up to the present in grouping and attributing to different hands the mass of red-figure vases.

As further attributions are made, the book will need supplementing, and probably in some degree modifying; but, in spite of this, the date of publication is timely. The fact is that the main work on the vases of the best periods has been completed by Mr. J. D. Beazley—to whom Professor Hoppin pays a just acknowledgment in his Introduction—and it is only the latest Attic vases which await a definite classification. A summing up of results, therefore, is likely now to have something of a permanent value, and archæologists should be grateful to Professor Hoppin for having united in a single book all the scattered information concerning vase attributions.

Professor Hoppin has chosen to make his book primarily one of reference, and has ranged the various artists, under whose names the vases are enumerated, in alphabetical, not in (supposed) chronological, order—quite the most satisfactory classification in a book of this kind. A summary of subjects and shapes is added to the list of works of each artist. It is a little difficult to tell without the indices, which await the publication of Vol. II., how easy it will be to track down single vases—for it is upon the indices that the serviceableness of a book of this kind must largely depend. A museum index of vases (with catalogue numbers) and an index of references to publications would make the book into the handiest possible guide to a complicated and scattered material.

The task of any student who wishes to become acquainted with the best vase-artists of the fifth century will now be immensely facilitated, although the illustrations, numerous though they be, cannot enable one to dispense with the more detailed publications. To the student looking at vases in a museum the book should be a most useful guide.

[It may be noted that on p. 458 the Lewes Collection is wrongly located at Oxford instead of Cambridge.]

E. M. W. T.

GRATTI CYNEGETICON QUAE SUPERSUNT.

Gratti Cynegeticon Quae Supersunt. Cum Prolegomenis, Notis Criticis, Commentario Exegetico. Edidit P. J. ENK, Litt. Class. Doctor. Two volumes. Royal 8vo. Pp. 102 and 153, one plate and seven smaller illustrations. Zutphaniae, apud W. J. Thieme et Cie., 1918.

ON page 5 of the Introduction to this new edition of Grattius we read: 'De Grattii opere volventibus annis diversissime iudicatum est,' and the four pages which follow quote the opinions of scholars of all ages from Scaliger in the sixteenth century to Vollmer in the twentieth. The majority of these criticisms, more particularly those of the older scholars, are favourable, and some are even enthusiastic in their praise; but English writers on Latin literature appear to be unanimous in relegating Grattius to a very humble rank in the company of Roman poets, and this lack of appreciation comes as a surprise to the present editor, who nevertheless takes the opportunity of paying English literary criticism a graceful compliment: 'non placet (sc. Grattius) philologis Britannis; quod non exspectamus, cum eos noverimus tantum non semper poetarum Romanorum aequos callidosque iudices esse.' There is no doubt about the side to which the editor himself belongs; he is a stout champion of his author, and he gallantly and for the most part successfully wards off the more violent attacks that are directed against him. For example, both in his Introduction and in his Commentary, he is at great pains to show that Grattius is not, as some scholars, especially Pierleoni, have sought to prove, a mere slavish imitator of Virgil, 'poetam venaticum raro ipsa Maronis verba in suum transtulisse carmen,' and again in the note on Grattius' description of Vulcan's cave, 'vides Grattium hic quoque, verbis est specus ingens exceptis, alia dare atque Vergilium,' and similarly in other places, see especially the notes on vv. 144, 377, and 410. Pierleoni, we readily concede, has gone to absurd lengths in collecting parallels in Virgil and Grattius, and Curcio also errs in

the same direction; on the other hand, in addition to several almost identical phrases, certain longer passages are in their general features so reminiscent of Virgil as to leave little doubt in the mind of an unbiased observer that Grattius was consciously using his greater contemporary as a model; compare especially the description of Vulcan's cave, *Cyn.* 430-450, with *Aeneid* 6, 236-259, and also *Cyn.* 408 ff. with *Georgics* 3, 441 ff. But the short summing up on page 26 can hardly be termed extravagant in its claims on behalf of Grattius; the editor shows an exemplary restraint in his judgment 'non est magnus poeta, longe posthabendus Vergilio, divino illi vati,' and few will dispute the justice of his complaint 'nimis inique de eo iudicant Pierleoni quique cum eo stant.'

In constructing his text the editor has carefully considered all variant readings and suggested emendations, and on the whole a judicious choice has been made. In v. 142, however, the retention of *generosa* is metrically very harsh; such a lengthening in the unstressed part of the foot is, to say the least, unlikely, and the easy emendation to *generosam*, first suggested by Wernsdorf, is almost certainly correct. Nor is the editor's conjecture *sparsa* for *falsa* in v. 203 likely to find favour; it is very hard to believe that a careful versifier like Grattius ('rei metricae peritissimus,' as the editor himself tells us) could have ended a line with *delige sparsa*. The editor informs us that Grattius usually leaves the quantity of a final short syllable unaltered before two initial consonants in the word following, 'vocalis brevis ante duos consonantes apud Grattium fere nusquam producitur'; but in the examples adduced (II. 55), of the two initial consonants the second is invariably the liquid *r*, and to support a proposed reading *deligē sparsa* by *sanguinē crescet* or *excernerē pravos* reveals a surprising ignorance of the rules of Latin versification.

The Protean variety of shape in which the Latinised names of several scholars masquerade is rather amusing, but at times tends to mystify the reader.

Schenkl appears in the following guises: *H. Schenkl*, *Henricus Schenkl*, *H. Schenklus*, *Henricus Schenklus*, *Schenkelius*, and plain *Schenkl*. On one page we read 'defendit *Vollmer*,' on the next 'interpunxit *Vollmerus*'; similarly 'Postgate putat,' but 'Postgatus interpungit.' Again, Vol. I. 34, l. 25 we find *apographum* (acc.), but l. 29 of the same page *apographon* (acc.). In the list of dissertations (I. 39) there is no obvious reason for interposing half a page of other references between different articles by Radermacher and by Curcio.

Against these comparatively trifling blemishes, which a close revision would soon rectify, must be set the many praiseworthy features of this edition. Vol. I. gives us a useful introduction (pp. 1-35) and bibliography (pp. 35-40), a carefully weighed text with good apparatus criticus (pp. 42-72)—'viro-
rum doctorum coniecturas in apparatu critico multo plures commemoravi quam Vollmerus' is the editor's claim—and an excellent *index verborum* (pp. 75-100);

Vol. II. contains a very full Commentary (153 pages—the text and apparatus criticus occupy only 30 pages) with copious extracts from ancient and modern authors in illustration of the more difficult technical passages; the different methods of netting and snaring are carefully explained with diagrams and illustrations, and it is obvious that the editor has spared himself no trouble in his search for passages from Latin and Greek writers which can in any way illuminate the text he is expounding. Perhaps it is not altogether unseasonable to call attention to an excursus on rabies (II. 150-152) consisting of a long quotation from Brehm, which gives us a most vivid description of the symptoms of this 'mala atque incondita pestis.'

A few misprints have been noted, I. 23, l. 22 *saepa*, I. 32, l. 9 *flammae*, and II. 70, l. 11, where the reference should be to v. 142 (not v. 144).

G. E. K. BRAUNHOLTZ.

Middlesex Regiment.

THE PARAVIA EDITIONS OF THE MINOR WORKS OF TACITUS.

Cornelii Taciti: (1) *Dialogus de Oratoribus*. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica et indicibus instruxit FRIDERICUS CAROLUS WICK. Pp. xxiv+60. L. 1.50.

(2) *De Vita Julii Agricolae Liber*. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica instruxit CAESAR ANNIBALDI. Accedunt De Cornelio Tacito testimonia uetera a Carolo Pascal collecta. Pp. xx+54. L. 1.25.

(3) *De Origine et situ Germanorum Liber*. Ad fidem praecipue codicis Aesini recensuit, praefatus est CAESAR ANNIBALDI. Appendicem criticam in Taciti libellum, scriptorum Romanorum de Germanis ueteribus testimonia selecta adiecit Carolus Pascal. Pp. xii+62. L. 1.25.

(Torino: Stamperia Reale di G. B. Paravia e Comp.)

It is particularly appropriate that of the recent Paravia texts of the minor works of Tacitus two should have been edited by Professor Cesare Annibaldi;

for it was he who made the momentous discovery some sixteen years ago of a manuscript at Iesi containing, along with *Dictys Cretensis*, both the *Agricola* and the *Germania*, and including one quaternion considered to be a veritable portion of the *Codex Hersfeldensis* of the ninth or tenth century, the source from which are derived all known manuscripts of the minor works, whether the number be fourteen, as in the case of the *Dialogus*, or only four, as in the case of the *Agricola*. And even those four mark an advance. When Furneaux published his edition of the *Agricola* in 1898, there were available just two manuscripts of the text, both in the Vatican; but within a few years the find at Toledo of the *Codex Toletanus* and at Iesi of the *Aesinus* doubled the witnesses at least numerically, though they did not prove to be independent of the Hersfeld tradition.

These volumes very satisfactorily fulfil the admirable purpose of the

series, which is to provide for Italy at a reasonable price a collection of Latin texts critically revised by scholars of recognised competence. Questions of subject-matter are, therefore, not dealt with except in so far as the general editor of the series, Professor Pascal of Pavia, has added to the *Agricola* a Latin life of the subject of the biography and a collection of the ancient information regarding its author, and has equipped the *Germania* with a most suggestive, because historically illuminating, set of passages testifying to the opinions of the ancient world about the Germans.

As all three works were contained in the *Codex Hersfeldensis*, it is natural that the prefaces should to some extent traverse the same ground, and concern themselves with the history and character of the parent manuscript and its descendants; with Sabbadini's discovery in 1901 of Decembrio's note on the contents of the *Hersfeldensis*, and with the discovery of the *Codex Aesinus*. As regards the date of this latter discovery, it is a remarkable slip that the prefaces (as it were, in neglect of Lord Melbourne's famous advice) do not say the same thing. Wick, *Dialogus*, p. vi, after recording Sabbadini's discovery 'anno 1901 ineunte' goes on to record the find of the *Aesinus* 'insequenti anno,' i.e. 1902. Annibaldi—who as the actual discoverer ought to know—in his *Germania*, p. vii, gives 'MXMII,' presumably for 'MCMII,' but in his *Agricola*, p. vi, 'MCMIII.'

Wick's *praefatio* contains a careful account of the earlier editions and of the chief manuscripts of the *Dialogus*. He also furnishes reasons for his disagreement with Gudeman's opinion that the Hersfeld archetype had few contractions. It is not part of the scheme to discuss the authorship of the work, and yet, as Lipsius' edition is mentioned, allusion might have been made to his doubt concerning its Tacitean origin; in fact, some might be misled as to Lipsius' attitude by the logical implication of 'reliquorum' in the editor's remark, 'tamen ut reliquorum Taciti operum, sic etiam *Dialogi* dignam quae legeretur editionem primus emisit Antuerpiae a. 1574 Iustus Lipsius eam-

que iterum iterumque meliorem fecit.' The problems connected with a first and second gap in the *Dialogus* are alluded to without any pretence at full discussion.

The scale of the volume makes it unreasonable to demand anything like the ample apparatus criticus which Gudeman gives; as it is, the main manuscript variants are adequately reported with a fair number of outstanding emendations. Several conjectures by the editor are incorporated in the text, of which it may be said that some, like *reliquae illae* and *opportune et* for well-known difficulties in chapters 21 and 22, are more deserving of consideration than the counsel of despair which prompts for the much amended *sicut his . . . clam* in chapter 26 the bare substitution of *uox*. One cannot choose but wish that the letters denoting the MSS. of the same text could be fixed, so as to simplify what may be called the algebra of the critical apparatus in comparing different editions. As things are, Gudeman's A=Wick's B; and Wick's C=Gudeman's D. A good deal of needless focusing and refocusing is the result of the present variation of *sigla*.

Annibaldi's attitude to his text is more conservative than Wick's to his. This follows inevitably from Annibaldi's belief that the *Aesinus* is for part of the *Agricola* actually the *Hersfeldensis*, and that the rest of the *Agricola* and the whole of the *Germania* were copied direct from the *Hersfeldensis*—a view which Wissowa does not hold. Annibaldi agrees, therefore, with Sabbadini 'che nel codice Esino i critici dovranno pur riconoscere come il massimo sostegno del testo e quale unico apografo diretto dell' archetipo hersfeldese.' He regards the *Toletanus* as a copy of the *Aesinus*. Consequently these MSS., E and T, have for him a preponderating value, and he states in a note prefixed to the *Agricola*, 'hoc curauimus ut ab illo uetustissimo Aesino libro . . . nisi cum necessitas cogeret, nunquam discederemus.' And certainly it is of interest to observe how often E and T confirm old emendations proposed on the readings of the other two MSS. Thus, in *Agr.* 15, 5, their *felicibus* sup-

plies the need felt by Acidalius in conjecturing *integrīs*; at 17, 3, *subiit* written above the line in E is a corroboration of a suggested insertion by Halm to account for the *-que* in *sustinuitque*; 18, 4, ET confirm, if confirmation be necessary, Gronovius' change of *dubiis* to *subitis*; 18, 5, the reading of E, *patrius*, proves Puteolanus right; and 19, 1, *iniuriæ* of ET justifies Puteolanus' alteration of *incuriæ*.

Without making extravagant demands on space, more of the best emendations might well have been reported where the text is specially troublesome: e.g. Agr. 6, 4, Lipsius' *moderationis* for *mediorationis*; and 9, 3, *avaritiam* for *avaritiam*. In 15, 3, the record of the two MSS. readings *manum* and *manus* is hardly sufficient help in a passage which has exercised the minds of many commentators; and at 19, 4, where, for the familiar crux *ac ludere pretio* in AB, Wex's conjecture *ac luere* is supported by ET, one would have welcomed mention of such conjectures as *ac liceri*, *ac recludere*, and *auctiore*. At 31, 5, for the impossible *in paenitentiam laturo* only Wölfflin's *in patientiam bellaturi* is recorded; and in 42, 5, *escendere* for *excedere* decidedly requires a comment that it was Lipsius' suggestion. This reticence is especially noticeable in the two cruces of chapter 28, where the note on *remigante* proceeds to the rather too summary dismissal 'alia alii conati

sunt,' and that on the 'locus insanabilis' *ad aquam atque ut illa raptis se*, after recording Halm's and Nipperdey's prescriptions, concludes 'cetera uirorum doctorum conamina omittimus.' Probably even a junior student wants more food than to be told elsewhere 'permulti alii in diuersa abierunt.'

The ancient *testimonia* as to Tacitus' life and writings will be found very useful, although a chronological order of sources might have been even more instructive than the alphabetical. Since the whole of the letters addressed by Pliny to Tacitus, and not merely those in which Tacitus' name occurs, may be held to constitute *testimonia* in a sense, a list of the letters to Tacitus is judiciously added to the quotations. By some curious oversight, however, Pliny VII. 33 is omitted. The editors are to be congratulated on the proof-reading in general. Among a few slight errors noticed are *longiquitas*, Agr. 31; *ad decus* for *ac decus*, Agr. 33; and *expunta* on p. 37 of the apparatus criticus. In the critical note on Agr. 18 '*patrius* EB Puteolanus; *prius* A; *prius* B; *proprius* Wex,' one guesses that EB is wrong for ET, for B is reported in the same note to read *prius*.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

Armstrong College,
University of Durham,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

BOETHIUS.

Boethius, The Theological Treatises, with an English Translation by H. F. STEWART, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and E. K. RAND, Ph.D., Professor of Latin in Harvard University. *The Consolation of Philosophy*, with the English Translation of 'L.T.' (1609). Loeb Classical Library. One vol. Pp. xiv+420. London: William Heinemann, 1919. 7s. 6d. net.

THE wisdom of including Boethius among the volumes of the Loeb Classical Library is fully justified by the issue of this admirable edition, which, besides

the *Philosophiæ Consolatio* (in which Philosophy, as a comely woman, holds converse with Boethius), contains the five brief theological treatises which are now, we believe, translated for the first time. The familiar dialogue, with the thirty-nine poems in a variety of metres, invests the *Consolatio* with peculiar interest. It contains so much that is beautiful in sentiment that the reader is instinctively moved to claim for it a more exalted place than its theistic colouring would seem to warrant. Without a trace of direct Christian doctrine, it yet abounds in religious suggestiveness; it is, in short, a philosophy that

is dominated by something greater than itself. There is an undercurrent which may be fitly described as a stream of Christian influence that is content to flow without positively asserting itself. It is a philosophy that believes in the efficacy of prayer and the workings of divine providence—elements that minister to the consolation of the distressed. It is interesting to follow out the relationship of a philosophy that sees God to be all in all, to the Christian theology as laid down in the *Tractates*, which addresses itself to the faith as well as to the intellect. The consolation derived from philosophy develops a theory that rises to the supreme height of face-to-face recognition of the Infinite, and places absolute dependence on the verities of religion, so that we may say the one forms the complement of the other, the faculty of the understanding being actively employed in the unravelling of divine mysteries. While the *Consolatio* sets forward a philosophy calculated to banish sorrow, the *Tractates* are to be distinguished as centralising in a philosophy that concerns itself with a higher sphere. Hence we welcome the combined contents of the volume before us. The much-debated question as to whether Boethius was, at the time of writing the *Consolatio*, a professed Christian will doubtless continue to disturb some minds; the exclusion, however, of definite statements as to Christian faith and practice need not be held to convey the idea of abstention therefrom, when, for aught we know, prudence may have called for momentary reserve. The design of the *Consolatio* was, doubtless, viewed from a standpoint with which we are unacquainted, yet, at all events, it may be said to approach the domain of the faith that inspires a Christian. The philosophic system that engrossed the attention of Boethius is deduced in the main from the tenets of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle, which has caused him to be regarded as a Stoic rather than a Christian. He certainly draws largely upon these sources, but he is to a great extent his own interpreter. Several passages in his poems are reminiscent of Latin authors, while one of the most delightful of his sets of verses (accom-

panied by an equally dignified translation) is founded on the first part of Plato's *Timæus*; indeed, two whole chapters in Book IV. are a kind of paraphrase of the *Gorgias*.

The text of the *Consolatio* used by Dr. Rand is based upon the investigations of the best authorities, with whose labours he is familiar. The production of the *Opuscula Sacra* in the form here presented is in every way a distinct gain to classical and theological literature; they exhibit constructive reasoning and a deep insight of a very high order. Boethius is eminent among scholastic theologians in elucidating those nice distinctions that distracted the minds of Christian controversialists in the days of the Arian feuds. On the assumption, mainly, that the Christian element is altogether wanting in the *Consolatio*, the authenticity of these theological treatises (dedicated respectively to Boethius' father-in-law and to John the Deacon) has been questioned, but on insufficient grounds. The controverted point has now, we may assume, been definitely set at rest by the confirmatory evidence of a fragment of Cassiodorus, in which certain of these tracts are positively ascribed to his friend Boethius. But apart from this discovery, internal evidence seems to support the authorship of Boethius. A connection between the diverse writings of our author exists in the true conception of God, as set out in the *Consolatio*, when viewed side by side with the presentation in the *Tractates* of the One in whom unity centres and all fulness dwells. The divinity formulated in the philosophy of Boethius, while it rises to a sublime height in the *Consolatio*, only attains the summit in the clearer revelation of the attributes of the divine personality portrayed in the *Tractates*. These latter were written in the earlier years of Boethius' life. As precise statements of cherished Christian dogma, designed to counteract the errors of Arius and others, they furnish us with a clear insight into the sublimities of the Catholic faith. These views were certainly brought prominently forward, and the contentions of Boethius for the faith gave strength to the movement. In his theological

treatises, based in large measure on the writings of St. Augustine, Boethius freely adopted the current terms employed in the controversy, e.g. *substantia* (ὕποστασις), *persona* (πρόσωπον), *subsistentia*, *essentia* (οὐσία), etc., but with some perplexing variations probably due to Aristotelian influence. His definition of *persona*, 'naturae rationabilis individua substantia,' was received by St. Thomas and the Schoolmen as classical. The *Consolatio* clearly had another object and purpose in view than Christian propaganda; faith and reason must for the nonce be regarded apart, after the manner of the Schoolmen. Written as life was closing, in the solitude of his prison, Boethius may even have deemed it advisable, for purposes we fail to recognise, to do more than regard the philosophical side of life. This could be effected without disparagement of the higher Christian teaching, without ignoring or slighting it. In the lofty utterances of the *Consolatio*, wherein foundation truths are enforced in respect of man's relationship to God, there may be found a ready means of access to higher things. Certainly the metaphysical theology of Boethius—his attempt to enable the finite mind to grasp the Infinite—is at once stimulating and progressive. The Tractates are altogether on a different level, but the process of reasoning is not dissimilar, and we arrive at the conclusion that the philosophy of consolation and the dictates embodied in the Christian religion are one and the same, in principle and purpose, and are directed to a like end. The combination of the Tractates in one volume with the *Consolatio* appears to us highly judicious, emphasising not only the individuality of the writer, but marking the interdependence of the several works, the one upon the other. No other works of Boethius would need to be put to such a test. Certain it is that the philosophical consolation advanced by him is far in advance of any system of the ancients that preceded him. Although there is no trace of Christian doctrine in the *Consolatio*, it abounds in religious suggestiveness that is very comprehensive, while its beautiful and

impressive language glows with a fervour that is all-embracing.

Dr. Stewart has translated the Tractates with singular felicity. The task, by no means an easy one, has been accomplished with exceptional vigour and grace. In regard to the *Consolatio*, choice has been made of the excellent translation which appeared in 1609, bearing the initials 'L.T.' It is bold and clear, and the verse portions delightful. It is not the first time that the *Consolation* has appeared in an edition having the Latin and an English translation side by side, on the plan adopted in the Loeb series. *The Comforte of Philosophie, or Wysdome moche Necessary for All Men to Read and Know* was in a similar form. It was the work of George Colville, printed partly in black letter in 1556 by John Cawoode, and dedicated to Queen Mary. The *Consolation*, as translated by Chaucer, printed by Caxton, also appeared (in a somewhat attenuated dress) in Latin and English; only a few lines of the Latin verse in each section are given, the entire period following in the English prose translation, accompanied by a rendering of the text. Chaucer's words associated with the title are significant: 'In this Book are handled high and hard obscure Points—viz. The Purveyance of God, the Force of Destiny, the Freedom of our Wills, and the Infallible Prescience of the Almighty; and that the Contemplation of God Himself is our *Summum Bonum*.' The varied descriptions of the *Consolation* by different editors and translators is quite remarkable, and goes far to establish the wide acceptance of the work. The popularity of Boethius is fully attested by the very numerous MSS. and printed editions, particularly the *Consolation*, which as 'a golden volume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully' (Gibbon), will assuredly retain its reputation in the world of letters as a sterling classic and a storehouse of wise counsel. As an illustration of the quality of the translation of 'L.T.,' the following passage, taken at random, which is indicative of Boethius' attachment to music (uttered under stress of adversity), may be quoted:

'Musica laris nostri uernacula nunc leuiores nunc grauiores modos succinat' ('Let music, a little slave belonging to our house, chant sometime lighter and sometime sadder notes').

It is a cause for regret that the editors have made no attempt to supply a bibliography (one of the usual features that distinguish the Loeb volumes). We are well aware of the exacting nature of such a task, but in regard to

the works of Boethius it seems to be specially called for. The Introduction is brief, and the footnotes throughout the volume, although somewhat slight, are useful, particularly where the relevancy of a passage corresponding to related statements need to be emphasised. We have observed but one error (p. 15, l. 18), where 'sun' is a misprint for 'Son.'

C. H. EVELYN-WHITE.

SHORT NOTICES

Patriotic Poetry, Greek and English. By W. RHYS ROBERTS, Litt.D. Pp. vii-135. London: John Murray. 3s. 6d. net.

THIS small but very stimulating volume is an expansion of an address delivered on the Feast of St. Crispin, 1915 (the five-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Agincourt), to the Literary and Historical Society of Leeds University, and to the boys of St. Peter's School, York. Taking as his text the well-known lines in the *Persians* of Aeschylus,

ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε,
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρίων ἕδη
θῆκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.

and reminding his hearers that 1915 happens to be a year of centenaries of events of the greatest significance in the history of the nations, Professor Rhys Roberts gives an admirable survey of the patriotic element in Greek and English poetry in general, together with a more specific notice of that element in Homer, Aeschylus, and Shakespeare. Having first illustrated the inner meaning of the word 'patriotism,' and described the attitude of such representative patriots as Achilles and Henry V. towards the country of their birth, the lecturer proceeds to show how the basic national ideals for which the Greeks fought at Salamis were not essentially different from those for which the British nation has been fighting during the Great European War, and how the results which we fervently hope will accrue from our

victory—namely, Peace, Humanity, and Progress—are exactly those to which Aeschylus looked forward after the repulse of the Barbarians twenty-four centuries ago.

Delivered as this lecture was during the dark days of 1915, when the shadow of Loos was looming over the land and our Cause did not seem to be prospering, it must have given renewed confidence and inspiration to those whose privilege it was to hear it. Professor Roberts obviously felt that at such a crisis he was called upon to do something more than give his hearers a mass of instructive and interesting information, that it was his duty to 'stablish his brethren' in their hour of trial by reminding them of the glorious British traditions of service and sacrifice enshrined in our national literature, and to convey to them a message of hope from those war-tried heroes of old time, who, being dead, yet speak to us still from the pages of the Ancient Classics. The theme which he has chosen allows him an excellent opportunity of giving full play to his native Celtic eloquence, and, if one may say so, he is in a position of great advantage in that he is a Welshman, not an Englishman—he can extol the English ideal to an extent to which an average Englishman, through very shyness, could not bring himself to glorify it. Although the war is now happily ended, this 'war-time book' cannot by any means be said to have outlived its usefulness. Whatever contributes towards inculcating healthy national ideals in

face of the growing menace of a decadent internationalism will be welcomed by patriotic Britons for many years to come.

There are copious references throughout the book, and the reader will find the fifty pages of supplementary notes most illuminating. T.

The Neo-Platonists. By THOMAS WHITTAKER. (Second Edition). One volume. 8vo. Pp. xv+318. Cambridge: University Press, 1918. 12s. net.

IN this second edition Mr. Whittaker has added to the value of his well-known work by a considerable Supplement of nearly 100 pages dealing with Proclus. Taking advantage of the recent Teubner texts of the *Commentaries*, Mr. Whittaker gives a careful and lucid summary of their contents, aiming to bring out the 'real originality and historical importance' of the Athenian School as represented by its most conspicuous teacher. This skilful exposition should do much to redeem the reputation of Proclus from the charge—too lightly brought, and too readily believed by critics at second-hand—that he was merely a scholastic commentator, erudite indeed but lacking in original ability. New matter is also presented in the Appendix on 'The Gnostics,' Mr. Whittaker having modified his view of the relation of Gnosticism to Christianity in the light of more recent studies, such as those of Reitzenstein. Altogether, the work in its new form should prove doubly welcome to all students of ancient thought.

R. G. B.

Manuel des Etudes grecques et latines. Par L. LAURAND. Fascicule IV.: Géographie, Histoire, Institutions romaines, 1917; Fascicule V.: Littérature latine, 1918. Paris: Auguste Picard. Each 2fr. sewn; 3fr. in boards.

PROFESSOR LAURAND, who is honourably known for his studies in Ciceronian

style and rhythm, is issuing in eight parts, totalling about 800 pages, a comprehensive handbook of classical culture. The first three numbers, which treat of Greek subjects, do not seem to have been noticed in this Review; Part VI. will deal with Latin grammar, Part VII. with metres and certain other subordinate subjects; while Part VIII. will contain full indices. The present two numbers contain pages 379-622 of the whole work. We are not attracted by such 'peptonised' learning, nor is it likely to help greatly any class of students. But it is concise, accurate, up-to-date, and correctly printed. To English readers the only interest will lie in the bibliographies, which are very full for a work of this size, and will probably suggest some French works hitherto unknown to most. The lists of English works given are good, though sometimes curiously incomplete: e.g. under Tacitus Furneaux' *Agricola* is omitted, though his *Germania* is named.

E. E. GENNER.

Jesus College,
Oxford.

Translations of Early Documents. (I.) *The Book of Jubilees, or, The Little Genesis.* Translated from the Ethiopic by R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D., with an Introduction by G. H. Box. Pp. 224. S.P.C.K. 4s. net. (II.) *The Apocalypse of Ezra.* Translated from the Syriac, with brief annotations by G. H. Box. Pp. 115. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net. (III.) *The Apocalypse of Abraham.* Edited, with a translation from the Slavonic, and Notes, by G. H. Box and J. I. LANDSMAN. Also, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, by R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D., with an Introduction by G. H. Box. Pp. 162. S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d. net.

THESE Hellenistic and Palestinian Jewish documents have much in common. Designed as they are to give effect to the study of Christian origins, they have a special value and importance. The authors of these pseudepigraphic writings probably sought by the free use of the names they bear to amplify and embellish the sacred

story in such a way as to create and maintain what may have been regarded as a waning interest in the Divine revelation. (I.) *The Book of Jubilees* is so called from a division into jubilee periods of forty-nine years of a revelation said to have been given to Moses through the medium of an angel. The subtitle is due to the narrative largely corresponding to that in the Book of Genesis. The matter is singularly diversified with all manner of fable and legend, angelology and demonology, including a plea for the re-constitution of the calendar, then a subject of controversy. The original was possibly the work of a Hebrew priest who wrote either towards the close of the second century B.C., or at latest in the first century of our era, and expresses the opinions of a large and influential section of the Jewish people. The Ethiopic and Latin versions are based upon a Greek text. Dr. Charles' translation (first published in 1902) is grounded upon all the known MSS. (II.) *The Apocalypse of Ezra* (2 Esdras iii.-xiv.) is now only extant in Latin and Oriental translations, severally based upon a non-existing Greek version from a lost Hebrew text, possibly of early second-century date. The appended notes are of considerable in-

terest. (III.) *The Apocalypse of Abraham* has been preserved in old Slavonic literature, the oldest MS. (*Codex Sylvester*), taken from the Greek, being now in the library of the Holy Synod in Moscow, and is of fourteenth-century date. The Apocalyptic section rests upon the story of Abraham's sacrifice and trance. *The Ascension of Isaiah* appeared in a translation from the original Greek in 1900, with Dr. Charles' interpretation and criticism; the principal extant version is Ethiopic. There is a remarkable description of the seven heavens. These pseudepigraphical writings seem to have found their way into Russia at an early date. They contain much that is curious, and strange are the inferences drawn from the canonical books. A prevailing pessimistic view of the world in most of these documents doubtless reflects the then popular Jewish feeling.

BOLSHEVISM.

χαίρω εὐνομίᾳ καλὰ τ' ἦθεα· πολλῶ δμεινον
δῆμῳ συμμαχέουσ' ἀρπαγαὶ ἡδὲ φόνοι.

T. C. WEATHERHEAD.

OBITUARY

PROFESSOR F. HAVERFIELD.

PROFESSOR HAVERFIELD'S sudden death on October 1 is a heavy loss to Roman studies in England, and in particular to the study of Roman Britain. We cannot write over him *Felix opportunitate mortis*. He was not far past the prime of life, his powers and his knowledge were mature, his work was far from done. The illness which overtook him at the end of 1915 abated his natural force, but did not impair his mental powers nor weaken his intellectual interests. He even began new pieces of work, including a guide to the Roman Wall (would that he could have finished it!); but the times were unfavourable to serious

learned work, and the horrors of the war—the shattering of ideals, the severance of old friendships, the loss of dear friends, the break-up of University life, the long years of anxiety—all told severely upon him.

He had a strong individuality and a forceful personality. Warm-hearted, generous, and loyal, he was direct and incisive in thought and speech, and in earlier life his candour was apt to express itself in brusqueness of manner when he encountered sham or pretentiousness or other kinds of foolishness, but he bore no malice: *honestius putabat offendere quam odisse*. He was as shrewd in practical life as in his

learned work; a striking tribute was paid in 1908 to his sanity and independence of judgment when he was returned as a member of the Hebdomadal Council in defiance of all the caucuses.

It was characteristic of him to leave Oxford in 1884 without any special reputation (ability tends to go only where interest draws it), and to have established his name as a Roman historian before 1891, when he was invited to take up the teaching of Roman history in Christ Church. During his seven or eight years of schoolmastering he found his real work, and used his holidays to lay deep the foundations of his unrivalled knowledge of Romano-British antiquities. But he did not stop there. Knowing that the work of the Romans in Britain could not be understood nor appreciated without a thorough knowledge of the Empire and its civilisation as a whole, he set himself to get such knowledge at first hand by extensive travel in Europe as far as the recesses of the Carpathians. Coming into contact with Mommsen, he was invited to take charge of the Roman epigraphy of Britain for the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions, which had till then been in Huebner's hands. His first contribution to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* was ready in 1889, his last was finished in 1912.

Round this commission developed his study of Roman Britain. He carried it on in the intervals of college duties, both educational and administrative, and the value of his work was publicly recognised before he was elected in 1907 to the Camden Professorship by his appointment as Rhind Lecturer in Scotland (1905-6) and as Ford Lecturer in Oxford (1906-7). His special work—not always appreciated and sometimes depreciated as 'specialism' even by University teachers—gave to all his teaching and writing that firm grip and that note of reality which are denied to men of mere book-learning. Partly to this he owed his great success as a lecturer, partly to his concise and almost Tacitean style, partly to the fact that he knew better than to fling exhaustive discourses,

references and all, at the heads of his hearers. In lectures, as in business, he went straight to the heart of things.

His great service to history is that he put the story of Roman rule in Britain on a sure basis, introducing science where sciolism had reigned. Before his time, in his own trenchant words, 'prae ceteris hos nostros (antiquarios) scribendi quoddam cacoethes invasit. Eduntur societatum archaeologicarum acta, transactiones sive memorias quas vocant, rudis indigestaque moles et sepulchro potius archaeologiae quam monumento futura.' Besides his own learned work, he did much to educate and stimulate local antiquaries, who responded by making him President of many of their societies. He was also the moving spirit in the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. His literary output was considerable, but the mass of it is scattered (and buried) in learned periodicals. It is a bitter disappointment that his Ford Lectures, so highly appreciated as they were, did not lead to the publication of a comprehensive account of Roman Britain. The hope may still be cherished that these Lectures will see the light: later discovery has not materially affected them. The small volumes on the *Romanisation of Roman Britain*, first published in 1905 and now in its third edition, on the *Military Aspects of Roman Wales* (1910), and on *Ancient Town-Planning* (1913), are all models of precise, terse, and lucid exposition, bright in style and balanced in judgment. His other numerous monographs on Roman History and Roman Britain would make up several volumes. It is highly desirable that the more important of these, particularly the admirable accounts of Roman towns contributed to the *Victoria County History* and to learned journals, should be brought together. They would furnish a good picture of the development of town life, and go far to lessen the void which the author's great knowledge alone could have adequately filled.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

Christ Church, Oxford.

B. B. ROGERS.

A SPECIAL tribute is due to the memory of Benjamin Bickley Rogers, M.A., Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, and Barrister-at-law, who throughout a long and busy professional life never abandoned his early-chosen literary work. So far back as 1852 he published his translation of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, and finally completed his great edition of all the surviving comedies with the second edition of the same play in 1915.

It would hardly be possible to praise too highly his achievement as a translator. At first it was the custom for reviewers of his books as they appeared, play after play, to say that he was a good second to Frere. In reality his versions are incomparably superior in every point. They possess an extraordinary spirit and vigour, and possibly in this minor but, of course, essential respect Frere may be his equal. But in poetical power, in metrical resource, in delicacy of touch and melodious phrasing, in depth of appreciation, closeness of rendering, terse command of language, and every attribute of high scholarship, Mr. Rogers stands pre-eminent: Frere is not in the field. For English readers, whether acquainted or unacquainted with Greek, Mr. Rogers has produced the one and only version of Aristophanes.

To his competence as a commentator and critic his notes bear amplest witness. He was conservative in the best sense in his treatment of the text, making few alterations of his own, ever intolerant of nonsense, and criticising with unflinching perspicacity, lucidity, and humour the suggestions and opinions of others. He could not pen a dull

line. It has even been said that his critical appendices were the most attractive and interesting part of his books.

He wrote admirable Introductions to the several plays, and all with a charm of manner and style peculiarly his own. He highly appreciated the great English critics to whose penetration and judgment the received text owes so great a debt—Bentley, Porson, Elmsley, Dawes, Tyrwhitt, Dobree, etc.—nor did he fail to make use of more recent criticism whenever it appeared. With the wilder flights, however, of the modern destructive Higher Criticism, as it calls itself, he had little sympathy. 'It has,' he says in his appendix to the *Peace*, 'dealt gently with the old Attic Comedy. No one has yet discovered that a play of Aristophanes is a thing of shreds and patches put together by the order of Peisistratus; or that it was composed by Lord Bacon, or in the days of the Maccabees. Doubtless these things will come in good time; else how will the professorial mind amuse itself in all the centuries to be?'

I cannot do better than close with a single typical specimen of Mr. Rogers' work:

Wasps, 1051-9:

But O for the future, my masters, pray;
Show more regard for a genuine bard
Who is ever inventing amusements new
And fresh discoveries, all for you.
Make much of his play, and store it away,
And into your wardrobes throw it
With the citrons sweet: and if this you do,
Your clothes will be fragrant, the whole year
through,
With the volatile wit of the Poet.

T. L. AGAR.

NOTES AND NEWS

Discovery, a new monthly periodical at sixpence, dealing with interesting points of progress in all subjects, ought to command the sympathies and the subscriptions of all our readers. It is supported by leading men in all

branches of learning, and the board of management will include representatives of a number of specialist associations. But the periodical is intended for educated men, not for specialists in particular.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Aeschylus. Agamemnon.* Translated by R. K. Davis. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. x + 70. Oxford: Blackwell, 1919. Half cloth, paper boards, 4s. 6d. net.
- Allison (Sir R.) Lucretius on the Nature of Things.* Translated into English Verse. $8'' \times 6''$. Pp. xxxii + 275. London: A. L. Humphreys, 1919. Half buckram, 7s. 6d. net.
- Andreadis (A. M.) Dilke and Greece.* $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 48. London: Hesperia Press, 1919.
- Cook (Sir Edward). Literary Recreations* Pp. x + 330. *More Literary Recreations.* Pp. xxiv + 398. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. 7s. 6d. net each.
- Dobson (J. F.) The Greek Orators.* $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. viii + 321. London: Methuen and Co., 1919. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Dottin (G.) La Langue Gauloise, Grammaire, Textes et Glossaire.* $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xviii + 364. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1920. Fr. 10.
- Fiske (G. C.) The Plain Style in the Scipionic Circle.* Reprinted from University of Wisconsin Studies, No. 3, Pp. 62-105. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$.
- Freeman (C. E.) Latin Poetry, from Catullus to Claudian.* $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 176. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919. Limp cloth, 3s. net.
- Hackett (J. T.) My Commonplace Book.* $9'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. Pp. xxii + 403. London: Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1919. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Harrison (J. E.) Aspects, Aorists, and the Classical Tripos.* $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Cambridge University Press, 1919. 2s. 6d. net.
- Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen.* Herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann. $8'' \times 5''$. Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae, iterum edidit Siegfried Sudhaus, 1914. Pp. 104. M. 2. Cloth, M. 2.40. Novae Comoediae Fragmenta in papyris reperta exceptis Menandris ed. Otto Schroeder, 1915. Pp. 78. M. 2. P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica cum auctoribus et imitatoribus in usum scholarum ed. Carolus Hosius, 1915. Pp. 64. M. 1. Cloth, M. 1.50. Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi in usum scholarum ed. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 1916. Pp. 58. M. 1.60.
- Lewis (L. W. P.) Practical Hints on the Teaching of Latin.* $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xviii + 210. London: Macmillan and Co., 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.
- London Mercury.* Edited by J. C. Squire. Vol. I., No. 1. $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xxix + 128. London: Field Press, Ltd., November, 1919. Paper, 2s. 6d.
- Menander.* See *Kleine Texte*.
- Minuncius Felix (Octavius).* Edited by the Rev. T. Fahy, B.D. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. ix + 196. Educational Company of Ireland, Ltd., 1919. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Modern Languages.* Edited by E. G. Underwood. Vol. I., No. 1. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7''$. Pp. 32. A. and C. Black, Ltd., October, 1919. Paper, 1s. net.
- Oesterley (W. O. E.) The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (Pirke Aboth).* $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xx + 104. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Passages for Greek and Latin Repetition.* Selected by Masters at Uppingham School. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 88. Oxford University Press, 1919. Limp cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Phillimore (J. S.) The Revival of Criticism.* $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 32. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919. 1s. 6d. net.
- Plautus. Menaechmi.* Edited by Clara M. Knight. $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xxxvi + 132. Cambridge University Press, 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Sheppard (J. T.) Richard Croke.* $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 24. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1919. Paper, 1s. 6d. net.
- Sophocles. Ajax.* Translated by R. C. Trevelyan. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 58. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1919. Paper, 2s. net; cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Sophocles. Ichneutae.* Translated by R. J. Walker. $9'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xvii + 664. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd., 1919. Cloth, £3 3s. od. net.
- Theocritus. Idylls.* By R. J. Cholmeley. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii + 450. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1919. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- The Officium and Miracula of Richard Rolle of Hampole.* Edited by R. M. Woolley, D.D. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 97. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.* $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xlviii + 162. London: Ginn and Co., 1918. Paper, \$2.50.
- Vergingetorix.* Prize Latin Poem, with three others. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 60. Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1919.
- Virgil.* See *Kleine Texte*.
- Vürtheim (J.) Stesichorus' Fragmente und Biographie.* $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xii + 112. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1919.
- Warren (E. P.) M.A. Alcmaeon, Hypermetra, Caeneus.* $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. 110. Oxford: Blackwell, 1919. Half cloth, paper boards, 4s. 6d. net.
- Weiskotten (H. T.) Sancti Augustini Vita scripta a Possidio Episcopo.* Edited with revised text, Introduction, Notes, and English Version, by H. T. W. (Dissertation for doctorate). $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$. Pp. 176. Princeton University Press and Clarendon Press.
- Westaway (F. W.) Scientific Method.* $8'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xxii + 426. London: Blackie and Son, Ltd., 1919. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

INDEX

I.—GENERAL INDEX.

A.

- Acts XV.* (29), 100, 151 f.
Adam (Mrs.), notice of *De Sanctis' Storia dei Romani*, 75 ff.
 Aeneas, relation with Pallas and Evander, 29 f.
Agar (T. L.), the Homeric Hymns (XII.), 85 ff.; (XIII.), 130 ff.
 obituary notice of B. B. Rogers, 167
 Alcaeus, the new fragments of, 127b ff.
 Anatolian family, a noble, 1 ff.
Anderson (J. G. C.), obituary notice of Professor F. Haverfield, 165 f.
 Andrelinus, 40 f.
Anth. Pal. V. (6); XII. (3), 25
 Annibaldi's *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus, noticed, 158 ff.
 Apollo, notes on the religious character of, 88 f.
Appleton (E. B.), Aeschylus, *Eumenides* (864 sq.), 26
 Aristophanes, *Ach.* (912), 63
 Pax, notes on, 150 f.
 Augustus, 65 f.

B.

- Bailey** (C.), notes on Aristophanes' *Pax*, 150 f.
 Barker's *Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors*, noticed, 114 f.
 Basil and the Gregories, 1
Bassett (Samuel E.), *δαίμων* in Homer, 134 f.
 Beazley's *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums*, noticed, 154 f.
 Boethius, philosophy of, 160 ff.
 Boethius' *die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi*, noticed, 113 f.
 Bolshevism, 165b
Books Received, 48, 84, 124, 168
 Box, Charles and Landsman's *Translations of Early Documents*, noticed, 165
Braunholtz (G. E. K.), Harley MS. 2610 and *Ovid Met. I.* (544 sqq.) 140 f.
 notice of Enk's *Gratti Cynegeticon quae supersunt*, 157 f.
Brooks (E. J.), queries to article on Plaut. *Stich.* 1 ff., *C.R.*, September 1918, 64
Brooks (E. W.), Epimenides and 'Maxanidus,' 100
 Brownson's Xenophon, *Hellenica* I.-V. (Loeb Library), noticed, 118
Burd (H. W. M.), Cicero's letters in Atticus, XV. (9) 103
Bury (E. G.), notice of Jones' *The Platonism of Plutarch*, 44
 notice of Laird's *Plato's Geometrical Number and the Comment of Proclus*, 45b f.
 notice of Whittaker's *The Neo-Platonists*, 164a
Butler (H. E.), Virgil, *Aen. VI.* (859), 61 f.

- Butterworth** (G. W.), the meaning of *ὡς οἶόν τε*, 15 ff.
 notice of Perrin's *Plutarch's Lives* (Vol. V., Loeb Library), 71 f.
 notice of Miss Stawell's *The Price of Freedom*, 110

C.

- Carthaginian imperialism, compared to British, 76
Cary (M.), note on Herodotus III. (104), 148 f.
 note on Livy xxi. 48 (3), 107b f.
 Pompey's compromise, 109
 Catullus 39, 11, *Parvus Umber*, 105b f.
 Chase's *Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, noticed, 78 f.
Cholmeley (H. P.), Classical teaching, 145 ff.
 Christian physicians, 7b f.
 Cicero, *Pro. Rab. Post.* 7 (17), 66
 Cicero's letters to Atticus, XV. (9), 103
Clark (Albert C.), notice of Sjögren's *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epp. ad Atticum I.-IV.*, 37 ff.
 Classical teaching, 145 ff.
 'colon Reizianum,' 64 f.
Colson (F. H.), Phaedrus and Quintilian I. 9. 2—a reply to Professor Postgate, 59 ff.
 composition in Roman schools, 59 f.
Culex, a metrical peculiarity of the, 95 ff.

D.

- δαίμων* in Homer, 134 f.
 Daphne, 140b f.
 Delphi, the Athenian sacrifice at, 113 f.
 De Sanctis: *Storia dei Romani* (Vol. III.), noticed, 75 ff.
 Dennison's *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*, noticed, 117 f.
Dobson (Dina Portway), 'quis aquam Nili,' 28
 dreams in Homer and Greek Tragedy, 116
Duff (J. Wight), notice of Moricca's *L. Annæi Senecæ Thyestes, Phædra*, 119 f.
 notice of the Paravia texts of the minor works of Tacitus, 158 ff.

E.

- Edmonds** (J. M.), the new Lyric fragments (III.), 125 ff.
Eitrem (S.), some notes on the religious character of Apollo, 88 ff.
Elmore (Jefferson), Horace, *Epp. II.* 3 (120 sqq.), 102b f.
 Serm. II. i. (886) 101b f.
 Enk's *Gratti Cynegeticon quae supersunt*, noticed, 157 f.
 Ennius, echoes of, in the *Aeneid*, 138 ff.

Epimenides and 'Maxanidus,' 100 (see Vol. XXX.
pp. 33 ff., 137 ff.)
epitaphs, fourth-century Anatolian, 1 ff.
Euripidea, 136 f.
Euthymides, 73 f.
Evelyn-White (C. H.), notice of Stewart and Rand's
Boethius, 160 ff.

F.

Fay (Edwin W.), the derivation of Latin 'rudis'
quasi 'singlestick,' 106b f.
nostrum nobis, 109b.
Feltoe's St. Dionysius of Alexandria, Letters and
Treatises, noticed, 122b.
Fronto, a passage of (Naber, p. 203), 153a.
Fowler (Frank H.), the 'prospective,' 97 ff.
Frank (Tenney), Pompey's compromise: Cicero,
ad Fam. VIII. 11 (3), 68
Virgil, *Aen.* VIII. (23), 104

G.

Garrod (H. W.), 'Mule nihil sentis' (Catull. 88. 3),
67
two passages of Virgil, 105
Virgil and Gregory of Tours, 28
Gauls, invasion of Greece and Asia Minor by the,
90
Genner (E. E.), notice of Laurand's *Manuel des*
Études grecques et latines, 164
gold currency in the time of Hannibal, 108
Graeco-Roman ostraca from Dakka, Nubia, 49 ff.
Granger (Frank), notice of Sir Ray Lankester's
Natural Science and the Classical System in
Education, 110 ff.
notice of West's *The Value of the Classics*,
122b f.
Greek Anthology, additions to the, 55
poetry, on the new fragments of, recently
published at Berlin, 90 f.

H.

Hardy (E. G.), note on Cicero, *Pro Rab. Post.* 7 (17),
66
Harley M.S. 2610 and Ovid, *Met.* I. (544 sqq.), 140 f.
Haverfield (F.), Augustus, 65
obituary notice of, 167
Herakles of Euripides, on the date of the, 54 f.
Herford (M.A.B.), *Aen.* XI. (45 sq., 152 sq.), 29
Herford's (Miss) *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*,
noticed, 155 f.
Herodotus III. 104, note on, 148 f.
Hippolytus, the art of Euripides in the, 9 ff.
Hirst, G. M., *Statius, Silvae* I. vi. (7 sq.), 149 f.
Homer, *Odyssey* IV., 442, VIII. (229), 151a.
Homeric Hymns, the, 85 ff., 130 ff.
Hoppin's *Euthymides and his Fellows*, noticed, 73 f.
Handbook of Attic red-figured Vases, noticed, 156
Horace, metonymy in (*Odes* I.), 27
Carm. i. (14), 101
Epp. ii. 3 (120 sqq.), 102b f.
Sat. I. ix. (39 sq.), 64; II. i. (886), 101b f.
Housman (A. E.), *nihil* in Ovid, 56 ff.
Howarth (O. J. R.), notice of Jones' *Geography of*
Strabo (Loeb Library), 36 f.

I.

IMANTEAΓΜΟΣ, 24
Indus valley, Herodotus on the climate of the,
148 f.
inscriptions from Priene, 88 f.

J.

Jackson (J.), notice of Winstedt's *Cicero's Letters to*
Atticus, 120 f.

jewellery, 'Roman,' 117 f.

Johnson (H. H.), the Acts, XV. (29), 100
Jones' (H. L.) *Geography of Strabo* (Loeb Library),
noticed, 36 f.
Jones' (R. M.), *The Platonism of Plutarch*, noticed, 44
'Justice,' Greek version of Rudyard Kipling's, 47

K.

Kean (M.), Aristophanes, *Ach.* (912), 63
Horace, *Sat.* I. ix. (39 sq.), 64

L.

Laird's *Pluto's Geometrical Number and the Comment*
of Proclus, noticed, 45b f.
Lamb (W.), notice of Chase's *Catalogue of Arretine*
Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
78 f.
notice of Hoppin's *Euthymides and his Fellows*,
73 f.
landed families, Anatolian, 1 ff.
Lankester's (Sir Ray), *Natural Science and the Classical*
System in Education, noticed, 110 ff.
Latin authors, notes on, 153
Laurand's *Manuel des Études grecques et Latines*,
noticed, 164
Leuconoe, 27 f.
lightning, watch kept for, 113
Lindsay (W. M.), Catullus 39, 11, *parcus umber*,
105b f.
an uncial fragment of Plautus, 152
Mandalus. Recula. Malacruca, 66
Martial XIV. xxix. (2), 26
Plautus, *Cas.* (416, 814), *ib.*
Recula, *ib.*
Livy ii. 30 (4); xxi. 48 (3), 107 f.
Lyric fragments, the new (III.), 125 ff.

M.

M. (F. H.), notice of Dennison's 'A Gold Treasure
of the Late Roman Period,' 117 f.
Mair (A. W.), Euripidea, 136 f.
Mandalus. Recula. Malacruca, 66
manuscripts, the descent of, 79 ff.
Marchant (E. C.), notice of Brownson's *Xenophon*,
Hellen. I.-V., 118 f.
Matthaei's *Studies in Greek Tragedy*, noticed, 69 f.
Messer's *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*,
noticed, 116
Meton, 27b
Moricca's *L. Annaei Senecae Thyestes Phaedra*, noticed,
119 f.
MSS. of Cicero, 37 ff.
of New Testament in Freer Collection, 122
of Old Testament in Freer Collection, 121
of Ovid, 140
of Plautus, 152
of Seneca, 119
of Tacitus, 158 f.
Mulvany (C. M.), a supposed fragment of Theo-
phrastus, 18
Mustard's *Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes*
Arnolletus, noticed, 40 f.

N.

nihil in Ovid, 56 ff.
nolim and *velim* with perfect infinitive, 93a
NOTES, 24 ff., 63 ff., 100 ff., 148 ff.
NOTES AND NEWS, 46, 84, 123, 167

O.

OBITUARY, Professor F. Haverfield, 165 f.
Benjamin Bickley Rogers, 167
omen from fall of weapons, 103b

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS, 1 ff., 49 ff., 85 ff., 125 ff.
Owen (S. G.), notice of Mustard's *Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes Arnolletus*, 40 f.
 notice of Ramsay's *Juvenal and Persius* (Loeb Library), 42 ff.

P.

Paton's *The Greek Anthology* (Vol. IV., Loeb Library), noticed, 35 f.
Pearce (J. W. E.), a passage of Fronto (Naber, p. 203), 153a
Pearson (A. C.), notice of Trever's *History of Greek Economic Thought*, 74
 notice of Prickard's *Selected Essays of Plutarch*, 33 ff.
**Perrin's Plutarch's Lives (Vol. V., Loeb Library), noticed, 71 f.
Phaedrus and Quintilian I. 9, 2—a reply to Professor Postgate, 59 ff.
Phaedrus and Seneca, 19 ff.
Phillimore (J. S.), in Propertium retractationes selectae, 91 ff.
 Phrygian custom, survivals of, in Lycaonia, 7
Platnauer (M.), *Anth. Pal.* V. (6), 25
 Plato's 'nuptial number,' 45
Platt (Arthur), Thucydides II. (48), 63
Plautus, Stich. 1 ff., queries to article on, in *C. R.* September, 1918, 64
 an uncial fragment of, 152
 Polybius, 77
 Pompey's Compromise: Cicero, *ad Fam.* VIII. 11 (3), 68, 109
Πορκela, on the suggestion, in *Acts* XV. (20, 29), 151 f.
Postgate (J. P.), Phaedrus and Seneca, 19 ff.
 Quintilian I. 9 (2), 108b
Powell (J. U.), additions to the Greek Anthology, 55
 on the new fragments of Greek poetry recently published at Berlin, 90 f.
 on the suggestion πορκela in *Acts* xv. 20, 29, 151 f.
 notice of Paton's *The Greek Anthology* (Vol. IV.), 35 f.
 Prickard's *Selected Essays of Plutarch*, noticed, 33 ff.
Proctor (F. A.), *Anth. Pal.* XII. (3), 25
 Proserpine, rape of, 28b
 Propertium, retractationes selectae in, 91 ff.
 (See Vol. 1916, p. 39: 1917, p. 87)
 'prospective,' the, 97 ff., 141 ff.
 Punic War, the first, 76
 Pythais, the Athenian, 113 f.**

Q.

Quintilian I. 9 (2), 108b
 (See p. 59)
 Quirinus, 64b
 'quis aquam Nili,' 28

R.

Ramsay (W. M.), a noble Anatolian family of the fourth century, 1 ff.
**Ramsay's Juvenal and Persius (Loeb Library), noticed, 42 ff.
 rations, Roman soldiers', 51
Reconstruction Problems, 21: *the Classics in British Education*, noticed, 83 f.
 REVIEWS, 31 ff., 69 ff., 110 ff., 154 ff.
 rhetorical exercises, 59 f.
 Rhys Roberts' *Patriotic Poetry, Greek and English*, noticed, 163 f.
Richards (G. C.), notice of Boethius' *die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi*, 113 f.
Robertson-Luxford (J. S. O.), Homer, *Odyss.* IV. 442, VIII. (229) 151a**

Rogers, Benjamin E., obituary notice of, 167
Rouse (W. H. D.), Virgil, 138 ff.
 'rudis' quasi 'singlestick,' derivation of, 106b f.

S.

S. (A.), notice of Vürtheim's *Teukros und Teukrer*, 46
S. (J. A.), the art of Euripides in the *Hippolytus*, 9 ff.
Sanders' New Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection (Part II.), noticed, 122b.
Old Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection (Part II.), noticed, 121 f.
 Sappho, the new fragments of, 125 ff.
 'semi-quotation,' 22b f.
 Sergii, Christian sympathies of the, 8
Sheppard (J. T.), notice of Miss Matthaei's *Studies in Greek Tragedy*, 69 f.
 notice of Messer's *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, 116
Shewan (A.), notice of Van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium*, 31 ff.
 SHORT NOTICES, 44 ff., 121 ff., 163 ff.
Sing (J. M.), Euripides, *Hecuba* (854 sqq.), 64
 Sjögren's *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epp. ad Atticum*, I.-IV., noticed, 37 ff.
Slater (D. A.), Harley MS. 2610 and Ovid, *Met.* I. (544 sqq.), 140 f.
 'Virgil, *Aen.* VII. 695-6' Again, 144 f.
 notice of *Reconstruction Problems*, 83 f.
Smith (J. A.), metonymy in Horace, *Odes*, I. (xi.), 27
Sonnenschein (E. A.), the 'prospective,' 141 ff.
 Sophocles, *Antigone* (471 sq.), 25
Souter (A.), notes on Latin authors, 153
spolia opima, the, 61 f.
Spranger (J. A.), on the date of the *Herakles* of Euripides, 54 f.
 Statius, *Silvae*, I. vi. (7 sq.), 149 f.
 Stawell's *The Price of Freedom*, noticed, 110
 Stewart and Rand's *Boethius* (Loeb Library), noticed, 160 ff.
suasoriae, 44b

T.

notice of Rhys Roberts' *Patriotic Poetry, Greek and English*, 163 f.
T. (E. M. W.), notice of Beazley's *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, 155
 notice of Miss Herford's *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*, 155 f.
 notice of Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, 156
 Teucer and the Teucroi, 46
 Thackeray's *The Letter of Aristeas*, noticed, 123b
 Theophrastus, *Characters*, No. V. (Jebb), emendation of, 63
 Thespians, the, 54 f.
Thompson (D'Arcy Wentworth), *ἱμαντελιγμός*, 24
 Thucydides, II. (48), 63
 Trever's *History of Greek Economic Thought*, noticed, 74

V.

Van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium*, noticed, 31 ff.
 VERSION, 'Justice' (Rudyard Kipling), 47
Viljoen (H. G.), emendation of Theophrastus, *Characters*, 63
Vince (C. A.), Horace C. i. (14), 101
 Virgil, 138 ff.
 'Aen. VII. 695-6' Again, 144 f.
 and Gregory of Tours, 28
 echoes of Ennius in, 138 ff.
 notes on, 29, 30, 61, 67, 68, 103, 104, 105
 one-syllable endings in, 138 ff.
 Vürtheim's *Teukros und Teukrer*, noticed, 46

W.

- Walters (C. Flamstead), the descent of manuscripts, 79 ff.
 Warde Fowler (W.), a metrical peculiarity of the *Culex*, 95 ff.
 note on Virgil, *Ecl.* IV. (60 sqq.), 67
 Weatherhead (T. C.), Bolshevism, 165b
 West's *The Value of the Classics*, noticed, 122b f.
 White (Hugh G. Evelyn), Graeco-Roman ostraca from Dakka, Nubia, 49 ff.
 Whittaker's *Neo-Platonists*, noticed, 164

- Wick's *Cornelii Taciti dialogus de Oratoribus*, noticed, 159
 Williamson (H.), *Aen.* I. (460), 30
 Winstedt's *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, Vol. III. (Loeb Library), noticed, 120 f.

Z.

- Zimmern (A. E.), notice of Barker's *Greek Political Theory*, 114 f.

Ω.

- ΩΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ, the meaning of, 15 ff.

II.—INDEX LOCORUM.

A.

- Aeschylus:—
 Eumen. (12), 113b; (864 sq.), 26a
 Alcaeus:—
 Fragments (Ox. Pap., Vols. X., XI.), 1233. 2. ii. (2), 127b; 33 (5 sqq.), 128a.
 1234 (1), 128ab; 4 (6 sqq.), 128b; 6 (7 sqq.), 129a.
 1360. I. (9 sqq.), 129ab; (2), 129b f.
 Anth. Pal.:—
 V. (6), XII. (3), 25
 Apuleius:—
 Met. V. (19), 153b
 Aristophanes:—
 Ach. (912), 63b f.
 Pax (72 sq., 114 sqq., 250), 150

C.

- Catullus:—
 XXXIX. (11), 105b f.
 Cicero:—
 ad Att. I. i. 4, 3, 20 (2), 38b; II. i. 5, 18, 2, 21 (6), 39; III. 8 (2), 38b; IV. 15. 4, 17 (3), 39a; XV. (9), 103
 ad Fam. VIII. 6 (5), 109a
 Or. post red. in sen. hab. (29), 153b
 pro Rab. post. 7 (17), 66

E.

- Euripides:—
 Hec. (854 sqq.), 64a
 Her. Fur. (217 sqq.), 55
 Ion (285), 113b
 Iphig. in Aul. (990 sq.), 136a
 Troades (568 sqq.), 136b f.

F.

- Fronto:—
 (Naber, p. 203), 152a

H.

- Herodotus:—
 III. (104), 148 f.
 Homer:—
 Odys. IV. (442), VIII. (229), 151a
 Homeric Hymns:—
 in Apoll. (286, 299, 316), 85; (324, 327, 329, 331, 343 sqq.), 86; (335, 337, 361), 87; (374, 390), 88; (399 sqq.), 130; (419), 88; (427), 130; (435), 88; (437, 447, 449), 130; (450, 456, 459), 131; (476 sq., 491, 495), 132; (506, 527, 529, 534-539), 133; (540), 134
 Horace:—
 C. I. (xi.), 27 f.; (xiv.), 101
 Epp. II. iii. (120 sqq.), 102b f.
 Serm. I. ix. (39 sq.), 64; II. i. (886), 101b f.

L.

- Livy:—
 II. 30 (4), 107a; XXI. 48 (3), 107b f.
 Lucilius:—
 (1266 ed. Marx), 153a

M.

- Martial:—
 XIV. xxix. (2)

N.

- N. T.:—
 Acts xv. (29), 100b f.; xvii. (18), 100a
 Tit. i. (12), 100a

O.

- Ovid:—
 Met. I. (544 sqq), 140 f.

P.

- Plautus:—
 Cas. (416, 814), 26b; (278 sqq.), 27a
 Cistell. (123-147, 158-182), 152
 Propertius:—
 I. iii. (8), 91; *ib.* (19 sq.), 92a; vii. (16), 92b f.; viii. (13 sqq.), 93; ix. (23 sq.), 93b f.; xi. (6), 94b f.

Q.

- Quintilian:—
 I. 9 (2), 109b

S.

- Sappho:—
 Fragments (Ox. Pap., Vols. X., XI.), 1231, I. i. (13 sqq.), 125 f.; (10) 126a; 16 (2 sqq.), 126ab; (56), 126b f.; 1232, I. i.; (8), 127a; ii. (2, 9, 12, 17 sqq.), 127ab; 1232, 2 (1 sqq.), 127b
 Seneca:—
 Phaedra (343, 465 sqq., 508, 520, 769, 890), 119b
 Thyestes (355), 119b
 Sophocles:—
 Ant. (471 sq.), 25a.
 Statius:—
 Silv. I. vi. 7 sq. (coll. *Aen.* viii. 317; *Martial.* viii. 78), 149b f.

T.

- Theophrastus:—
 Characters, V. v. 17 ff. (Jebb), 63b
 Thucydides:—
 II. (48), 63a

V.

- Virgil:—
 Aen. I. (37, 212 sq.), 146b; (460), 30; VI. (859), 61 ff.; VII. (641 sqq.), 103b f. (695 sq.), 144 f.; VIII. (23), 104; (376 sqq.), 105; IX. (743), 107a; XI. (9), 147a; (45 sq., 152 sq.), 29; XII. (93 sqq.), 105; (473, 519), 68
 Culex (37 sqq.), 95; (59, 63, 214, 292), 96a
 Ecl. IV. (60 sqq.), 67
 Georg. I. (2, 81, 164), 145b; II. (25 sq.), 153b; (486 sqq.), 96b; IV. (498 sq.), *ib.*
 Moretum (65), 26a

III.—INDEX VERBORUM

A.—GREEK.

Αιτναῖος κάρθαρος, 150 <i>b</i>	A.	κηητός, 85 <i>b</i> κολλόροβοι, 50 <i>a</i> κώπη, 25 <i>a</i>	
βλαχαί, 35 <i>b</i> βουλευτής = <i>curialis</i> , 2 <i>b</i>	B.	Λευκόνιοι, 27 <i>b</i>	A.
Γαλεό. Γαλεῶται, 89	Γ.	μακάριος, 6 <i>a</i> μονογενής, 35 <i>b</i>	M.
δαίμων, 134 ff. δόλοφον, 126 <i>a</i>	Δ.	οὔσα, 91 <i>b</i>	O.
? ἐπήρης, 85 <i>a</i>	E.	πασπάριος, 89 <i>b</i> περιδύω, 4 <i>a</i> ? πορκεία, 151 <i>b</i>	Π.
ἱμαντελιγμός, 24 <i>a</i> ἱμαντελικτής, 24 <i>b</i>	I.	σοῦσον, 91 <i>a</i>	Σ.
κάμπης, 34 <i>b</i> καράτομος, 137 καταβνητοί, 132 <i>a</i> κάτοχος, 26 <i>b</i> κιβαριάτωρ, 50 <i>b</i>	K.	τετραπύργια, 1 <i>a</i>	T.
		ὥς οἶον τε, 15 ff.	Ω

B.—LATIN.

<i>acies</i> , 144 <i>a</i> <i>aclydes</i> , 'boomerangs,' 104 <i>a</i> <i>actor</i> , 105 <i>b</i> <i>alticinctus</i> , 21 <i>b</i> <i>arx</i> , 144 <i>augustus</i> , 65 <i>b</i>	A.	<i>obaudiens</i> , 153 <i>b</i>	O.
<i>certa manus</i> , 91 <i>cibariator</i> , 50	C.	<i>praebere</i> , 93 <i>b</i> f.	P.
<i>evigilare</i> , 93 <i>b</i> <i>extremus</i> = <i>minimus</i> , 94 <i>b</i>	E.	<i>quam</i> , 'than,' 109 <i>b</i>	Q.
<i>hivundo</i> , 'swift,' 68 <i>honoratum Achillem</i> , 102 <i>b</i> f.	H.	<i>re.</i> , the prefix, 104 <i>b</i> <i>recla</i> , 26 <i>a</i>	R.
<i>mala crux</i> , 26 ? <i>malacrucia</i> , 26 <i>mandalus</i> , 26 <i>b</i> <i>meliusculus</i> , 216 <i>metella</i> , <i>metellus</i> , 67 <i>b</i>	M.	<i>Scythicae volucres</i> , 43 <i>b</i> <i>stare</i> , 'to be successful,' 64 <i>b</i> <i>stricturae chalybum</i> , 147 <i>a</i> <i>sub sidere</i> , 93 <i>b</i>	S.
		<i>tabulae</i> , 102 <i>a</i> <i>tibicen</i> , 42 <i>b</i>	T.

PA The classical review
1
C7
v.32-33

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
